A
CHRONICLE
of the
KINGS of ENGLAND
From the Time of ŷ
ROMANS Goverment
unto the Death of
KING IAMES:

Containing all Passages of
State and Church, with all other
Observations proper for a CHRONICLE
Faithfully Collected out of Authors Ancient
and Modern, and digested into a new Method
by Sr. RICHARD BAKER Kt.
Where unto is now added the
Reign of
KING CHARLES the I.
and King Charles ŷ
II

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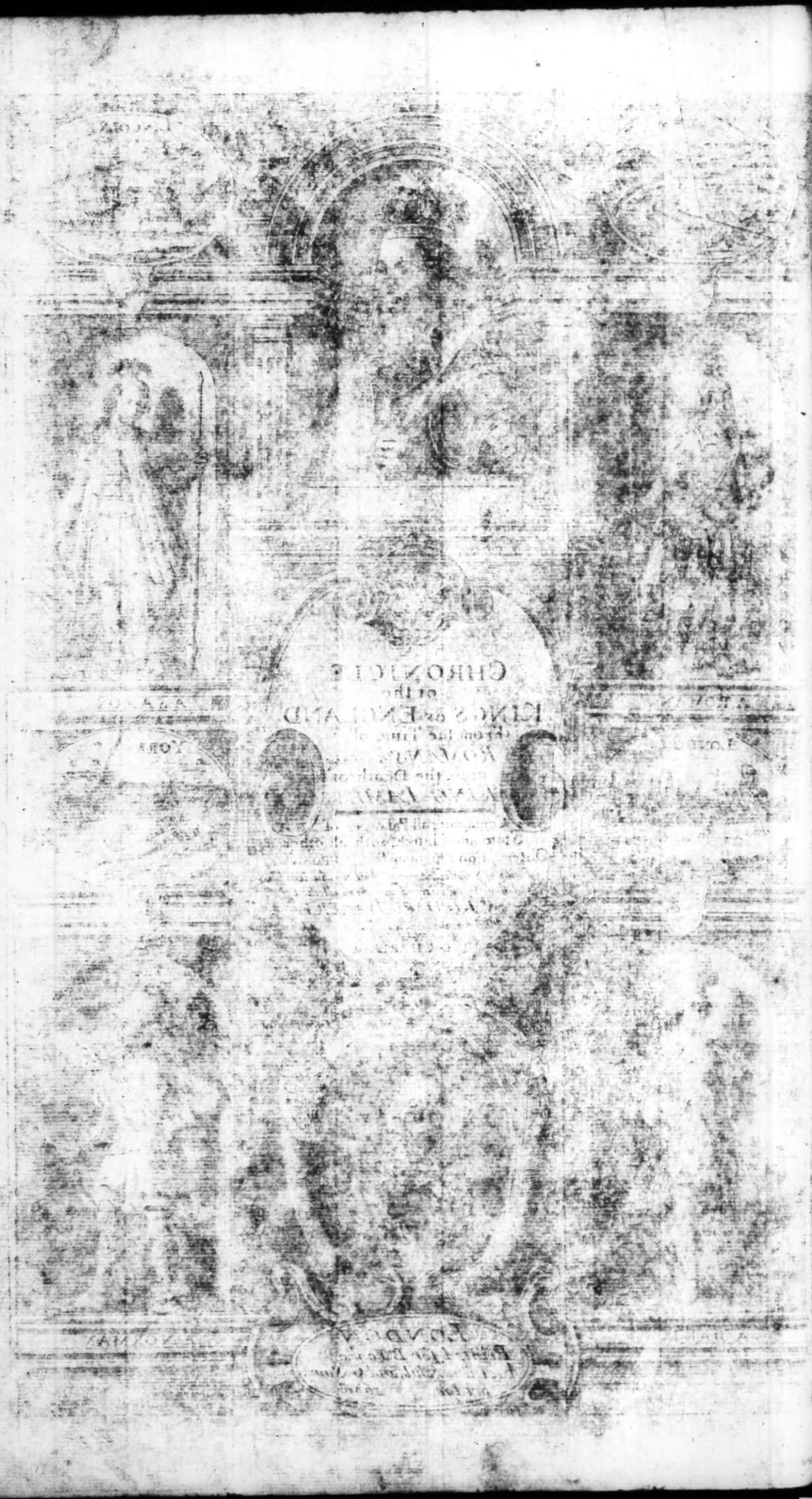

A

CHRONICLE

OF THE

KINGS

OF

ENGLAND,

From the Time of the *ROMANS* Government, unto the Death of KING *JAMES* the *First.*

Containing all Paſſages of STATE and CHURCH, with all other Obſervations proper for a CHRONICLE.

Faithfully Collected out of Authors *Ancient and Modern; and Digeſted into a* Method.

By Sir *RICHARD BAKER*, Knight.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED,

The Reign of King Charles the Firſt,

AND

King Charles the Second.

In which are many Material *AFFAIRS* of *STATE*, never before Publiſhed; and likewiſe the moſt Remarkable *Occurrences* relating to King *Charles* the Second's moſt Wonderful *RESTAURATION*, by the Prudent CONDUCT of

GEORGE late DUKE of *ALBEMARLE*, *Captain General* of all His Majeſties *ARMIES.*

As they were Extracted out of His *Excellencies* own *Papers*, and the *Journals* and *Memorials* of thoſe imployed in the moſt Important and Secret *Tranſactions* of that Time.

All which *Additions* are Reviſed in this *Ninth* Impreſſion, and freed from many Errors and Miſtakes of the former *Editions.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Ben. Tooke*; *A.* and *J. Churchill*, at the *Black-Swan* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*; and *G. Sawbridge*, at the Three *Flower-de-Luces* in *Little-Brittain*, MDCXCVI.

The Epiſtle to the Reader.

SIR Richard Baker *who writ, and publiſhed this Hiſtory, to the beginning of the Reign of King* Charles *the Firſt, affirmed,* That it was Collected with ſo great Care and Diligence, that if all other of our Chronicles ſhould be loſt, this only would be ſufficient to inform Poſterity of all Paſſages memorable or worthy to be known: *And if ſo much may be ſaid of what he did, I preſume, nothing that hath been ſince added to it, and publiſhed, has impaired the Credit and Worth thereof.*

The many Impreſſions *that hath been made and ſold of the Book both before and after the Addition, are a ſufficient Teſtimony of the kind acceptance it has had in the World. How neceſſary this preſent* Continuation *is (which alone might have made a Competent Hiſtory) will beſt appear by the peruſal thereof; and in that part which deſcribes the Tranſactions of the Duke of* Albemarle, *there is not only ſo exact an Accompt, as is no where elſe to be found, but alſo many ſecret Paſſages of particular Remark, which could never have been known, but from his* Excellency's *own Papers, and ſeveral other private Collections of Perſons active with him in that Service, which I had the permiſſion to make uſe of; wherein I have been ſo faithful, that there is not any Letter, Speech or Diſcourſe in Publick Conferences, which are not exactly ſet down as they were written, or ſpoke, ſave only that of ſuch Letters, or Speeches, as were very long, the moſt pertinent parts are only retained.*

The wonderful Reſtauration of King Charles *the Second, which is the Subject of that part of the* Continuation, *is one of the moſt Extraordinary Actions that has been ever mentioned in Story, both for the Generoſity of the Attempt, and the Prudent Conduct of it: For certainly nothing was ever enterprized with greater Generoſity and Courage, than with* * *Nine Thouſand, Six Hundred Foot, and Fourteen Hundred Horſe and Dragoons,* (and thoſe long Train'd up in an averſion to Kingly Government) *to preſerve the whole Kingdom of* Scotland *in* Engliſh *Hands, and to Invade* England *at a time when the Governing Power was in thoſe that were irreconcileable to his Majeſties Perſon and Government, ſupported by Thirty Thouſand Experienced and Victorious Souldiers in* England, *of the ſame Affections (beſides what were at their Devotion in* Ireland, *and* Dunkirk) *and a* Militia *of Trained Bands in all Counties, to a greater number than thoſe in Pay, all of Choſen Men of the like Principles; and this at a time, when by the Defeat of Sir* George Booth, *His Majeſty's greateſt Hopes were fruſtrated, and moſt of the Nobility and Gentry which were engaged with him, were diſarmed, and their Eſtates confiſcated, and ready to be divided amongſt the Enemies of Royalty, to alter, with the Riches, the Intereſt of the Kingdom; and when they were about to Enact, and many of the Legiſlators themſelves had taken an* * *Oath of Abjuration of his Majeſty's Perſon and Family: But then his Secreſie in the Conduct of this Great Affair is very Remarkable, being obliged to act very differently from his Intentions, to gain the Confidence of thoſe Jealous Maſters*

* See Pag. 685. Where the Numbers of his Forces are mentioned.

* Page 700 a

whose Authority he pretended to obey; for if he had but once trod awry in any of the paths he mov'd, all had miscarried; and notwithstanding his greatest Subtilty, many objected (thinking thereby to weaken his Credid with the Army) That the King was in the bottom of his Design.

His most Prudent Contrivances were often disappointed, but by his Wisdom and Dexterity as often retrieved; one of his greatest Difficulties was to temper his own Officers and Soldiers to his Purposes, to which the Opinion they had of his Conduct and Courage, did much contribute; and when that was effected, he the easier Modelled the rest.

†See Pag. 731. towards the end.

It is evident that he acquainted but one † *Person with his Design, and that he did, supposing it impossible alone without Correspondence, to manage so hazardous an Undertaking; for he was to compass his Ends by several and different means, which could not without great address be prepared and disposed thereunto. And how necessary this Correspondence was, is apparent by many Transitions, but by none more,* Than in the lucky * Contrivance of getting the Army out of *London*, and the Quartering his Soldiers in their Places, and dispersing the rest; *Whereby the Parliament, City and Kingdom became at his Reverence; and without which, his Majesties Restauration could never have been effected in this way.*

The Consideration of these things, leads me unto so great a Labyrinth of Admiration, that I cannot easily desist from detaining the Reader too long from the perusal of the matter, which induces me to it: I shall therefore conclude this Epistle with that Commendation of this Renowned General's Undertaking, which a Reverend and Pious Prelate most justly delivered in a late * Sermon, *That it was* a Generous, Glorious, and Heroical Design, whereby he hath at once redeemed his Country both from Slavery and Oppression, by restoring the King to his People, and the People to their King; and withal hath purchased unto himself, Honour without Envy; Greatness with Safety; and (which is the best Reward of Virtue in this World) a perpetual Satisfaction and Complacency in himself, for having so Nobly performed his Duty.

E. Phillips.

*See Pag. 701, 702, and 703.

* Bishop of *Winchester* in the Sermon he Preach'd at the Coronation, when he was Bishop of *Worcester*, Pag. 29, & 30.

A

Catalogue of Writers,

Both *ANTIENT* and *MODERN*,

Out of whom This

CHRONICLE

Hath been Collected.

1. Gildas Britannicus, *firnamed the Wise, an Antient Writer of our* English *Nation, who amongst other his Works, writ a Treatise,* De Excidio Britanniæ; *He was born in the Year* 493. *and died in the Year* 580.
2. Nennius, *a Monk of* Bangor, *writ the Story of* Britain, *and lived about the Year* 620.
3. *Venerable* Bede, *a* Saxon, *and a Priest, writ the Ecclesiastical Story of the* English *Nation from the coming in of* Julius Cæsar, *to the Year* 733. *about which time he died*
4. Ethelwardus, *an eminent Historian, compiled a general Chronicle from the Creation, to the end of King* Edgar.
5. Radulphus de Diceto, *who lived about the Year* 1210.
6. Segebert, *King of the East-Angles, writ an Institution of Laws, in his later days became a Monk, and was slain by* Penda, *King of the* Mercians, *in the Year* 652.
7. Cymbertus, *Bishop of* Linsey, *in the Kingdom of* Mercia, *writ the Annals of that Country, and lived about the Year* 738.
8. Daniel Wentalus, *a Bishop, writ the History of his Province, and the Acts of the South* Saxons, *and died in the Year* 746.
9. Asserius Menevensis, *born in* Pembrokeshire, *writ the Story of* Britain, *and the Acts of King* Alphred, *and lived about the Year* 890.
10. Alphredus, *the great King of the* Angles, *fourth Son of King* Ethelwolph, *writ, besides many other Works, a Collection of Chronicles, and died at* Wincheſter *in the Year* 901.
11. Osbernus, *a Benedictine Monk, writ the Life of Archbishop* Dunstan, *and other Works; and lived about the Year* 1020.
12. Goletmannus Anglicus, *writ a Chronicle and a Catalogue of the* English *Kings, and lived in the time of King* Harold *the First.*
13. Gulielmus Gameticensis, *a* Norman *and a Monk, writ the Lives of the Dukes of* Normandy, *to* William *the First, to whom he dedicated his Work; and after enlarged it to the Death of King* Henry *the First, in the Year* 1160. *at which time he lived.*
14. Marianus Scotus, *a Monk, writ Annals from the beginning of the World to his own time, and died in the Year* 1086.
15. Alphredus, *a Priest of* Beverley, *writ a History from the first Original of the* Britains *to his own time, and lived about the Year* 1087. *in the time of* William *the First.*
16. Veremundus, *a* Spaniard, *and a Priest, but who lived much in* Scotland, *writ the Antiquities of the* Scottish *Nation, and lived about the Year* 1090.
17. Lucianus, *a Monk, and an* English *Writer, and lived in the first times of the* Normans.
18. Ingulphus, *Abbot of* Croyland, *writ from the Year* 664. *to the Year* 1066. *and lived in the time of* Henry *the First, whose Secretary he had been.*
19. Turgotus, *an* Englishman, *Prior of* Durham, *and afterwards Bishop of St.* Andrews *in* Scotland, *writ a History of the Kings of* Scotland; *also Chronicles of* Durham, *Annals of his own time, and the Life of King* Malcom, *and lived in the Year* 1098. *in the time of King* William *the Second.*
20. Gulielmus Pictaviensis, *writ a Treatise of the Life of* William *the First.*
21. Gualterus Mapæus, *writ a Book* De Nugis Curialium, *and lived about the Year* 1210.
22. William *of* Malmesbury, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the* English *Nation, from the first coming of the* Saxons *into* Britain, *to his own time; which Work he Dedicated to* Robert *Duke of* Glocester, *base Son of King* Henry *the First, and lived to the First Year of King* Henry *the Second.*
23. Florentius Bravonius, *a* Monk *of* Worcester, *compiled a Chronicle from the Creation, to the Year* 1118. *in which Year he died; his Work was continued by another Monk to the Year* 1163.
24. Eadmerus, *a Monk of* Canterbury, *writ the Lives of* William *the First,* William *the Second, and King* Henry *the First in whose time he lived.*
25. Ranadocus, *born in* Wales, *writ the Acts of the* Britain *Kings, from* Cadwallader *to his own time, and lived in the time of King* Stephen.
26. Gervasius Dorobernensis, *a Benedictine Monk writ a History of the* English *Nation, and lived about the Year* 1200.
27. Johannes Fibertius, *commonly called* De Bever, *or* Castorius, *writ short Annals of the* English *Nation, and lived about the Year* 1306.
28. Henry, *Archdeacon of* Huntington, *writ a History of the Kings of* England, *to the Reign of King* Stephen, *in whose time he lived.*
29. Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *a Benedictine Monk, and afterward Bishop of* Asaph, *writ a History of the* Britains, *and was the first that makes mention of* Brute, *and of* Merlines *Prophecies, for which he is much taxed by divers Authors of his own time, and after; he lived about the Year* 1150. *in the time of King* Stephen.
30. William *of* Newborough, *born at the beginning of King* Stephen's *Reign, writ a History of the* English *Nation, and bitterly inveighs against* Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *as a Deviser of Fables.*
31. Sylvester Gyraldus, *born in* Wales, *and therefore called* Cambrensis, *after long Travel Abroad, was called Home, and made Secretary to King* Henry *the Second; and*

after was sent Tutor to his Son John *into* Ireland; *he writ the History of that Nation very exquisitely; also an* Itinirarium *of* Wales *and* Britain; *the Life of* Henry *the Second; the Acts of King* John, *and a Chronicle of the* English *Nation, and lived about the Year* 1190. *in the time of King* Richard *the First, and King* John.

32. John *of* Hagulstad, *a Town in the* North, *a Benedictine Monk in* Durham, *writ the most memorable Things from the Ninth year of King* Henry *the Second, to the first year of* Richard *the First, in whose time he lived, about the Year* 1190.

33. Roger Hoveden, *a Priest of* Oxford, *writ the Annals of the Kings of* England, *and the memorable Passages under the* Romans, Picts, Saxons, Danes, *and* Normans; *he lived in the time of King* Richard *the First, and died in the time of King* John.

34. Johannes Tilberiensis, *a Secular Priest, writ a History of the* English *Nation, and lived in the time of King* Richard *the First.*

35. Richardus Canonicus, *travelled with King* Richard *the First into* Palestine; *and writ of his Journey and Acts there.*

36. Aluredus Rivalensis, *or* de Rivallis, *a Cistercian Monk, in the Diocess of* York, *writ the Life of* Edward *King of* England, *and* David *King of* Scots, *and died in the Year* 1166.

37. Simon Dunelmensis, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the* English *Nation, from the Death of Venerable* Bede, *to the Year* 1164, *and lived in the time of King* Henry *the Second.*

38. John de Oxenford, *first Dean of* Salisbury, *and after Bishop of* Norwich, *writ the* British *History, and continued it to his own time; wherein he agreeth much with* Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *and lived about the Year* 1174, *in the time of King* Henry *the Second.*

39. Johannes Sarisburiensis, *writ an Excellent Book* De Nugis Curialium; *and lived about the Year* 1182. *in the time of King* Henry *the Second.*

40. Gulielmus Parvus, *a Canon regular in the Province of* York, *writ an History of the* Norman *Kings; and lived about the Year* 1216. *in the time of King* John.

41. Johannes Campobellus, *a* Scotchman, *writ the History of the* Scots, *from the first Original of the Nation, to his own time; and lived in the Year* 1260.

42. John Breton *an* Englishman, *Bishop of* Hereford, *writ a Book* De Juribus Anglicanis, *and lived in the Year* 1270. *in the time of King* Henry *the Third.*

43. Thomas Wyke, *an* Englishman, *a Canon Regular of* Osney *near* Oxford, *writ a short History, from the coming in of* William *the First, to his own time, and lived in the Year* 1290. *in the time of King* Edward *the First.*

44. Thomas Langford, *an* Englishman, *a Dominican Frier of* Chelmsford *in* Essex, *writ an Universal Chronicle, from the beginning of the World to his own time; and lived in the Year* 1320. *in the time of King* Edward *the Second.*

45. Radulphus de Diceto, *an* Englishman, *writ a Chronicle of the* English *Nation, and lived about the Year* 1210. *in the time of King* John.

46. Robertus Montensis, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a Chronicle from the Year* 112. *to the Year* 1210. *at which time he lived.*

47. Johannes Brugensis, *an* Englishman, *a Benedictine Monk, writ Annals of the* English *Nation.*

48. Thomas Spot, *an* Englishman, *a Benedictine Monk of* Canterbury, *writ the Chronicles of* Canterbury, *and lived about the time of King* Edward *the Second.*

49. Matthæus Westmonasteriensis, *called* Florilegus, *for Collecting* Flores Historiarum, *chiefly of* Britain, *containing from the beginning of the World, to the Year* 1377. *about which time he lived.*

50. Ranulphus Higden, *a Benedictine Monk of* Chester, *writ a Book which he called* Polychronicon, *containing from the beginning of the World to the 16th Year of King* Edward *the Third, in whose time he lived.*

51. Matthew Paris, *a Benedictine Monk of St.* Albans, *writ a History, chiefly Ecclesiastical, of the* English *Nation, and brought it down to the Year* 1259.

52. William Pachenton, *an* Englishman, *writ a History of the* English *Nation, and lived about the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

53. Bartholomeus Glanvile, *a Franciscan Frier, writ a Book intituled* De Proprietatibus rerum, *and a History* de Sanctis, *and lived in the Year* 1360. *in the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

54. Nicholas Trivet, *born in* Norfolk, *of a Worshipful Family, became a Dominican Frier, writ many Excellent Books in Divinity and Philosophy; also Annals of the* English *Kings, from King* Stephen, *to King* Edward *the Second, and lived in the Year* 1307. *in the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

55. Alexander Effebiensis, *Prior of a Monastery of Regular Canons, writ diverl learned Works, amongst other, an Epitome of the* British *History; and lived in the Year* 1220.

56. John Froyssart *born in the Low Countries, writ a Chronicle in the* French *Tongue, containing* 74 *Years; namely, beginning with King* Edward *the Third, and ending with King* Henry *the Fourth, in whose time he lived; whose Chronicle, Sir* John Bourchier *Knight, Translated into* English, *and* John Sleyden *a* Frenchman *hath lately contracted into an Epitome.*

57. Thomas de la Moore, *born in* Glocestershire, *in the time of King* Edward *the First, by whom, as having Twenty Pounds Land, holden by Knights Service, he was made a Knight; and afterwards being very inward with King* Edward *the Second, writ a History of his Life and Death.*

58. Thomas Rodbourn, *an* Englishman, *and a Bishop, writ a Chronicle of his Nation, and lived in the Year* 1480.

59. John Trevisa, *born in* Cornwal, *a Priest, Translated* Polychronicon *into* English, *adding to it an Eighth Book, intituled,* De Memorabilibus eorum temporum, *containing from the Year* 1342, *to the Year* 1460. *He writ also of the Acts of King* Arthur, *and Descriptions both of* Britain *and* Ireland, *and lived in the time of King* Edward *the Fourth.*

60. John Harding, *a Gentleman of a good Family in the* North, *writ a Chronicle in Verse of the Kings of* England, *to the Reign of King* Edward *the Fourth, wherein he alledgeth many Records which he had got in* Scotland, *that testifie the* Scottish *Kings submissions to the Kings of* England; *he lived in the Year* 1448. *in the time of King* Henry *the Sixth.*

61. John Capgrave, *born in* Kent, *an* Augustin *Frier, writ many learned Works in Divinity, and a Catalogue of the* English *Saints, and lived in the Year* 1464. *in the time of King* Edward *the Fourth.*

62. John Lydgate, *Monk of Saint* Edmundsbury *in* Suffolk, *writ divers Works in Verse, and some in Prose; as the Lives of King* Edward, *and King* Ethelstan, *of the Round Table of King* Arthur, *and lived in the Year* 1440. *in the time of King* Henry *the Sixth.*

63. John Wearhamstead *Abbot of St.* Albans, *in his Work of* English Affairs, *accuseth* Geoffry *of* Monmouth *of meer Fabulousness, and lived about the Year* 1440.

64. Gulielmus Elphinston, *a* Scotchman, *Bishop of* Aberdene, *writ the Antiquities of* Scotland, *and the Statutes of Councils, and lived in the Year* 1480. *in the time of* James *the Third, King of* Scotland.

65. George

65. George Buchanan, *a* Scotchman, *writ the Story of* Scotland *from* Fergusius *to* Queen Mary, *in whose time he lived.*

66. William Caxton *an* Englishman, *writ a Chronicle to the Three and Twentieth Year of King* Edward *the Fourth, which he calls* Fructus Temporum; *also a Description of* Britain, *the Life of St.* Edward, *and the History of King* Arthur, *and lived in the Year* 1484.

67. Thomas Walsingham, *born in* Norfolk, *a Benedictine Monk of St.* Albans, *writ two Histories; one shorter, the other larger; the first beginning from the Year* 1273. *and continued to the Year* 1423. *the other beginning at the coming in of the* Normans, *and continued to the beginning of King* Henry *the Sixth, to whom he dedicateth his Work.*

68. Robert Fabian *a Sheriff of* London, *writ a Concordance of Histories, from* Brute *the first King of the* Britains, *to the last Year of King* Henry *the Second, and another Work from King* Richard *the First, to King* Henry *the Seventh, in whose time he lived.*

69. *Sir* Thomas Moore *born in* London, *Lord Chancellour of* England, *besides many other Learned Works, writ the Life of King* Richard *the Third; and died for denying the Kings Supremacy, in the Reign of King* Henry *the Eighth, in the Year* 1535.

70. Hector Boetius *a* Scotchman, *writ a Catalogue and History of the Kings of* Scotland, *also a Description of that Kingdom, and lived in the Year* 1526. *in the time of* James *the Fifth, King of* Scotland.

71. Polydor Virgil *an* Italian, *but made here in* England *Arch-Deacon of* Wells; *amongst other his Learned Works, writ the History of* England *from its first beginning, to the* 30th *Year of King* Henry *the Eighth, to whom he dedicated his Work.*

72. Edward Hall, *a Lawyer, writ a Chronicle, which he calls* The Union of the Two Roses, the Red and the White, *containing from the beginning of King* Henry *the Fourth, to the last Year of King* Henry *the Eighth, and died in the Year* 1547.

73. John Leland, *a* Londoner, *amongst divers other Works, writ a Book of the Antiquity of* Britain, *and of the Famous Men and Bishops in it, and lived in the Year* 1546. *in the time of King* Henry *the Eighth.*

74. John Rogers, *first a Papist, and afterwards a Protestant; amongst other his Learned Works, writ a History from the beginning of the World; and lived most in* Germany *in the Year* 1548. *in the time of King* Edward *the Sixth.*

75. Philip Commines, *a Knight of* Flanders, *writ the Lives of* Lewis, *and* Charles *the Eighth, Kings of* France, *wherein he handles many Passages between them and the Kings of* England *their Contemporaries.*

Of the Modern, These:

76. Richard Grafton *a Citizen of* London, *writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the World, to the beginning of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *in whose time he lived.*

77. Raphael Hollingshed, *a Minister, writ a large Chronicle from the Conquest to the Year* 1577. *and was continued by others, to the Year* 1586.

78. *Doctor* Goodwin *Bishop of* Hereford, *writ the Lives of King* Henry *the Eighth, King* Edward *the Sixth, and Queen* Mary, *and died in the Year* 1638.

79. *Doctor* Heyward *writ the History of the first Kings,* William *the Conqueror,* William *Rufus, and* Henry *the First; also the Reign of King* Henry *the Fourth, and* Edward *the Sixth, and lived to the time of King* James.

80. Samuel Daniel *writ a Chronicle of the Kings of* England, *to the end of King* Edward *the Third, and is continued by* John Trussel *to the beginning of* Henry *the Seventh.*

81. *Sir* Francis Bacon *Viscount St.* Albans, *hath written an History of the Reign of King* Henry *the Seventh, in a most elegant Style, and lived to the time of King* James.

82. John Fox, *writ Three large Volumes of the Acts and* Monuments *of the Church; particularly treating of the* English *Martyrs in the Reign of King* Henry *the Eighth, and Queen* Mary, *and lived in the time of Queen* Elizabeth.

83. Thomas Cooper *Bishop of* Winchester, *writ a Continuation of Chronicle Notes of all Nations, especially of* England, *from the beginning of the World, to his own time, and lived in the time of Queen* Elizabeth.

84. William Cambden *King at Arms, writ the Life of Queen* Elizabeth, *and a Description of* Britain, *and lived in the time of King* James.

85. William Martin *Esq; writ the Reigns of the Kings of* England, *from* William *the Bastard, to the end of King* Henry *the Eighth; to which was afterwards added the Reigns of King* Edward *the Sixth, Queen* Mary, *and Queen* Elizabeth.

86. Francis Biondi *an* Italian *Gentleman, and of the Privy Chamber to King* Charles *the First, hath written in the* Italian *Tongue, the Civil Wars between the Two Houses of* Lancaster *and* York, *from King* Richard *the Second, to King* Henry *the Seventh; Translated Elegantly into* English *by* Henry *Earl of* Monmouth.

87. Henry Isaacson *a* Londoner, *hath written a Chronology of all Kingdoms, from the beginning of the World, to the Year* 1630. *being the fifth Year of King* Charles *the First his Reign.*

88. Nicholas Harpsefield *Arch-Deacon of* Canterbury, *hath written an Ecclesiastical History of* England, *to which* Edmund Campion *the Jesuit made an Addition.*

89. John Stow *Citizen of* London, *writ a Chronicle from* Brute, *to the end of Queen* Elizabeth, *and is continued to the Eighteenth Year of King* Charles *the First, by* Edward Howes, *a* Londoner.

90. John Speed *a* Londoner, *writ the Story of* Britain, *from the first beginning, to the Year* 1603. *being the Second Year of King* James.

91. William Habington, *Esq. hath written the Reign of King* Edward *the Fourth in a very fine Style.*

92. Thomas Fuller *Batchelour of Divinity, and Prebendary of* Sarum, *hath written the Holy War in very fine Language, wherein he relates the Acts of our Kings of* England *in the* Holy Land.

93. André du Chesne, *a* Frenchman, *Geographer to the King of* France, *hath written the History of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *from their first beginning, to the Seventeenth Year of King* Charles *the First,* 1641.

The End of the Catalogue of Authors.

THE

THE

Beginning, Continuance, and Ending

OF THE

REIGNS

OF THE

KINGS

OF

ENGLAND,

To the Year 1684.

After the time of the *ROMANS* Government.

1. KIng *Vortigern* a *Britain.*
2. King *Vortimer* his Son, a *Britain*, reigned 4 Years. Then deposed.
3. King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a *Roman*, reigned 32 Years.
4. King *Uter*, began his Reign *Anno Christi* 497, and reigned 18 Years.
5. King *Arthur* his Son, reigned 26 Years.
6. King *Constantine* his Cousin, reigned 3 Years.
7. King *Aurelius Conanus*, Nephew to King *Arthur.*
8. King *Vortiporius* reigned 4 Years.
9. King *Malgo Conanus* reigned 6 Years.
10. King *Careticus* reigned 3 Years.
11. King *Cadwan* reigned 22 Years.
12. King *Canwallo* his Son, reigned 48 Years.
13. King *Cadwalladar* his Son, the last of the *British* Kings, who died at *Rome* in the Year 689, after he had reigned 3 Years. After which, *Britain* was a Colony of the *Saxons*; who divided it into Seven Kingdoms: But the *Saxons* before the death of King *Cadwalladar*, took *Kent* from the *British* Kings, and had it in their possession: Which Kingdom of *Kent* began by *Hengist* the *Saxon*, in the Year 455, in the Reign of King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, before mentioned, and lasted 372 Years, during the Reigns of Seventeen Kings of *Kent*: The last of which *Kentish* Kings was overcome by *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*, who made *Kent* a Province to his Kingdom, in the Year 827. The second Kingdom was of the South-*Saxons*, began by *Ella* in 488, in the Reign of the same *British* King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, containing

Sussex

Suſſex and *Surrey*, and continued 113 Years, during the Reigns of Five Kings only; the laſt of which Kings were overcome by *Ine* King of the Weſt-*Saxons*, and ſo became a Province to that Kingdom of the Weſt-*Saxons*, in the Year 601. The Third Kingdom was of the Weſt-*Saxons*, which began by *Cerdic* in 519, in the Reign of the *Britiſh* King *Arthur*, containing *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, and continued 561 Years, during the Reigns of Eighteen Kings; the laſt of whom *Egbert* became King of the whole Nation. The Fourth Kingdom was of the Eaſt-*Saxons*, begun by *Erchenwin*, in the Year 527, containing *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, and continued 281 Years, during the Reigns of Fourteen Kings; the laſt of which Kings, *Egbert*, King of the Weſt-*Saxons*, ſubdued, and ſo made the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Saxons* to be a Province to his own Kingdom. The Fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland*, began by *Ella* and *Ida*, in the Year 547, containing *Yorkſhire*, *Durham*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370 Years, during the Reigns of 23 Kings; after the laſt of which, this Kingdom yielded to the Protection of *Egbert* King of the Weſt-*Saxons*. The ſixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, began by *Crida*, in the Year 522, containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſter*, *Northampton*, *Derbyſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, and *Hartfordſhire*, and continued 220 Years, during the Reigns of Twenty Kings; after which, they were ſubdued by the Weſt-*Saxons*. The ſeventh Kingdom was of the Eaſt-*Angles*, began by *Uffa*, in 575, containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the *Iſle of Ely*, and continued 353 Years, during the Reign of Fifteen Kings; and at laſt was ſubject to the Kingdom of the Weſt-*Saxons*: But this Kingdom of the Eaſt-*Angles*, was enjoyed by the *Danes* Fifty Years before the Weſt-*Saxons* had it; ſo the Kingdom of the Eaſt-*Angles* continued diſtinct from the reſt of the Nation in the whole 403 Years: So it appears, that after King *Vortigerne* the firſt of the *Britain* Kings in the Year 455, had called in the *Saxons* out of *Germany*, to aſſiſt him in defending the Kingdom againſt the Invaſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, every *Britain* King who ſucceeded him, loſt ſome part or other of it to the *Saxons*; till at laſt, in the Year 689, *Cadwallader* the laſt *Britain* King loſt all at his Death; and then the *Saxon* Kings ſtriving amongſt themſelves for Sovereignty, they ſtill gained one upon another, till at laſt, in the Year 818, *Egbert*, or ſome under him, reduced them all under his Subjection, who then cauſed all the South of the Iſland to be called *England*; the Dominion whereof continued under him and his Succeſſors, till the *Danes* in the Year 1017, made the great interruption.

14. King *Egbert* began his Reign in 818, reigned 18 Years, at whoſe time the *Danes* began firſt to infeſt *England*; he was buried at *Wincheſter*.
15. King *Ethelwolph* his Son, began his Reign in 836, reigned 21 Years:
16. King *Ethelbald* his Son, began his Reign in 857, reigned Two Years, and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorſetſhire*, then an Epiſcopal See.
17. King *Ethelbert* his Brother, began his Reign in 857, reigned 1 Year, and was buried at the ſame place.
18. King *Ethelred* his Brother, began his Reign in 864, and was buried at *Winborn* in *Dorſetſhire*.
19. King *Alfred* his Brother, reigned 27 Years, who divided *England* into Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, and began the Foundation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in the Year 895, and is counted the Founder of the Town of *Shaftsbury* in *Dorſetſhire*; and was buried in St. *Peter*'s, in *Wincheſter*, but removed afterwards.
20. King *Edward* the Firſt, call'd *Edward* the Elder, his Son, began his Reign in 901, reigned 24 Years, and was buried in the new Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, which his Father and himſelf wholly finiſhed.
21. King *Athelſtan* his eldeſt Son began his Reign in 924, reigned 15 Years, who was Knighted by his Grand-father King *Alfred* with his own Hands in an extraordinary manner, putting upon him a Purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. He cauſed the Bible to be Tranſlated into the *Saxon* Tongue, then the Mother Tongue of *England*. He was buried at *Malmsbury* in *Wiltſhire*, in the Year 940, having never been Married.
22. King *Edmund* the Firſt, his Brother, began his Reign in 929, reigned 5 Years and 7 Months: he was buried at *Glaſtonbury* in *Somerſetſhire*.
23. King *Edred*, his Brother, began his Reign in 946, reigned 9 years; who was crowned King, for that his Nephew *Edwyn*, Son of King *Edmund*, was then in his Minority, the Title of Lord Protector unto a young King being not then in uſe; which King *Edred* died, and was buried in the old Minſter, without the City of *Wincheſter*, when his ſaid Nephew was but 14 Years old, who notwithſtanding upon his Death, was Crowned King by the Name of King *Edwin*. Which
24. King *Edwin* his Nephew, began his Reign in 955, reigned 4 Years, and was buried in the New Abby of *Hyde* at *Wincheſter*.
25. King *Edgar*, his Brother, began his Reign at 16 Years of Age, in 959, reigned 16 Years, and was buried with great Funeral Pomp in the Abby of *Glaſtenbury*.
26. King *Edward* the Second, his Son, called *Edward* the Martyr, began his Reign, being but 12 Years of Age, in 979, reigned 37 Years and 6 Months; and was buried at *Wincheſter*; afterwards removed to *Shaftsbury* in *Dorſetſhire*.

27. King

27. King *Ethelred*, his half-brother, began his Reign at 12 Years old in 982, reigned 34 Years, and was buried in St. *Paul's* Church in *London*.
28. King *Edmund* the Second, his Son, called *Edmund Iron-side*, began his Reign in 1016, reigned 7 Months, and was buried at *Glaſtenbury*.
29. King *Canutus* a *Dane*, began his Reign in 1017, reigned 19 Years, and was buried in the Old Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*.
30. King *Harold* the Firſt, his Son, ſurnamed *Harefoot*, began his Reign in 1036, reigned 4 Years, and 7 Months, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*; afterwards thrown into the *Thames*, and then afterwards buried in St. *Clement-Danes* Church at *Temple-Bar*, having never been Married.
31. King *Hardicnute*, his half-brother, the third and laſt of the *Daniſh* Line, began his Reign in 1040, reigned 2 Years; which *Danes* had afflicted the Kingdom for the ſpace of 240 Years, though in Regal Government but only 26: He was buried at *Wincheſter*, having never likewiſe been Married.
32. King *Edward* the Third, ſurnamed the *Confeſſor*, Half-brother by the Mother to the laſt King, King *Hardicnute*, began his Reign in 1042, reigned 23 Years, and 6 Months; he was the firſt King that cured the *Kings-Evil*, built the *Abby*-Church of *Weſtminſter*, and St. *Margarets* Church there: He was buried at *Weſtminſter*, who died in the *Painted-Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*.
33. King *Harold* the Second, began his Reign in 1065, reigned 9 Months, and was buried in *Waltham*-Abby.
34. King *William* the Firſt, a *Norman*, began his Reign in 1066, reigned 20 Years and 10 Months, and was buried in *Caen* in *Normandy*; whoſe Bones after, in 1562, were removed out of his Tomb, and ſome of them afterward brought into *England*.
35. King *William* the Second, his Son, began his Reign in 1087, reigned 12 Years and 10 Months; he died *Aug.* 2. 1099, and was buried in St. *Swithen* in *Wincheſter*, having never been Married.
36. King *Henry* the Firſt, his Brother, began his Reign in 1099, reigned 35 Years; he died *Decemb.* 1. 1134. and was buried at *Reading* as to part of his Body; the other part at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he died.
37. King *Stephen*, his Siſters Son, began his Reign in 1134, reigned 19 Years and 10 Months; he died at *Dover*, *Octob.* 25. 1154. and was buried at *Feverſham* Abby.
38. King *Henry* the Second, his Kinſman, ſurnamed *Plantagenet*, the firſt King of that Name, began his Reign in 1154, reigned 35 Years; he died *Normandy*, and was there buried at *Founteverard*.
39. King *Richard* the Firſt, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1189, reigned 9 Years and 8 Months; he died *April* 6, 1199, and buried, as to part of his Body, at *Founteverard*, by his Father, and the other part at Two other Places.
40. King *John*, his Brother, began his Reign 1199, reigned 17 Years and 6 Months; he died *Octob.* 19. 1216, and was buried, as to part of his body, at *Worceſter*, and the other at *Croxton* Abby.
41. King *Henry* the Third, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1216, reigned 56 Years; he died *Novemb.* 16. 1272. and was buried at *Weſtminſter*.
42. King *Edward* the Fourth, otherwiſe called *Edward* the Firſt, being the Firſt King *Edward* of the *Norman* Line, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1272, reigned 34 years and 7 months: he died *July* 7. 1307. and was buried at *Weſtminſter*.
43. King *Edward* the Fifth, otherwiſe called *Edward* the Second, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1307, reigned 18 years: he was forced to Reſign, and then ſomething more than half a year after, murthered in 1327. and was buried at *Glouceſter* in the Monaſtery of St. *Peters*.
44. King *Edward* the Sixth, otherwiſe called *Edward* the Third, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1327, reigned 50 years and 4 months; he died *June* 21. 1377, aged 63 years, and was buried in *Weſtminſter* Church; who created *Edward* his eldeſt Son, Duke of *Cornwal*, *Anno Chriſti* 1337, being the firſt Duke that ever was created in *England*.
45. King *Richard* the Second, his Grandſon, his Sons Son, began his Reign in 1377: reigned 22 years and 3 months; he was forced to Reſign, and then ſhortly after murthered in 1399, aged 33 years, and was buried in the Church of the Fryers Preachers at *Langley* in *Buckinghamſhire*; but after, the Remains of his Body were removed to *Weſtminſter*; who created *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, Marquis of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, being the firſt Marquis that ever was created by a King of *England*.
46. King *Henry* the Fourth his Coſin, began his Reign in 1399, reigned 13 years and 6 months; he died *March* 20. 1413, aged 46 years and was buried at *Canterbury*.
47. King *Henry* the Fifth his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1413, reigned 9 years and 5 months; he died *Aug.* 31. 1422, aged 38 years; he was buried at *Weſtminſter*.
48. King *Henry* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1422, aged 8 months, reigned 38 years, 6 months, and 4 days, and then removed *March* 4. 1460. from the Government; after which, more then 11 years, *viz.* May 21. 1472. he was murthered in the Tower of *London*, by *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, afterwards King *Richard* the Third; he was buried at *Cherſey*-Abby, but afterwards removed to *Windſor*; aged at his death 52 years, or thereabouts; who created the firſt Vicount that ever was created in *England*.

49. King

49. King *Edward* the Seventh, otherwiſe called *Edward* the Fourth his Coſin, began his Reign in 1460, aged 19 years, reigned 22 years and one month; he died *April* 9. 1483, aged 41 years, and was buried at *Windſor*.

50. King *Edward* the Fifth, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1483, aged 10 years, reigned 10 weeks: then removed *Jan.* 18. 1483, ſhortly after which he was murthered.

51. King *Richard* the Third, his Uncle, the laſt of the Family of *Plantaginet*, began his Reign in 1483, reigned 2 years and 2 Months; ſlain at the Battle at *Boſworth*, *Auguſt* 22, 1485, aged 37 years; and was buried at *Leiceſter* in the *Grey-Friers* Church, but afterwards all or the moſt part of the Remains of his Body carried none knows whether; he died without Iſſue.

52. King *Henry* the Seventh, his Kinſman, of the ſurname of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began his Reign in 1485, reigned 23 years and 8 Months; he died at *Richmond April* 22. 1509. aged 52 years, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*.

53. King *Henry* the Eighth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1509, reigned 37 years, 9 Months and 6 days; he died *Jan.* 28. 1546, aged 55 years, and was buried at *Windſor*.

54. King *Edward* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1546, reigned 6 years, 5 Months and 9 days; he died *July* 6. 1553. aged 15 years, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*.

55. Queen *Mary*, his eldeſt Siſter of the Half-blood, began her Reign in 1553. reigned 5 years, 4 Months and 11 days; She died *November* 17. 1558. aged 43 years, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*.

56. Queen *Elizabeth*, her only Siſter of the Half-blood, the laſt of the Family of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began her Reign in 1558, aged 25 years, reigned 44 years, 4 Months and 7 days; She dieth *March* 24. 1602. aged 69 years, 6 months and 7 days, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*.

57. King *James* her Coſin, the firſt of the Family of *Stuart*, and King of *Scotland*, began his Reign in 1602, reigned 22 years and 3 days; he died *March* 27. 1625. at *Theobalds*, aged 58 years, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*; who in the Year 1611, the Ninth Year of his Reign, erected the Degree of Baronet of *England*, in that Year creating Sir *Nicholas Bacon* of *Redgrave* in *Suffolk*, Knight, and others, unto the Dignity and Degree of Baronet of *England*.

58. King *Charles* the Firſt, Chriſt'ned by the Name of *Charles-James*, his only Son ſurviving, the ſecond of the Family of *Stuart*, began his Reign in 1625, reigned 23 years, 10 Months, and 3 days; he died *Jan.* 30. 1648, aged 48 years, 2 Months and 11 days, and was buried at *Windſor*.

59. King *Charles* the Second, Chriſt'ned by the Name of *Charles-Frederick*, his eldeſt Son ſurviving, the Third of the Family of *Stuart*, began his Reign in 1648, reigned 36 years, and 7 days; he died *Friday*, *Feb.* 6, 1684, aged 54 years, 8 months, and 8 days, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*.

60. King *James* the Second, his only Brother ſurviving, the Fourth of the Family of *Stuart*, began his Reign in 1684, reigned 3 years, 9 months, and 11 days, having abdicated the Government, *Dec.* 11, 1688, whereby the Throne was vacant 2 months, and 3 days.

61, 62. King *William* the Third, Chriſten'd by the Name of *William Henry*, the only Son of *William* of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*, &c. and of the Princeſs *Mary* Eldeſt Daughter of King *Charles* the Firſt, and Siſter to *Charles* the 2d, and *James* the 2d, Kings of *England*: And Queen *Mary* the Second, his Royal Conſort, the Fifth of the Family of *Stuart*, Eldeſt Daughter of the late King *James* the 2d, began their Reigns the 13th of *February*, 1688. Her Majeſty Reigned 5 years, 10 months, and 15 days; ſhe died *Dec.* 28, 1694, aged 32 years, 7 months, and 28 days, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*: His Majeſty Reigns now in this preſent Year, 1696.

The

The KING'S *Pedigree* in a direct *Line* from King *EGBERT*.

Egbert King of *England*.

King *Ethelwolph*.

King *Alfred*.

Edward the firſt, called *Edward* the Elder.

King *Edgar*.

King *Ethelred*.

Edmund the Second, called *Edmund Ironſide*.

Edward called *Edward* the *Out-law*, a private Perſon, though Son and Heir to the laſt King.

Edgar Atheling likewiſe never enjoyed the Crown.

Margaret the Wife of *Malcome* King of *Scotland*.

Mathilda the Wife of *Henry* the Firſt, King of *England*.

Maud Empreſs of *Germany*, the Wife of *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*.

Henry the Second.

King *John*.

Henry the Third.

Edward the Firſt, *alias* the Fourth of that Name.

Edward the Second, *alias* the Fifth of that Name.

Edward the Third, *alias* the Sixth of that Name.

Lyonel Duke of *Clarence*, Third Son, died in the Life-time of his Father, but his Iſſue were afterwards True Heirs to the Crown.

Philippa his only Daughter and Heir, the Wife of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*.

Roger Mortimer Earl of *March*.

Anne his Daughter and Heir, the Wife of *Richard Plantagenet* Earl of *Cambridge*.

Richard Plantagenet Duke of *York*.

Edward the Fourth, *alias* the Seventh of that Name.

Elizabeth his eldeſt Daughter and Co-heir, the Wife of *Henry Tudor*, Earl of *Richmond*, Son of *Edmund Tudor*, ſurnamed of *Hadham* Earl of *Richmond*, who was Son of *Owen ap Meredith*, *ap Theodore*, *vulgo Tudor*, called *Henry* the Seventh King of *England*.

Margaret their Eldeſt Daughter, the Wife of *James Stuart*, called *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*; The Iſſue of which *Margaret* were, and are now, True Heirs to the Crown.

James the Fifth King of *Scotland*.

Mary Queen of *Scots*, the Wife of *Henry Stuart*, Duke of *Albanie*, and Earl of *Roſſey*, but before his marrying the Queen, he was called Lord *Darnely*, as being the Eldeſt Son of *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*.

James King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*.

King *Charles* the Firſt.

King *Charles* the Second, died *Friday*, *Febr.* 6th, 1684, and was ſucceeded by his Brother.

Princeſs *Mary*, Eldeſt Daughter, Married to *William* of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*.

King *James* the Second, ſucceeded his Brother, and abdicated, *Dec.* 11th, 1688.

King *William* the Third, now Reigning, Proclaimed the 13th of *Febr.* 1688. = Queen *Mary* the Second, died *Friday*, Decemb. 28, 1694.

A CATALOGUE OF THE NOBILITY,

(According to their respective Creations,)

Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Knights of the Garter, *Privy-Councellors, Judges,* and *Baronets* of *ENGLAND*, &c.

DUKES of *ENGLAND.*

Of the *Blood Royal.*

THE most High, Puissant, and most Illustrious Prince, *William* Duke of *Gloucester* only surviving Child of their Royal Highnesses Prince *George* and the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, was born at *Hampton-Court* on *Wednesday* the 24th of *July* 1689 (1. *Willelmi & Mariæ*) about four of the Clock in the Morning, and Baptized on *Saturday* following in the Evening, by the Right Reverend Father in God *Henry*, Lord Bishop of *London*; The Kings most Excellent Majesty, and the Right Honourable *Charles*, Earl of *Dorset* and *Middlesex*, Lord Chamberlain, being Godfathers; and the most Noble Lady *Germain*, *Marchioness* of *Blandford* Godmother. His Highness was declared Duke of *Gloucester* by his Royal Uncle, King *William* the 3d.

Other *Dukes* and *Dutchesses.*

THE most High, Puissant, and most Illustrious Prince *George*, Hereditary Prince of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, Duke of *Schlestwick*, *Holstein*, *Stormar*, *Ditmarsh*, and *Cumberland*, Earl of *Oldenburgh*, *Delmenhorst* and *Kendal*, Baron of *Wickingham*, (only Brother to *Christian* the Fifth King of *Denmark*, &c.) Knight Companion of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council. Created Duke of the County of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Kendal* (in *Westmerland*) and Baron of *Ockingham*, in (the County of *Berks*) by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Westminster* the 6th of *April* 1689, in the First year of the Reign of their Majesties, King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

1. THE High, Puissant, and most Noble Prince *Henry Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Hereditary Earl Marshal of *England*, Earl of *Arundel*, *Surrey*, *Norfolk* and *Norwich*, Baron *Mowbray*, *Howard*, *Segrave*, *Brewse*, (of *Gower*) *Fitz-Alan*, *Warren*, *Clun*, *Oswaldestre*, *Maltravers*, *Greystock*, *Furnival*, *Verdon*, *Lovelot*, *Strange*, (of *Blackmere*,) and *Howard*, (of *Castle Rising*) after the Princes of the Royal Family, first Duke, Earl and Baron of *England*, Chief of the Illustrious Family of the *Howards*, One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, &c. This Family was honour'd with the Dignity of a Baron by King *Edward* the 4th. Sir *John Howard* Knight bearing the Title of Lord *Howard* 10. *ejusdem Regis*. Altho' he was but first Summon'd to Parliament among the Barons of this Realm, 12. *Edwardi* 4. He was made Earl Marshal of *England*, 18. *Jun.* (1483) 1. *Ric.* 3. and upon the same day advanced to the Dukedom of *Norfolk*. *Henry* the late Duke (in the life time of his elder Brother *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, who died without issue,) was Creat. d Lord *Howard* of *Castle Rising* in *Com. Norf.* 27 *Mar.* (1669) 21. *Car.* 2. and by other Letters Patent, bearing date the 19th of *October* (1671.) 24 *Car.* 2. created Earl of *Norwich*, and Earl Marshal of *England*, with Limitation of that great Office to the Heirs Male of his Body for ever, with several other remainders. The present Duke had a Commission under the Great Seal dated the 13th of *August* (1687.) 3 *Jac.* 2. requiring him, as the Earl Marshal of *England*, to call and hold the

Court of Conſtable and Marſhal, in as full and ample Manner as uſual.

2. *Charles Seymour*, Duke of *Somerſet*, Earl of *Hertford*, Viſcount *Beauchamp* of *Hache*, Baron *Seymour* of *Trowbridge*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; Lord of the Honors of *Cockermouth* and *Petworth*, in right of *Elizabeth* his Dutcheſs, who is Heir to the Baronies of *Percy*, *Lucy*, *Poynings*, *Fitz Payne*, *Bryan* and *Latimer*, being Sole Daughter and Heir to *Algernon* the Eleventh and laſt Earl of *Northumberland*, of that moſt Illuſtrious Family. The Family of *Seymour* was Honoured with the Title of Viſcount *Beauchamp*, by King *Henry* the 8th, who at the Solemnity of his Marriage with the Lady *Jane Seymour*, advanced her Brother Sir *Edward Seymour*, to that Dignity by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Terbyng* the 5th of *June*, 28. *Hen.* 8. and upon the ſame Kings death (which hapned the 28th of *January* in the 38th year of his Reign,) was by all the Council (the next day following) choſen Protector, to the young King *Edward* the 6th, (his Siſters Son) who conferr'd upon him, (not being then a Baron of this Realm,) that Degree of Honour the 15th of *February*, 1546. (1. *Edw.* 6.) and the next day following created him Duke of *Somerſet*.

3. *Barbara Villiers*, Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, Counteſs of *Southampton* and Baroneſs of *Nonſuch*; which *Barbara*, by reaſon of her Noble Deſcent from divers worthy Anceſtors (being the Daughter and Sole Heir of *William* Viſcount *Grandiſon* in *Ireland*,) was promoted to theſe Honours by Letters Patent, dated the 3d of *Auguſt*, (1670.) 22. *Car.* 2. for life, with remainder to *Charles Fitz Roy*, (now Duke of *Southampton*,) her eldeſt Son, and to the Heirs Male of his Body, and for lack of ſuch iſſue to *George Fitz Roy*, (now Duke of *Northumberland*,) her youngeſt Son, and his Heirs Male.

4. *Louiſa de Queronalle*, Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, Counteſs of *Fareham*, and Baroneſs of *Petersfield* in the County of *Southampton*, (a Noble Lady of *French* extraction,) ſo created for life, by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Weſtminſter* the 19th of *Auguſt*, (1673.) 25. *Car.* 2.

5. *Charles Lenox*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Earl of *March* and *Dramley*, Baron of *Setrington* and *Methuen*, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, natural Son to King *Charles* the 2d by the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, had the Surname of *Lenox* given him by his Majeſty, who created him Baron of *Setrington* in the County of *York*, Earl of *March* and Duke of *Richmond*, (being *Engliſh* Honors,) by Letters Patent, dated at *Weſtminſter* the 9th of *Auguſt*, (1674.) in the 27th year of his Reign.

6. *Charles Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Southampton*, [Heir in reverſion to the Dutchy of *Cleveland*,] Earl of *Chichester* and Baron of *Newbery*, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, another natural Son of his Majeſty King *Charles* the 2d, by whom he was made Duke, Earl and Baron, the 10th of *September*, (1674.) 27. *ejuſdem Regis*.

7. *Charles Fitz Roy*, Duke of *Grafton*, Earl of *Euſton*, Viſcount *Ipwich* and Baron of *Sudbury*. In which Honours he ſucceeded his Father *Henry Fitz Roy*, (King *Charles* the Seconds natural Son by the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*,) who was created Earl Viſcount and Baron the 16th of *Auguſt*, (1671.) 24. *Car.* 2. with an Entail upon the Heirs Male of his Body and for defect of ſuch iſſue, the remainder to *George Fitz Roy* (now Duke of *Northumberland*,) his Younger Brother and his Heirs Male, and by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Weſtminſter* the 11th of *September*, (1674.) 27. *Car.* 2. was advanced to the Title of Duke of *Grafton* in the County of *Northampton*.

8. *James Butler* (anciently *Boteler*) Duke, Marquiſs and Earl of *Ormond*, Earl of *Brecknock* and *Oſſory*, Viſcount *Thurles*, Baron *Butler* of *Lanthony* and Lord *Butler* of *Moore-Parke*, Baron of *Arcle*, Chief *Butler* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Lord of the Royalties and Franchiſes of the County *Palatine* of *Tipperary*, One of the Lieutenant Generals of his Majeſties Army, Collonel and Captain of the Second Troop of the Kings Guards, Gentleman of his Majeſties Royal Bedchamber, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Somerſet*, One of the Lords of the moſt Honourable Privy Council in *Ireland*, Chancellor of the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Dublin*, High Steward of the City of *Weſtminſter*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter. This Family (Paternally deſcended from *Henry Walter*, a great Baron of this Realm in the time of King *Henry* the 2d, whoſe Son *Theobald*, aſſumed the Surname of *Boteler*, by reaſon of his Office being *Botelar* (i. e. *Butler*) of *Ireland*,) was Honour'd with the Title of Earl of *Ormond*, by the moſt Victorious *Edward* the 3d, King of *England*. *James Butler*, or *Boteler*, (the preſent Dukes Grandfather,) was created Marquiſs the 30th of *Auguſt*, 18. *Car.* 1. Earl of *Brecknock* and Lord *Butler* of *Lanthony* in *Wales* the 19. of *July*, 12. *Car.* 2. Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland* the 13th of *March*, 13. *Car.* 2. and a Duke of *England*, by the Name and Stile alſo of Duke of *Ormond* the 9th of *November*, (1682.) 34. *Car.* 2. *Thomas*, his eldeſt Son (who died before him, and was Father to the preſent Duke,) was by the Kings Writ of Summons, bearing date the 14th of *September*, 18. *Car.* 2. called to the Parliament then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, by the Title of Lord *Butler* of *Moore Parke*, and took his place there accordingly, as youngeſt Baron, and not after the date of his Fathers Barony as uſual,) upon the 18th day of the ſame Month.

9. *Henry Somerſet*, Duke of *Beaufort*, Marquiſs and Earl of *Worceſter*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, Baron *Herbert*, Lord of *Ragland*, *Chepſtow* and *Gomer*, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; deſcended from *Henry de Beaufort*,

Duke

Duke of *Somerset, temp. Hen.* 6. & *Edw.* 4. Sir *Charles Somerset* Knight, a Person of great parts (as his many Publick Imployments evince,) having been first constituted One of the Privy Council to *Henry* the 7th, Admiral of that Kings Fleet, Vice-chamberlain and afterwards Chamberlain of his Majesties Houshold; which Eminent Places and Merits, were the chief furtherance to his Marriage, with *Elizabeth*, the Sole Daughter and Heir of *William Herbert*, Earl of *Huntington*, by reason whereof he bare the Title of Lord *Herbert*, (19. *Hen.* 7.) and in 1. *Hen.* 8. and 3. *Hen.* 8. had Summons to those Parliaments then held, by the Name of *Charles Somerset de Herbert Chevalier*, being also Lord Chamberlain to that King upon his accession to the Crown, which Office was settled on him for life, by Patent bearing date the 1st of *February*, 5. *Hen.* 8. and by reason of his Noble Descent and near Alliance to his Majesty in blood, (as the Grant it self doth import,) was upon the day following, (being the Festival of the Purification,) advanced to the Dignity of Earl of *Worcester*, and had his solemn Creation, at the Archbishops Palace in *Lambeth* the same day; He was also Knight of the Garter, and succeeded by *Henry*, his eldest Son, whose Great Grandson was made Marquis of *Worcester* at *Oxford*, by Patent dated the 2d of *November* (1642.) 18. *Car.* 1. and was Father to *Edward* Marquis of *Worcester*, Father to the present Duke, who was so created the 2d of *December* (1682.) 34. *Car.* 2.

10. *George Fitz-Roy*, Duke and Earl of *Northumberland*, Viscount *Falmouth*, Baron of *Pontfract* (*vulgò Pontfret*) and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, being the Third natural Son of King *Charles* the 2d, by the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, was created Earl, Viscount and Baron the 1st of *October*, 26. *Car.* 2. and Duke the 6th of *April*, (1683.) 35. *ejusdem Regis.*

11. *Charles Beauclair*, Duke of St. *Albans*, (in the County of *Hertford*,) Earl of *Burford* and Baron of *Heddington* (both in the County of *Oxon.*) Master Falconer to his Majesty, Captain of the Honourable Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, his Majesty King *Charles* the Seconds eldest and only surviving natural Son, by Mrs. *Hellen Gwinne*, Born in *May*, 1670. was created Baron and Earl the 27th of *December*, (1676.) 28. *Car.* 2. and Duke the 10 of *January*, (1684.) in the 35th year of the same Kings Reign.

12. *James Fitz James*, Duke of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, Earl of *Tinmouth*, (in *Com. Northumb.*) and Baron of *Bosworth*, (in the County of *Leicester*,) so created the 10th of *March*, (1686.) 3. *Jac.* 2. being the late King *James*'s Natural Son by Mrs. *Arabella Churchill*.

13. *Charles Poulet*, Duke of *Bolton*, Marquis of *Winchester*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, Baron *Basing* of *Basing*, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in the Kings Army, Lord Lieutenant and *Custos Rotulorum* for the County of *Southampton*, Town of *Southampton* and County of the same, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council.

This Family (which originally took its Surname, from the Lordship of *Poulet* in the County of *Somerset*,) was honoured with the Title of a Baron of this Realm, by King *Henry* the 8th, who (the 9th of *March*,) in the 30th year of his Reign, created Sir *William Paulet* Knight (Treasurer of his Houshold,) Lord St. *John* of *Basing*, in the County of *Southampton*, as being descended from the Ancient Barons of that Name; by King *Edward* the 6th, he was created Earl of *Wiltshire* (the 19th of *January* 3. *Edw.* 6.) as also Marquis of *Winchester*, (the 12th of *October*, 5. *Edw.* 6.) And having held the Honourable Offices of Lord President of the Privy Council, Lord Great Master of the Kings Houshold and Lord High Treasurer of *England*, being Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, died the 10th of *March*, 1571. (14. *Eliz.*) in the 88th year of his Age, having lived to see an Hundred and Three Persons of his own Generation.

The present Duke (who is the 6th Marquis of *Winchester*,) was created Duke of *Bolton* (in the County of *York*,) the 8th of *April*, (1689.) 1. *Will. & Mariæ.*

14. *Meinhard Schomberg*, Duke of *Schomberg* and *Leinster*, Marquis of *Harwich*, Earl of *Brentford* and *Bangor*, Baron of *Teyes* and *Tarrogh*, Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesties Land Forces, within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales* and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, Count of the Holy Empire and *Grande*, Grandee of *Portugal*, &c.

Son to the famous *Frederick* Count *Schomberg*, Mareschal of *France*, who attending his present Majesty (then Prince of *Orange*,) in his happy Expedition into this Kingdom, had the chief Command of those Forces, his Majesty brought over, and as an acknowledgment of his great Merit, received a Noble Donative from the Parliament, (Convened there after,) who past an Act for his Naturalization, whereupon, the King as a further Reward, and Mark of his Royal favour, by Letters Patent, dated 9 *May*, 1689. 1. *Will. & Mariæ*, created him Baron of *Teyes*, Earl of *Brentford* (in *Com. Midd.*) and Marquis of *Harwich*, (in *Com.*) as also a Duke of *England*, by the Title of Duke of *Leinster*, for life, with Remainder to *Charles* his 3d Son and the Heirs Male of his Body, and for want of such Issue, the Remainder to *Maynard* his 2d Son, and his Heirs Male, and in default thereof, to his own right Heirs Male for ever. Which Martial Person, (who was likewise Master General of his Majesties Ordnance, One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter,) also Count of the Holy Empire, and Grande, Grandee of *Portugal*, General of the Horse of the Army [illegible] Forces, and Commander in Chief of all the Forces, and Garrisons of *Ireland*.) Derived his Paternal Original from [illegible] Family seated on the [illegible] descended from the ancient Dukes of [illegible] His Father *John Mainhards*, was a principal Officer in the Court

Count of *Frabnat*, the Fifth Elector *Palatine*, and accompanied his Electoral Highneſs into *England*, to treat of a Match with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of King *James* I. by reaſon whereof he there Married *Ann* Daughter of *Edward Sutton*, Lord *Dudley*, which *John* was Son of *Maximilian de Schomburg* in *Weſtf.* (and *Dorothy Radgeſt* of *Bellersheim*,) who was Son of *Frederick de Schomburg*, and (*Elizabeth de Langlon*,) who had a Brother of the ſame Surname, that by *Clara de Frankenſtein*, was Father of *Simon-Rudolph*, who by *Magdalen de Nauz* had iſſue *John-Charles*, and *Otho-Frederick*, Barons of *Schomburg*: The latter of theſe was a Soldier, under the Emperor *Ferdinand* 2. and ſlain at the Battle of *Leipſick*, 7. *Sept.* 1631. being Captain General of the Guard of Horſe: The former was a Councellor to the ſame Emperor, and alſo to the Elector of *Mentz*, being by his Wife *Margaret-Catharine-Poppelau de Lobkowitz* Father of *Emanuel-Maximilian-William*, Count *Schomburg*, who died *An.* 1682. leaving no iſſue by *Magdalen Iſabel* of the Houſe of *Cronberg*. This Duke died in the Bed of Honour, being killed at the Battle of the *Boyne* in *Ireland* on *Tueſday*, 1. *July*, 1690. (a ſharer in that glorious Victory,) having Married two Wives; 1ſt. *Joan-Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Henry-Dietrick de Schomburg*, in *Weſtf.* his Uncle by the Fathers ſide; and 2dly, *Suſanna* of *Aumerle*, Daughter of *Daniel*, Count of *Aumerle-Hercourt*. By the former he had 1. *Frederick* Count *de Schomburg* in *Weſtf.* (diſinherited by his Father,) who Married, *Catharine-Erneſt*, Daughter of *John-Chriſtopher*, Baron of *Buchaiz*. 2. *Otho* ſlain at the Siege of *Valenciennes*, *An.* 1656. 3. *Meinard* before mentioned, (created Duke of *Leinſter*, Earl of *Bergen*, and Baron of *Teragh* in *Ireland*, 3. *Mar.* 4. *Will & Mariæ*,) who Married *Carola-Rangrava*, a Daughter of *Charles-Louis*, Elector *Palatine*, *An.* 1683. and hath iſſue *Charles* Count *Schomburg*, born 15. *Dec.* 1683. *An. Regni*, who died at *Brunſwick* of his Wounds received in a Skirmiſh againſt the *Saxons*, 3. and 5. *Charles*, who ſucceeded his Father, and was Duke of *Schomberg*, Marquiſs of *Harwich*, Earl of *Brentford* and Baron of *Teyes*, who being General of the *Engliſh* Forces in *Piedmont*, was mortally wounded at the Battle in the Plain of *Marſaglia*, on Sunday 24. *Sept.* 1693. (fighting againſt the *French*, with exceeding great bravery,) of which Wounds he died at *Turin* on the 7th of *October* following, unmarried, whereby his Honours (according to the Patent) devolved on the preſent Duke.

This Noble Family came into *England* with *William* the Conqueror, and having (*temp. Hen.* 3.) Married *Gwenthlian*, (or *Guenhaline*,) the Daughter of *Rheſe ap Griffith* Prince of *Wales*, who at length became his Heir: Her Son *Richard Talbot*, and his Deſcendants ever afterwards, (relinquiſhing their Paternal Arms,) bare her Coat; which *Richard* in 29. *Edw.* 1. being in that Great Council then held at *Lincoln*, ſubſcribed the memorable Letter to the Pope, for aſſerting the Right of King *Edward*, to the Superior Dominion of *Scotland*; and was Grandfather to *Gilbert*, Lord *Talbot*, Summon'd to Parliament as a Baron of this Kingdom, *An.* 4. *Edw.* 2. from whom, (in the fourth Generation) deſcended the Great and Valiant *John* Lord *Talbot*, created Earl of *Shrewsbury* the 20th of *March*, 20. *Hen.* 6. who after the Renowned Actions he performed in *France*, (being Marſhal of that Realm,) was there ſlain, 20. *July*, 31. *Hen.* 6. or (as it is on his Monument at *Whitchurch* in Com. *Salop.*) the 7th of *July* 1453.

The preſent Duke (who is the 12th Earl of *Shrewsbury*,) was created Marquiſs of *Alton* (in *Shropſhire*), and Duke of *Shrewsbury* by Letters Patent, bearing date 30. *April*, (1694.) 6. *Will. & Marie.*

16. *Thomas Oſborne*, Duke of *Leeds*, Marquiſs of *Carmarthen*, Earl of *Danby*, Viſcount *Latimer*, and Baron *Oſborne* of *Kiveton*, and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of the *Eaſt*, *Weſt* and *North*-Ridings in the County of *York*, of the City of *York*, and County of the ſame, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, for the *Eaſt*-Riding of *Yorkſhire*, and the Liberties of *Ripon* and *Cawood* in the ſaid County, Governor of his Majeſties Town and Fortreſs of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, Lord Preſident of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*.

This Noble Peer was Son and Heir of Sr *Edward Oſborne* of *Kiveton*, (vulgò *Kyveton*) in Com. *Ebor. Bar.* on whom that Honour was conferr'd 13 *July*, (1620.) 18 *Jac.* 1. a perſon skilful both in the Affairs of War and Peace, being Vice-Preſident of his Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſts Council, for the *Northern* parts of this Realm, and Lieutenant General of thoſe Forces, which were raiſed there for that Kings defence (to whom he adhered with a ſtedfaſt Loyalty,) by *Ann* his Wife, Daughter to *Thomas Wharnſley* of *Dunkenhalgh* in Com. *Pal. Lanc.* Eſq; by *Eleanor* his Wife, Daughter of Sir *John Danvers* of *Dantſey* in Com. *Wilts* Knight, by *Elizabeth* his Wife, the eldeſt of the Four Daughters and Coheirs of *John* [illegible] Lord *Latimer*; which Sr *Edward*, whoſe Father valiantly fought [illegible] head of a Regiment in *Ireland*, loſt [illegible] was Grandſon of *Edward Oſborne* [illegible] and Mayor [illegible] 25. *Eliz.* was of a Genteel Family at *Aſtwood* in

[illegible] for

lor; and by reaſon thereof created Viſcount *Oſborne* of *Dumblain* in *Scotland*, and laſtly as Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, was by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Weſtminſter*, 15. *Aug.* 25. *Car.* 2. advanced to the Degrees and Dignities of a Baron and Viſcount of this Kingdom, by the Titles of Lord *Oſborn*, of *Kiveton*, and Viſcount *Latimer*; and by other Letters Patent, dated *ut Supra*, 27. *Junij* 26. *ejuſd. Regis*, created Earl of *Danby*.

The Patent for his *Scotch* Honor of Viſcount *Dumblane*, was ſurrender'd to his then 2d, Son *Peregrine*, (now Lord *Oſborne*, and his Heir apparent) who was thereupon created Viſcount *Oſborne* of *Dumblaine*.

His preſent Majeſty promoted him to the Degree of Marquiſs of *Carmarthen*, 20 of *April*, (1689.) 1. *Will. & Mariæ*, as having been highly Inſtrumental in the late happy Revolution, and he was laſtly created Duke of *Leeds*, (in *Com. Ebor.*) the 4th of *May*, (1694.) in the 6th year of the ſame King and Queen.

17. *William Ruſſell*, Duke of *Bedford*, Marquiſs of *Taveſtoke*, Earl of *Bedford*, Baron *Ruſſell* and Lord *Ruſſel* of *Thornhaugh*; Baron *Howland* of *Streatham*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Bedford* and *Cambridge*, and during the Minority of *Wriothesley*, (commonly call'd Marquiſs of *Taviſtock*,) his Grandſon and Heir apparent Lord Lieutenant of *Middleſex*, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, for the ſaid County and the Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*.

This Family, which hath been of very great Antiquity in *Dorſetſhire*, and poſſeſs'd of ſome fair Lordſhips in that County for many Ages paſt, particularly *Kingſton-Ruſſel*, (a *Manor* they enjoy to this day,) held by Serjeanty, of being Cup-bearer to the King, at Four principal Feaſts in the Year, was honoured with the Title of a Baron of this Realm, by King *Henry* the 8th, who created Sir *John Ruſſel* of *Barwick* in *Com. Dorſet*, (a Perſon who had receiv'd the degree of Knighthood for his honourable Exploits at *Morleis* in *Britany*) Lord *Ruſſel*, 29. *Mar.* in the 30th year of his Reign, he having been employ'd by that King in ſundry Negotiations beyond Sea; to *Rome* where he was Lieger Embaſſador for a time, *France* and *Germany*, &c. and preſent at divers Military Actions, *viz.* at *Pavia*, *Calais* and *Boloine*, as alſo at the famous Enterview between *Hen.* 8. and *Francis* the *French* King, being Comptroller of his Majeſties Houſhold, and One of the Privy Council, afterwards made Warden of the *Stannaries*, Lord Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, Knight of the *Garter*, Lord Privy Seal; and laſtly (the King lying on his death-bed,) appointed One of the 16. Councellors to Prince *Edward*. He was Lord High Steward of *England* at King *Edwards* Coronation, who created him Earl of *Bedford*, (19. *Jan.* 3. *Edw.* 6.) and for whom he was One of the Four Embaſſadors to treat of a Peace with *France*. Upon Queen *Maries* coming to the Crown, he was again conſtituted Lord Privy Seal and ſent into *Spain* to attend King *Phillip*, in order to his Nuptials with her, but died ſoon after; being ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Francis* commonly called the good Earl of *Bedford*, &c. Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*, whoſe Son *John* Earl of *Bedford*, &c. was Grandfather to *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*, &c. who died without iſſue, whereupon *Francis* Lord *Ruſſel* of *Thornhaw*, (Son of Sir *William Ruſſel* Knight, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, created Lord *Ruſſel* of *Thornhow*, 21. *Julij* 1. *Jac.* 1. which *William* was 4th Son to the beforemention'd *John* Earl of *Bedford*, &c. ſucceeded in the Title of Lord *Ruſſel* and Earl of *Bedford*, and was Father of *William* the preſent Duke, created Marquiſs of *Taveſtock*, and Duke of *Bedford* for life, with remainder to the Earl *Wriothesley Ruſſel* (his Grandſon and Heir as aforeſaid,) and the Heirs Male of his Body, and for default of ſuch iſſue, to his own right Heirs Male for ever, 11 *Maij*, (1694.) 6 *Will. & Mariæ*. and Baron *Howland* of *Streatham* in *Surrey* during life; and after his deceaſe to the ſame *Wriothesley*, and to the Heirs Male of his Body begotten on *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heir of *John Howland* Eſq; deceaſed, by Letters Patent, concluding thus *Teſtibus Thoma Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſis & cæteris Cuſtodibus & Juſticiarijs Angliæ apud Weſtmonaſterium* 13. *Jun.* (1695.) 7. *Will.* 3.

18. *William Cavendiſh*, Duke of *Devonſhire*, Marquiſs of *Hartingdon*, Earl of *Devonſhire* and Baron *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*, Lord Steward of his Majeſties Houſhold, Lord Leiutenant of the County of *Derby* and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*.

This Family derive their Deſcent paternally from a younger branch of the *Gernons*, (Men of great Note divers Ages ſince, in the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Eſſex*,) which being ſeated at *Cavendiſh* in *Suffolk*, thence aſſumed their Surname. One of whom, *viz. John de Cavendiſh*, was chief Juſtice of the Kings Bench, towards the latter end of King *Edward* the 3ds Reign, who by *Jack-Straw* and his Rebellious-Rout was barbarouſly murther'd, 5. *Ric.* 2. From him deſcended Sir *William Cavendiſh* of *Chatsworth* in *Com. Derb.* Knight, ſome time Auditor of the Court of Augmentation, and afterwards Treaſurer of the Chamber to King *Hen.* 8. *Edw.* 6. and Queen *Mary*, and of the Privy Council to thoſe Princes, who Married *Elizabeth* One of the Daughters of *John Hardwick* of *Hardwick* in *Com. Pradict.* Eſq; and Co-heir to her brother *John*, a Lady as well Politick, as fair and Beautiful, no little Eminent by her ſucceſsful Matching with ſeveral Wealthy and Honourable Husbands, whom ſurviving, ſhe built thoſe Noble Houſes of *Chatsworth*, *Hardwick* and *Oldcotes* all in *Derbiſhire*, whoſe Son *William* was by Letters Patent, bearing date, 4. *May*, 3. *Jac.* 1. advanced to the Dignity of Baron *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*, and upon the 17th of *Auguſt* 16. *ejuſd. Regis* created Earl of *Devonſhire*, being elder Brother to Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* of *Welbeck* in *Com. Nott.* Knight, Father to the ſignally Loyal *William*, Duke, Marquiſs and Earl of *Newcaſtle*, Earl of *Ogle*, Viſcount *Mansfeild*, Lord

Ogle, and *Bertram*, (of *Bothall*,) Baron *Cavendiſh* of *Boleſover*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*; Father of *Henry* late Duke of *Newcaſtle*, &c. Deceaſed without iſſue Male.

The preſent Duke (who is the 4th Earl of *Devonſhire*, all of the name of *William*,) being One of thoſe who much contributed to the late happy Revolution, was therefore worthily created Marquiſs of *Hartington*, and Duke of *Devonſhire* by Patent, dated 12. *May*, (1694.) 6. *Will & Mariæ.*

19. *John Holles*, Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Marquiſs and Earl of *Clare*, and Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Nottingham*, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County, and the Town of *Nottingham* and County of the ſame.

The Title of *CLARE*, (which had its Original from the Caſtle and Lordſhips of *Clare* in *Suffolk*, the Poſſeſſion of the Noble Family of *Clare*, who ſoon after the Conqueſt, derived both their Surname and Honour from that Place, and were Earls of *Clare* till King *Edward* the Seconds time,) being afterwards converted to *CLARENCE* by King *Edward* the 3d, [who Created *Lionel* Surnamed of *Antwerp* his 3d Son Duke of *Clarence*, (*An.* 30. *ejuſd. Regn.*) he having Married *Elizabeth* the only Siſter and Heir of *William de Burgh*, Earl of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, Son and Heir of *John de Burgh*, Earl of *Ulſter*, by *Elizabeth* his Wife, Siſter and Co-heir to *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Clare*, &c.] continued in the Royal Family till it became Extinct upon the Death of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* 4th, but was again revived by King *James* 1ſt, who advanced Sir *John Holles* of *Houghton* in *Com. Nottingham*, Knight to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm on the 9th of *July*, in the 14th year of his Reign by the Stile of Lord *Haughton* of *Haughton*, and 2. *Nov.* 22. *Regni ſui*, to the Dignity of an Earl, by the Title of Earl of *Clare*, which Noble Perſon was Grandſon of Sir *William Holles* of *Haughton*, aforeſaid Knight, the wonder of his Country for a great and ſetled Hoſpitality; and of ſo honeſt and honourable a Nature, that he is yet mentioned in thoſe parts by the Name of *Good Sir William*, being Son of Sir *William Holles*, Knight, Lord Mayor of *London*, 1540. (32. *Hen.* 8.) who was Son of *Thomas Holles* of *Stoke* near the City of *Coventry* in *Warwickſhire*, whoſe Anceſtors had been Seated there for ſeveral Generations.

The preſent Duke (who is the 4th Earl of *Clare*,) having married the Lady *Margaret Cavendiſh* 3d, Daughter and Co-heir to the moſt Illuſtrious Prince *Henry*, laſt Duke of *Newcaſtle* of that Family, on whom her Father by his Deed and Will, ſettled all his real Eſtate, (being of a conſiderable Value,) was created Marquiſs of *Clare*, and Duke of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne* the 14th of *May*, (1694.) 6. *Will. & Mariæ.*

There is one Duke of the Blood-Royal, but as yet only declared ſo, having no Patent of Creation; and One Duke of the Royal Family; Seventeen other Dukes, and Two Dutcheſſes by Succeſſion, or ſo Created.

The Son, Brother, Uncle, Nephew, and Grandſon of the King, have Precedency of all other Dukes, by Act of Parliament, (An. 31. Hen. 8. Chap. 10.) *and are the only Princes of the Royal-Blood of* England, *which Priviledge ends with them, and deſcends not unto their Poſterity.*

The Two Archbiſhops, and Four great Officers, viz. *The Lord High-Chancellor,* (*or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,*) *of* England, *The Lord High Treaſurer of* England, *The Lord Preſident of the Privy Council, and the Lord Privy Seal, take Place of all Dukes not of the Blood-Royal; but the Office of Lord Treaſurer is now Executed by Commiſſioners.*

The other Great Officers, ſcil. *The Lord High Chamberlain of* England, *The Lord High Conſtable of* England, *The Earl Marſhal of* England, *The Lord High Admiral of* England, *The Lord Steward of the Kings Houſe, being Barons, or above, take Place of all others of their Degree.*

Note, That the Office of Earl Marſhal doth, (*in the Vacancy of the Conſtable,*) *include that of the Lord High Conſtable; and that the Office of Lord High Admiral of* England *is now Executed by Commiſſioners.*

Marquiſſes.

MARQUISSES of ENGLAND.

1. THE moſt Noble and Puiſſant Prince, *William Savile*, Marquiſs and Earl of *Halifax*, Viſcount *Halifax*, Baron *Savile* of *Eland*, and Baronet.

This Family not long after the Conqueſt, was Seated at *Savile* Hall in the Town of *Dodworth*, within the *Weſt* Riding of *Yorkſhire*, and was afterwards of *Golker*, *Tankerſley*, *Eland* and *Thornhill*, by the ſucceſſive Marriages of the ſeveral Heireſſes of thoſe Places and Families, as alſo of *Lupſet* in the ſame County; and by the Marriage of *Joan* Daughter and Co-heir of *William Vernon* of *Barcughby* near *Grantham* in *Com. Linc.* Eſq; to *Henry Savile* of *Lupſet* Eſq; (who was of the Council to Queen *Elizabeth* in the *North*,) of *Baroughby* in that County; which *Henry* was, (by her) Father of Sir *George Savile* Senior of *Thornhill* and *Baroughby*, aforeſaid Knight, created Baronet, 22. *May*, (1611.) 9. *Jac.* 1. He being the 39th Perſon on whom that Honour was at the ſame time conferr'd, which Sir *George* Married the Lady *Mary Talbot* 2d Daughter to *George* 6th Earl of *Shrewsbury*, &c. and was Father of Sir *George Savile*, *Junior*, of *Thornhill*, Knight and Baronet, who Married *Elizabeth* the eldeſt Daughter of Sir *William Wentworth*, of *Wentworth-Wood houſe* in *Com. Ebor.* Baronet, Siſter to *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, &c. and had iſſue Sir *William Savile* of *Thornhil* Baronet, who by *Ann* his Wife Daughter of *Thomas* Lord *Coventry*, ſome time Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, was Father to Sir *George Savile*, likewiſe of *Thornhill* Baronet, who was created Lord *Savile* of *Eland* and Viſcount *Halifax*, (in the County of *York*,) 13. *Januarij*, 19. *Car.* 2. Earl of *Halifax*, 16. *Julij*, (1679.) 31. *Car.* 2. and Marquiſs of *Halifax*, 17. *Aug.* (1682.) 34. *Car.* 2. having been Lord Privy Seal, and afterwards Lord Preſident of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, in which Great Office he continued for ſome time after King *James* the 2ds, Acceſſion to the Crown, and died Chancellor and Keeper of her Majeſties the Queen *Dowagers* Great Seal, being ſucceeded in his Honors, by the preſent Noble Marquiſs, who was his Second Son and Heir.

2. *William Herbert*, Marquiſs and Earl of *Powys*, Viſcount *Montgomery*, Baron *Powys* of *Powys* and Baronet.

This Noble Lord was created Earl 4. *Apr.* (1674.) 26. *Car.* 2. and Viſcount *Montgomery* of the Town of *Montgomery*, and Marquiſs of *Powys*, 24. *Mar.* (1687.) 3. *Jac.* 2. being Son and Heir of Sir *Percy Herbert* Baronet, on whom that Honor was conferr'd, 16. *Nov.* (1622.) 20. *Jac.* 1. in the life of his Father *William* Lord *Powys* whom he ſucceeded, which *William* was made Knight of the Honourable Order of the *Bath* at the Coronation of King *James* the Firſt, and afterwards by Patent, dated 2. *Apr.* (1629.) 5. *Car.* 1. advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Powys* of *Powys*, in the Marches of *Wales*, being the eldeſt Son and Heir of Sir *Edward Herbert*, of *Red-Caſtle*, (anciently called *Poole Caſtle*, but now *Powis-Caſtle*,) in *Com. Montgom.* Knight, 2d Son to *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, &c. who was created Lord *Herbert* of *Caerdiff*, and Earl of *Pembroke*, by King *Edward* 6.

3. *John Sheffeild*, Marquiſs of *Normanby*, Earl of *Mulgrave*, and Baron *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick*, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

This Family (whoſe ancient Seat was at a Mannor-place, in the Iſle of *Axholme*, in *Com. Linc.* called *Hemmeſwel*, near the *Spittle-Sees*, whence they came to *Butterwick*, (*temp. Hen.* 7.) was promoted to the Dignity of a Baron by King *Edward* the 6th, who 16. *Februa.* 1. *Reg. ſui.* (two days preceding his Coronation,) created *Edmund Sheffeild*, Son and Heir of Sir *Robert Sheffeild* of *Butterwick* Knight, (and Grandſon of another Sir *Robert Sheffeild* Knight, who was one of the Commanders in King *Henry* the 7th Army at the Battle of *Stoke* near *Newark*, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament, &c) Lord *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick*; which Lord *Edmund*, being One of the Nobles, who accompanied the Marquiſs of *Northampton*, for the ſuppreſſing that Inſurrection by the Commons of *Norfolk*, headed by *Ket* a *Tanner*, the next enſuing year, had the hard fate to loſe his life in that good Service near *Norwich*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *John* Lord *Sheffeild*, Father to *Edmund* Lord *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick*, who for his valiant deportment in that memorable Sea Fight, *Ann.* 1588. (31. *Eliz.*) againſt the *Spaniards*, (then threatning an Invaſion here,) was Knighted by the Lord Admiral, and afterwards by the Queen Elected One of the Knights Companions of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter: In the 14th year of King *James* the 1ſt he was conſtituted Preſident of the Council, for the *Northern* parts of the Realm, and 7. *Februarij*, 1. *Car.* 1. (ſome few days before that Kings Coronation,) created Earl of *Mulgreve*, (*vulgò Mulgrave*,) in *Com. Ebor.* being ſucceeded by *Edmund* his Grandſon, who was the 4th Lord *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick*, and 2d, Earl of *Mulgrave*, being Father of the preſent moſt Noble *John* 3d Earl of *Mulgrave*, &c. created Marquiſs of *Normanby*, (in *Com. Linc.*) 10. *May*, (1694.) 6. *Will. & Mariæ.*

There are at preſent but three Marquiſſes, and the Title of Noble and Potent Prince, is given to this Degree on the Plates in the Stalls of the Knights of the Garter within St. Georges Chappel *at* Windſor *and elſewhere.*

EARLS

EARLS of *ENGLAND.*

1. THE moſt Noble and Puiſſant Lord, *Aubrey de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Baron *Bulbeck*, *Saunford* and *Badleſmere*, One of the Lieutenants General of the Kings Army, Collonel and Captain of his Majeſties Regiment of Horſe Guards, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Eſſex*, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County, Gentleman of the Kings Royal Bedchamber, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

This Noble Lord, [whoſe Family were Earls of *Guiſnes* in *France*, (as ſome ſay) before the Conqueſt,] is the Twentieth Earl of *Oxford*, and deſcended from *Aubrey de Vere*, who was Honoured with the Office of Lord Great Chamberlain of all *England*, (to hold in Fee to him and his Heirs,) by King *Henry* the Firſt, and from *Aubrey* his Son, who was made Earl of *Oxford* in King *Stephens*'s time, by *Maud* the Empreſs, (*Ann.* 1137.) as alſo from *Hugh de Vere* Earl of *Oxford* his Grandſon, who in 30. *Hen.* 3. was One of the Lords who ſubſcribed that Letter ſent to the Pope, whereby they complained of his Exactions upon this Realm.

Robert de Vere, the Ninth Earl of *Oxford* was by King *Richard* the 2d, created Marquiſs of *Dublin*, (9. *Ric.* 2.) which Title of Marquiſs had never till then been heard of in *England*, and afterwards advanced to the Title of Duke of *Ireland*, on the Feaſt day of St. *Edward* the Confeſſor, 10. *ejuſd. Regis.* but died without iſſue, *Ann.* 1392.

2. *Anthony Grey* the Tenth Earl of *Kent*, Chief of the Ancient and Illuſtrious Houſe of *Grey*, from which are deſcended and branched the Barons of *Retherfeild*, *Codnore*, *Wilton*, *Ruthin*, *Groby* and *Rugemont*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Marquiſs *Dorſet* and the Duke of *Suffolk*, all of that Surname, derived from the Caſtle and Honor of *Grey* in *Picardy*, their Patrimony before the Conqueſt.

This Noble Lord was the eldeſt Son and Heir to *Henry* Earl of *Kent* by *Amabilla*, his 2d Lady, Daughter of Sir *Anthony Ben* Knight Recorder of *London* (Relict of *Anthony Fane* Eſq; 3d Son to *Francis* late Earl of *Weſtmerland*,) and had a younger Brother *Henry Grey*, who died young, as alſo one Siſter named *Elizabeth* married to *Banaſter Maynard*, Son and Heir to *William* Lord *Maynard*; which Earl *Henry* was eldeſt Son of *Anthony* Earl of *Kent*, who ſucceeded in the Earldom to his Kinſman *Henry* Earl of *Kent*, Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*.

The Title of Earl was conferr'd by King *Edw.* 4th (3. *May*,) in the Fifth year of his Reign on *Edmund* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, (then uſing the Stile of Lord and Baron of *Haſtings*, *Weyſford* and *Ruthin*,) whoſe Anceſtor *Roger de Grey* ſate in the Parliament held at *York Ann.* 1322, (16. *Ed.* 2.) as Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, being 2d. Son to *John* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* lineally deſcended from *Henry de Grey* a great Baron in the time of King *Richard* the Firſt.

3. *William Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*, Baron *Stanley*, *Strange* (of *Knokyn.*) and *Mohun*, Lord of *Man* and the *Iſles*.

This Family (a younger Branch of the *Stanleys* of *Houton* in *Wirral Com. Pal. Ceſtr.* who aſſumed that Surname from the Lordſhip of *Stanleigh*, in the *Moorelands* of *Staffordſhire* originally the poſſeſſion of the Lords *Audley* their Progenitor,) was Honour'd with the Title of a Baron of this Realm by King *Edward* the 4th who created *Thomas Stanley*, (Son and Heir of Sir *Thomas Stanley*, ſometime Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* and Chamberlain of the Houſhold to *Hen.* 6.) Lord *Stanley* by writ of Summons to Parliament, (24. *May*,) in the firſt year of his Reign, which *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, who was Lord Steward of the Houſhold to King *Richard* the 3d, by whom he was made Conſtable of *England* for life, as alſo Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, having married *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* Mother to King *Henry* the 7th on whoſe head (after the Battle at *Boſworth*,) he had ſet the Crown, was by him (27. *Octob.* 1. *Regni ſui*) created Earl of *Derby*.

4. *John Manners*, Earl of *Rutland*, Lord *Roos* of *Hamlake*, *Trusbut* and *Belvoir*, Baron *Maners* of *Haddon*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Leiceſter*.

This Family was Honour'd with the Title of Lord *Roſs*, by the Match of Sir *Robert Manners* of *Etall*-Caſtle in *Com. Northum.* Knight, (in which County they had been of great Note, and no leſs Antiquity than the Conqueſt,) with *Eleanor* eldeſt Siſter and One of the three Co-heirs to *Edmund* Lord *Ros*, who died without iſſue, 13. *Octo.* 1508. (24. *Hen.* 7.) His Grandſon *Thomas Maners* Lord *Ros*, Warden of the *Eaſt* Marches towards *Scotland*, was created Earl of *Rutland*, 18. *Jun.* (1525.) 17. *Hen.* 8. and being deſcended by his Mother from *Ann* Dutcheſs of *Exeter*, Siſter to King *Edward* the 4th, had thereupon an Augmentation to his Ancient Arms (which were Or, two *Barrs Azure*, a Chief *Gules*,) *viz.* to bear the ſame Chief quarterly *Azure* and *Gules*, on the Firſt two *Fleurs de liz*, Or, and on the Second a *Lion paſſant Guardant* Gold: The Third as the Second, the Fourth as the Firſt.

The preſent Noble Lord (who is the 9th Earl of *Rutland*,) was Summon'd to Parliament (in the life time of his Father) as Lord *Manners* of *Haddon* (in *Com. Derb.*) by Writ dated 29. *Apr.* (1679) 31. *Car.* 2.

5. *Theophilus Haſtings*, Earl of *Huntingdon*, Lord *Haſtings*, *Hungerford*, *Botreaux*, *Molins* and *Moels*.

This

This Family was promoted to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by King *Edward* the 4th, who in the Firſt year of his Reign created Sir *William Haſtings* of *Kirby*, in the County of *Leiceſter*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold to that King, as alſo Chamberlain of *North-Wales* (a Stout opponent of the *Lancaſtrian* Intereſt,) Lord *Haſtings* (of *Haſtings* in *Com. Suſſex*,) by ſolemn Inveſtiture and Writ of Summons to Parliament. He was the next Year elected a Knight Companion of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and ſucceeded by *Edward* Lord *Haſtings* his Son and Heir, who having married *Mary* the Daughter and Sole Heir to *Thomas* Lord *Hungerford*, *Botreaux*, *Molins* and *Moels*, had Summons to Parliament as Lord *Hungerford* (in the life time of his Father,) 22. *Edw.* 4. by Writ thus directed *Edwardo Haſtings de Hungerford* Chevalier, which *Edward* Lord *Haſtings* and *Hungerford*, left iſſue by her, *George* Lord *Haſtings*, &c. Advanced to the Title of Earl of *Huntingdon*, at *York*-Place (now *Whitehall*,) on the 8th of *December*, (1529.) 21. *Hen.* 8.

6. *Thomas Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Lord *Herbert* (of *Caerdiff*,) *Ros* (of *Kendal*,) *Parr*, *Fitz-hugh*, *Marmion*, *St-Quintin* and *Herbert* of *Shurland*, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Wilts*, *Monmouth*, *Pembroke*, *Carmarthen*, *Cardigan*, *Brecon*, *Glamorgan* and *Radnor*, the Town and County of *Hereford Weſt*, and Town of *Carmarthen* and County of the ſame, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt honourable Privy Council, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

This Family was honoured with the Title of a Baron and Earl by King *Edward* the Sixth, who, (10. *Octob.*) in the 5th Year of his Reign, created Sir *William Herbert* Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and Lord Preſident of the Council in the Marches of *Wales*, Lord *Herbert* of *Caerdiff*, and the next day advanced him to the Earldom of *Pembroke*; *Philip* his Grandſon, was by Letters Patent, bearing date 4. *Jan.* 3. *Jac.* 1. created Lord *Herbert* of *Shurland* (in the Iſle of *Sheppy* in *Kent*,) as alſo Earl of *Montgomery*, and upon the death of his elder Brother *William* the 4th Earl of *Pembroke*, &c. ſucceeded him in all his Titles and was Great Grandfather to the preſent Noble Lord, who is the 8. Earl of *Pembroke*.

7. *Henry Clinton*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Clinton* and *Say*.

This Family is deſcended from *Geffrey de Clinton* (a *Norman*,) Lord Chamberlain and Treaſurer to King *Henry* the Firſt and Juſtice of *England*, and being ancient Barons of this Realm [*John de Clinton* having had Summons to Parliament, 6. *Edw.* 3.] were advanced to the Dignity of an Earl by Queen *Elizabeth*, who on the 4th of of *May*, in the 14th year of her Reign, created *Edward* Lord *Clinton* and *Say*, Earl of *Lincoln*, he having been Admiral of *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

8. *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, Commiſſary General of the Muſters, and Houſe-Keeper of his Majeſties Royal Palace of *Audley-end*.

This Family was Honour'd with the Title of a Baron of this Realm by Queen *Elizabeth*, who in the 39th year of her Reign, created the Lord *Thomas Howard* (ſecond Son to *Thomas* the 3d, Duke of *Norfolk* of that Chriſt'n Name, and 4th Duke of *Norfolk* of the Surname of *Howard*,) Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, by Writ of Summons to Parliament; On the 21ſt of *July* in the Firſt of King *James* 1. he was advanced to the Dignity of Earl of *Suffolk*, being at that time One of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, and afterwards Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Houſhold, then Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, and laſtly One of the Lords Commiſſioners for exerciſing the Office of Earl Marſhal of *England*, as alſo Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

9. *Charles Sackville*, Earl of *Dorſet* and *Middleſex*, Baron *Buckhurſt* and Lord *Cranfeild* of *Cranfeild*, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Houſhold, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Suſſex*, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

The Paternal Anceſtor of this Family (which is of *French* extraction,) came into *England* at the *Norman*-Conqueſt, and his deſcendents throughout all Ages ſince, have been Men of great Note in their ſeveral times, of which that moſt Memorable Man of thoſe days both for his Learning and high Abilities, Sir *Thomas Sackville* Knighted by the Duke of *Norfolk*, 8. *Jun.* 1566. (8. *Eliz.*) was not of the leaſt Eminence, who being the ſame day advanced to the Degree and Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Buckhurſt*, was twice Embaſſador from Queen *Elizabeth*, viz. Once to King *Charles* the Ninth of *France*, and Once to the States of the United *Provinces*, and ſo well acquitted himſelf, that he had ſuch high Eſteem from her Majeſty (unto whom he was by Conſanguinity allied,) That ſhe made him Lord Treaſurer of *England*, and One of the Lords Commiſſioners for exerciſing the Office of Earl Marſhal. Upon King *James*'s coming to the Crown, He renewed his Patent, for that Great Office of Lord High Treaſurer for life and 13. *Mar.* (1603.) 1. *Regni ſui*, created him Earl of *Dorſet*: He was likewiſe Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, being much commended for his Elocution, but more for the Excellency of his Pen, facete and choice in phraſe and ſtile; and of ſuch wonderful Expedition, that for his Diſpatches and the Satisfaction he gave to Suitors, he had a *Decorum* ſeldom ſince put in Practice.

The preſent moſt Noble Lord (who both Inherits his Honours, and all the Noble Faculties of Mind peculiar to the Family,) was created Lord *Cranfeild* of *Cranfeild* (*Com. Midd.*) and Earl of *Middleſex* by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Weſtminſter* 4. *Apr.* (1675.) 27. *Car.* 2. and ſucceeding his Father *Richard* Earl of *Dorſet*, &c. (Great Grandſon to the beforementioned Earl,) is the Fifth Earl of *Dorſet*.

10. *James Cecill*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Viſcount *Cranburne*, and Baron *Cecil* of *Eſſingdon*.

This Family derive their original from *Robert Sitſilbt*, an Aſſiſtant to *Robert Fitz-Hamon* in the Conqueſt of *Glamorganſhire, tempore Will. Ruſi.* whoſe deſcendents afterwards ſeated themſelves at *Alteremm* in *Ewias*-Land, *Com. Hereford*, from whence a younger Branch were (about the time of *Hen.* 7.) tranſplanted to *Stanford* in *Lincolnſhire*, their Principal Manſion being at *Burghley* near *Stanford* aforeſaid, the chief Ornament of which was that Great States Man of his time Sir *William Cecil* Knight, [born at *Burne* in the ſame Counry (the Reſidence of his Mothers Family,) in *Sept.* 1520. *Ann.* 12. *Hen.* 8.] One of the Principal Secretaries of State to King *Edward* the 6th, and One of the Privy Council to Queen *Elizabeth*, by whom upon the 25th of *February* in the 13th year of her Reign, he was preferr'd to the Degree of a Baron, by the Title of Lord *Burghley*, then conſtituted Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, and Honour'd with the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and having been Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, departed this life at *Burleigh*-houſe, (ſince call'd *Exeter*-houſe,) in the *Strand*, 4. *Aug.* 1598. (40. *Eliz.*) leaving iſſue by his 1ſt Lady, *Thomas* Earl of *Exeter* (as is more particularly mentioned in due place,) and by the 2d, Sir *Robert Cecil* Knight who following the Steps of ſo worthy a Father, was himſelf by the ſame Queen made One of her Majeſties Principal Secretaries of State, and Maſter of the Court of Wards (which Office had been enjoyed likewiſe by his Father,) in the Firſt of King *James* 1. on the 3d of *May*, He was created Lord *Cecil* of *Eſingdon*, in *Com. Rotel.* at the *Tower* of *London*, in the Second year of his Reign, 20. *Aug.* Viſcount *Cranburne Com. Dorſet* at *Whitehall* (being the Firſt of that Degree that ever uſed a Coronet,) and in the Third, 4 *May*, he was created Earl of *Salisbury* at *Greenwich*, Alſo 4. *May*, 6. *Jac.* 1. made Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, being moreover Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

11. *John Cecil*, Earl of *Exeter* and Baron of *Burleigh*; whoſe Fathers Great-Grandfather, *Thomas* Baron of *Burghley* (eldeſt Son of *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh* before mentioned,) was by Letters Patent, bearing date 4 *May* 3. *Jac.* 1. created Earl of *Exeter*, which is obſerved to be the Firſt Precedent whereby it appears, That any Perſon was advanced to the Title of Earl of the principal City, when another had the Dignity of Earl of the ſame County *Charles Blount*, being then Earl of *Devonſhire*.

12. *John Egerton*, Earl of *Bridgwater*, Viſcount *Brackley*, and Baron of *Elleſmere*, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Buckingham*; whoſe Grandfather *John* Earl of *Bridgewater*, Viſcount *Brackley*, Baron *Elleſmere*, was created Earl 27. *May* 1617. (15. *Jac.* 1.) and was Son and Heir of Sir *Thomas Egerton* Knight, ſometime Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who was raiſed to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Elleſmere* (in *Com. Ceſtr.*) 21. *Julij*, (1603.) 1. *Jac.* 1. alſo upon the 24th of the ſame Month made Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and laſtly advanced to the Dignity of Vicount *Brackley* (in *Northamptonſhire*,) on the 7th of *November* (1616.) in the 14. year of the ſame Kings Reign.

13. *Philip Sidney*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, Viſcount *Liſle*, and Baron *Sidney* of *Penſhurſt*.

This Family, anciently ſeated at *Cranleigh Com. Surr.* and *Kyngeſham* in *Suſſex*, derive themſelves lineally from Sir *William Sidney* Knight, who came out of *Anjou* with *Henry*, the Son of *Maud* the Empreſs, afterwards King, by the Name of *Henry* the Second, whoſe Chamberlain he then was made; from which Sir *William* deſcended Sir *William Sidney* Knight, One of the chief Commanders at *Elodden-Field*, Chamberlain and Steward to *Henry* 8. who had iſſue Sir *Henry Sidney* Knight, Four-times Lord Juſtice of *Ireland* and Thrice Lord Deputy of that Kingdom, many years Lord Preſident of *Wales*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; who was Father of the Famous Sir *Philip Sidney*, a perſon of extraordinary Merit for his great Learning and other admirable parts, whoſe Brother and Heir Sir *Robert Sidney* Knight, ſometime Governor of *Fluſhing* and Commander of the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries ſent againſt the *Spaniards* in aid of Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* (Great Uncle to his preſent Majeſty,) created Lord *Sidney* of *Penſhurſt* in *Kent*, 13. *May*, 1. *Jac.* 1. Viſcount *Liſle*, 4. *May*, 3. *Jac.* 1. inſtalled Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, 7. *July* 1616. (14. *Jac.* 1.) and dignified with the Title of Earl of *Leiceſter*, 2. *Aug.* 16. *Jac.* 1. the Ceremony of his Creation being perform'd in the Hall of the Biſhops Palace at *Salisbury*. He was alſo Lord Chamberlain to Queen *Ann*, and Father to *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, &c. who had iſſue the preſent Earl, and *Henry* Earl of *Romney* as in due place, is more expreſly declared.

14. *George Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, and Baron *Compton* of *Compton*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Warwick*, and City of *Coventry* and County of the ſame, and *Cuſtos-Rotulorum* for the ſaid County of *Warwick*.

This Family aſſum'd their Surname from the Lordſhip of *Compton* in *Com. Warw.* (anciently diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe other Towns of the ſame appellation by the addition of the *Vineyard*,) and thereupon call'd *Compton* at the *Vineyard*, in King *Henry* the Seconds time, of which the lineal Heir was Sir *William Compton* Knight, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Groom of the Stole to *Hen.* 8. who had in Conſideration of his good and faithful Services a ſpecial Grant to Himſelf and his Heirs of an Honourable Augmentation to his Arms (which were Sable, Three Helmets Argent, garniſhed Gold,) out of the Kings own Royal Enſigns and Deviſes, *viz.* A Lion paſſant guardant Or [placed between the Helmets,] and for his Creſt a Demi-Dragon erazed Gules within a Coronet of Gold, upon a Torſe Argent and Vert, as by a ſpecial Inſtrument under his Majeſties own *Sign-Manual*, bearing date

date at *Weſtminſter*, 7. *Nov.* 4. *Hen.* 8. and exemplified by *Thomas Wriothesley*, at that time Garter Principal King of Arms (with his Seal and the Seal of his Office annexed thereunto,) 14. *Decemb.* following appeareth, which Sir *William* led the Rereward of the Kings Army at *Therouene* and *Tournay*, the next year, and was (for a while,) Chancellor of *Ireland*, as alſo *Burciſer Regis* (which is the ſame we now call Privy Purſe,) being Grandfather to Sir *Henry Compton* Knight, who was ſummon'd to Parliament among the Barons of this Realm as Lord *Compton* by Writ, dated 8. *May*, (1572.) 14. *Eliz.* and accordingly admitted and took his Place in the Houſe, being ſucceeded by *William* Lord *Compton*, Knight of the *Bath* and Lord Preſident of *Wales* (his eldeſt Son and Heir,) who was created Earl of *Northampton*, 2. *Aug.* (1618.) 16. *Jac.* 1. and was Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, being Father to the Valiant and Loyal *Spencer*, Earl of *Northampton*, ſlain in the late Civil Wars at *Hopton-heath* near *Stafford*, 19. *Mar.* 1642. in defence of his Majeſty King *Charles* 1. and had iſſue *James* Earl of *Northampton*, and Lord *Compton* (Father of the preſent Earl,) and Dr. *Henry Compton* firſt Biſhop of *Oxford*, and now Lord Biſhop of *London*.

15. *Charles Rich*, Earl of *Warwick* and *Holand*, Lord *Rich* of *Leighs* and Baron of *Kenſington*, whoſe Father *Edward* Earl of *Warwick* and *Holand*, &c. was Son of *Robert* Earl of *Holand* and (after the death of his Coſin *German Charles* Earl of *Warwick* without iſſue, 24. *Aug.* 1673) alſo Earl of *Warwick*, which *Robert* Earl of *Warwick* and *Holand*, Lord *Rich* of *Lighes* and Baron of *Kenſington*, was Son and Heir of *Henry* Earl of *Holand* and Baron of *Kenſington*, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, who was adjudg'd to death by the ſame High Court of Juſtice (for ſo they call'd it,) which had been Fluſht in Blood, by the Murther of their Lawful Soveraign, that good King, *Charles* the Firſt [for whoſe Reſtoration (upon his Majeſties being made a Priſoner under ſtrict Guards in the *Iſle* of *Wight*,) he had put himſelf in Arms,] and beheaded before the Gates of *Weſtminſter-hall* on the 9th of *March*, 1648.

Which laſt mention'd *Henry* having been made Knight of the *Bath* at the Creation of *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, in the 8th year of King *James* 1. and afterwards Captain of his Majeſties Guard was 8. *Mar.* 20. *Jac.* 1. advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Kenſington*, and created Earl of *Holand* (a Province, in *Lincolnſhire*) 24. *Sept.* 22. *ejuſdem Regis.* being 2d Son to *Robert* Lord *Rich* of *Leez* who was Honour'd with the Title of Earl of *Warwick* by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Weſtminſter*, 6. *Aug.* 16. *Jac.* 1. (1618.) whoſe Grandfather Sir *Richard Rich* Knight, was by *Edward* the 6th promoted to the Degree of Baron *Rich* of *Lighes*, 16. *Febr.* (four days before the Coronation,) in the 1ſt year of that Kings Reign, and upon the 30th of *November* following conſtituted Lord Chancellor of *England*.

16. *Baſil Feilding*, (anciently *Filding aliter de Hapsburgh*,) Earl of *Denbigh* and *Deſmond*, Viſcount *Feilding* and *Callen*, Baron *Feilding* of *Newnham-Padox*, and Lord *Fielding* of the *Caghe*, and Collonel of a Regiment of Dragoons in the Kings Army.

This Family paternally deſcended from the Earls of *Haſpurgh* (which were Count *Palatines* in *Germany*,) came into *England*, *temp. Hen.* 3. of which *Geffrey* (one of the Sons of *Geffrey* Earl of *Hapsburgh*,) was the Firſt, who by reaſon his Father had pretenſions to certain Lordſhips in *Lauffenburg* and *Rinfeldin*, aſſumed unto himſelf the Surname of *Felden* (ſince written *Fylding* and *Fildyng*,) or *Filding*, whoſe lineal Heir Sir *William Fielding*, (having been Knighted at *Belvoir* Caſtle, 23. *Apr.* 1. *Jac.* 1.) was advanced to the Degrees of a Baron and Viſcount of this Kingdom by the Titles of Lord *Feilding* of *Newnham-Padox* (in *Com. War.*) and Viſcount *Feilding*, 30. *Decemb.* 18. *Jac.* 1. made Maſter of the Kings Great Wardrobe the next Year, and upon the 14. of *September*, 20. *Jac.* 1. [*ob generis claritatem, & nuptias admodum honorandas, ſed præcipuè ob eximiam virtutem, & erga nos & Coronam noſtram fidem*, as the words of that Patent import;] created Earl of *Denbigh*, being ſlain in the late Civil Wars on the behalf of King *Charles* 1. of bleſſed Memory (to whom he ſtedfaſtly adhered and had perform'd the part of a Stout and Valiant Soldier in ſundry Battles,) leaving iſſue two Sons, *Baſil* the eldeſt Earl of *Denbigh*, Viſcount *Feilding*, and Lord *Feilding* of *Newnham-Padox*, and *George* the Second created Lord *Feilding* of the *Caghe*, in the Realm of *Ireland*; as alſo Viſcount *Callan* and Earl of *Deſmond*, in reverſion after the death of Sir *Richard Preſton* Knight, then Earl of *Deſmond*, by Letters Patent, bearing date, 22. *Nov.* 20. *Jac.* 1.

Which Earl *Baſil*, by reaſon of his deſcent from *Agnes* the Daughter and Heir to *John de St-Liz*, otherwiſe called *Seyton*, (a Branch of the moſt Noble Family of *St-Liz*, ſometimes Earl of *Northampton* and *Huntington*,) was thro' the ſpecial Favour of his Majeſty King *Charles* the Second created Lord *St-Liz*, 2. *Feb.* 16. *ejuſdem Regis*, but died without iſſue, and was ſucceeded in his other Honors by *William* Earl of *Deſmond*, &c. (Son and Heir to *George* Earl of *Deſmond*, &c. aforemention'd,) who was Father of the preſent Earl.

17. *John Digby*, Earl of *Briſtol*, and Baron *Digby* of *Shirburne*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Dorſet* and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County, Son and Heir of *George* Earl of *Briſtol*, Lord *Digby* of *Shirborn*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; who ſucceeded his Father *John* Earl of *Briſtol*, and Lord *Digby* of *Shireborn* (in *Com. Dorſet*,) who had been employ'd in many Honourable Embaſſies into *Spain*, *Germany* and *France*, &c. from King *James* the Firſt by whom he was advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, 25. *Novemb.* 16. *Jac.* 1. and created Earl, 15. *September*, 20. *ejuſd. Regis*, which *John* being a 3d Son of the *Digby's* of *Colſhil* in *Com. War.* deſcended from

from *Simon* 2d Son to Sir *Everard Digby* of *Tilton* in *Com. Leiceſtr.* Knight, whoſe Anceſtors in Kings *Henry* the Second's time having their Reſidence at *Tilton* aforeſaid were then denominated of that Place, but afterwards *temp. Hen.* 3. fixing at *Digby* in the County of *Lincoln*, thence aſſum'd their Surname, which ever ſince hath been the known Name of this Family.

18. *Paulet St-John*, Earl of *Bolenbroke*, and Lord *St-John* of *Bletſhoe*; *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the County of *Bedford*, and Recorder of the Town of *Bedford*.

This Family, who were anciently Lord of *Penmark* in the County of *Glamorgan* in *South Wales*, and are lineally deſcended from *John de St-John* 2d Son to *John* Lord *St-John* of *Baſing* by *Iſabel* his Wife Siſter to *Hugh Courtney*, the firſt Earl of *Devon* (and not a Branch of the *St-John's* of *Stanton-St-John* in *Com. Oxon* as hath been unwarrantably conjectured,) came firſt to *Bletſhoe* in *Bedfordſhire*, about the time of King *Henry* the 6th, Sir *Oliver St-John* Knight, then taking to Wife *Margaret* the Siſter and Sole Heir to *John de Beauchamp* of *Bletſhoe* Knight, (which *Margaret* was afterwards Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, and Grandmother to King *Henry* the 7th,) and by her had iſſue two Sons, Sir *John St-John* Knight, and 2. *Oliver St-John* Eſq; who had *Lidiard-Tregoz*, call'd alſo *South-Lidiard*, in *Com. Wilts* of the Gift of his Mother, to whom it deſcended as an Inheritance (by the Heirs General,) of *Pateſhall*, *Grandiſon*, *Tregoz* and *Euyas*, Families of great Honour and Nobility in this Kingdom, before and ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt, Anceſtor to Sir *Walter St-John*, now of *Lidiard* Baronet; which laſt Sir *John*, the Son, was great Grandfather to *Oliver St-John* Eſq; who by Letters Patent, bearing date 13. *Januar.* 1. *Eliz.* was created a Baron by the Title of Lord *St-John* of *Bletſhoe*, whoſe Grandſon *Oliver*, 4th Lord *St-John* of *Bletſhoe*, was promoted to the Earldom of *Bolinbroke*, 28. *Decemb.* 22. *Jac.* 1.

19. *Vere Fane*, Earl of *Weſtmerland*, Baron *le Deſpenſer*, and *Burgherſh*, Son and Heir of *Vere* Earl of *Weſtmerland*, &c. who ſucceeded his elder Brother *Charles* Earl of *Weſtmerland* Baron *le Deſpenſer* and *Burgherſh*, whoſe Grandfather Sir *Francis Fane*, Knight of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, was upon the 29. of *December*, 22. *Jac.* 1. advanced to the Degree of Baron *Burgherſh* and Earl of *Weſtmerland*, being Son and Heir to Sir *Thomas Fane* of *Badſel* in *Com. Cantij* Knight (whoſe Family had been anciently ſeated at *Tunbridge* in the ſame County,) a lineal deſcendent of Sir *Henry Fane*, Knighted at the Battle of *Poitiers* (who deduced his Original, by a *ſeries* of many Generations from *Howel ap Vane*, otherwiſe call'd *Howel Fane* of *Monmouthſhire* in *South-Wales*,) by *Mary* his Wife ſole Daughter, and Heir to Sir *Henry Nevile* Knight, Lord *Bergavenny*, which *Mary* challenged the Title of *Bergavenny* as Heir General againſt the next Heir Male, who (after great Arguments on each part,) prevailing againſt her, had that Barony both by Judgment of the Houſe of Peers, and order of the Lords Commiſſioners for the Office of Earl Marſhal of *England* decreed for him.

Whereupon to give ſome ſatisfacton to the Heir Female, King *James* 1. by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Weſtminſter* the 25th of *May* in the 2d year of his Reign, reſtored, gave, granted, &c. unto the ſaid *Mary Fane*, the Name, Stile, Title, Honour and Dignity of Baroneſs *le Diſpenſer*, [by reaſon of her Extraction from the Heir General of that Family, which by the Heireſs of *Beauchamp*, Lord *Bergavenny* deſcended (together with that Title,) to the *Nevils*,] and that her Heirs ſucceſſively, ſhould be Barons *le Diſpenſer* for ever, which Lady *le Diſpenſer* died 28. *Jun.* 1626. and the Honour devolv'd on her Son and Heir *Francis*, created Earl of *Weſtmerland* as aforeſaid.

20 *Charles Montagu*, Earl of *Manchеſter*, Viſcount *Mandevile*, and Lord *Montagu* of *Kymbolton*, Captain of the Yeomen of his Majeſties Guard, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Huntingdon*, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County; Son and Heir of *Robert* Earl of *Manchеſter*, &c. whoſe Father *Edward* Earl of *Manchеſter*, &c. Lord Chamberlain of the Houſehold to King *Charles* the Second, was Son and Heir of Sir *Henry Montagu* Knight, ſometime Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of Kings-Bench, who being made Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, 14th *Decemb.* 1616. was upon the 19th of the ſame Month in the 18th year of King *James* 1. raiſed to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Montagu* of *Kymbolton* in *Com. Hunt.* and Viſcount *Mandevile* (by reaſon that he did then Poſſeſs the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Kymbolton*, which had many Ages before belong'd to the Family of *Mandevile*,) and laſtly created Earl of *Manchеſter* 5th *Febr.* (1625. 1. *Car.* 1. ſome few days preceding his Majeſties Coronation, being afterwards Lord Privy Seal to that King; and was Third Brother to *Edward* the Firſt Lord *Montagu* of *Boughton*, (Grandfather to the preſent Earl of *Montagu*,) but his elder Brother dying without iſſue, this Family became the 2d Houſe.

21. *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Berkſhire*, Viſcount *Andover*, and Baron *Howard* of *Charlton*; Brother and Heir to *Charles* Earl of *Berkſhire*, &c. A Branch of that Renown'd and Ducal Stock of the *Howards* of *Norfolk*; whoſe Father *Thomas Howard* (2d Son of *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, &c.) being upon the 23d of *January*, 19. *Jac.* 1. advanced to the Titles of Lord *Howard* of *Charlton* (in *Com. Wilts*,) and Viſcount *Andover* (in *Hants.*) was before the end of that Kings Reign inſtalled Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and created Earl of *Berkſhire*, 6. *Febr.* (1625.) 1. *Car.* 1. a little before the Coronation of that King, as the former Earl had been.

22. *Richard Savage*, Earl *Rivers*, Viſcount *Colcheſter*, and Viſcount *Savage* of *Rock Savage*, Baron *Dartey* of *Chich* and Baronet; One of the Major Generals of the Kings Army, Captain and Colonel of his Majeſties Third Troop of Horſe-

Horſe-Guards, Lord Lieutenant of the County *Palatine* of *Cheſter*, and of the City of *Cheſter*, and County of the ſame, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County *Palatine* of *Cheſter*.

This Family were originally of *Stainsby* in the County of *Derby*, (Sir *John Savage* being of *Stainsby* aforeſaid *Ann.* 1206,) and came into *Cheſhire* by the Marriage of an Heireſs of *Daniers* about the time of King *Richard* the 2d, having their chief Seat there partly at the Caſtle of *Frodſham*, and partly at another Noble Houſe built of later time at *Clifton*, afterwards call'd *Rock-Savage*, from which Sir *John* above mention'd in a Knightly Series, deſcended another Sir *John Savage* Knighted by King *Henry* the 5th, at the Battle of *Agincourt*, and from him by a like ſucceſſion Sir *John Savage* Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, *temp. Hen.* 7. whoſe Grandſon Sir *John Savage* of *Rock-Savage* Knight, Married the Lady *Elizabeth Manners*, Daughter of *Thomas* the firſt Earl of *Rutland*, and had iſſue Sir *John Savage* of *Rock-Savage* Knight on whom the Degree of Baronet was conferr'd, at the firſt Erection of that Honor, 22. *May*, (1611.) 9. *Jac.* 1. he being the nineteenth in number of thoſe who were then created; Which Sir *John* by *Mary* his Wife Daughter and Co-heir of *Richard Allington* Eſq; (a 2d Son of Sir *Giles Allington* of *Horſheath* in *Com. Cantab.* Knight,) was Father of Sir *Thomas Savage* Knight and Baronet, who Married *Elizabeth* the eldeſt Daughter and at length Co-heir to *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* of *Chich* in *Eſſex*, which *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* was created Viſcount *Colcheſter* for life, with remainder to the aforeſaid Sir *Thomas Savage* of *Rock-Savage*, and to the Heirs Male of his body, by the ſame *Elizabeth* his Wife 5. *July*, 1621. (19. *Jac.* 1.) and advanced to the Dignity of an Earl by the Title of Earl *Rivers*, with like remainder to the ſaid Sir *Thomas Savage*, for want of iſſue, Male of his own Body, 4. *Novemb.* (1626.) 2. *Car.* 1. at which time this Sir *Thomas Savage* Knight and Baronet, was himſelf created Viſcount *Savage* of *Rock-Savage*, and having been Chancellor, and Councellor to the Queens Majeſty, died 15. *Nov.* 1635. leaving iſſue by the ſaid *Elizabeth*, *John* his eldeſt Son, Viſcount *Savage* of *Rock-Savage*, who upon the death of his Grandfather, 21. *Febr.* 1639. (15. *Car.* 1.) was Earl *Rivers*, and Viſcount *Colcheſter*, whereupon ſoon after *Elizabeth* his Mother the Viſcounteſs *Savage* of *Rock-Savage*, was created Counteſs *Rivers* by Letters Patent, dated 21. *Apr.* (1640.) 17. *Car.* 1. but departed this Life, 9. *Mar.* 1650. and thereby the ſaid *John* Earl *Rivers*, Viſcount *Colcheſter*, and Viſcount *Savage* of *Rock-Savage*, became alſo Lord *Darcy* of *Chich*, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Thomas* Earl *Rivers*, &c: Father to the now Earl.

23. *Robert Bertie*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Baron *Willughby* of *Eresby*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England* and Forreſter, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Lincoln* and City of *Lincoln* and County of the ſame City, *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the parts of *Holand*, *Keſteven* and *Lindſey* in the ſaid County of *Lincoln*, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council and Fellow of the Royal Society.

This Family derive themſelves in a lineal Male ſucceſſion from *Philip Bertie*, [deſcended from *Leopold de Bertie* Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Dover*, in the time of King *Ethelred*, before the Norman Conqueſt, Lord of a Town not far from *Maidſtone* in the County of *Kent*, which from his Name is yet called *Bertiesſtate*, commonly (tho' corruptly,) *Bereſted* and *Barſted*,] which *Philip* came into *England* with King *Henry*, the 2d, *Anno* 1154. and was by him ſo highly Eſteem'd for his famous Military Tranſactions that the ſame King gave him all the Lands in *Bertieſtate*, ſometime *Leopolds* his Anceſtors.

But that which may be reputed no little Acceſſion of Honour to this Name and Family, was the Marriage of *Catharine* Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* the Sole Daughter and Heir of *William* the laſt Lord *Willughby* of *Eresby* of that Houſe to *Richard Bertie* Eſq; Son and Heir of *Thomas Bertie* of *Bereſted* in *Kent* Eſq; Captain of *Hurſt* Caſtle in the Iſle of *Wight*, which *Richard* was Father of *Peregrine*, who upon the Death of his Mother (which hapned 19. *Sept.* 1580. 22. *Eliz.*) had Summons to the Parliament begun at *Weſtminſter* by Prorogation upon the 16th of *January* next enſuing as Lord *Willughby* of *Eresby*, and took his place in the Houſe according to the Seniority of that Barony: And having Married the Lady *Mary Vere* Daughter of *John* the 16th Earl of *Oxford* (by *Margaret* his 2d Lady,) Siſter and Heir of the whole blood to Earl *Edward*, had iſſue *Robert* Lord *Willughby* of *Eresby*, who making his Claim in the Parliament, 1. *Jac.* 1. to the Earldom of *Oxford*, and Titles of Lord *Bulbeck*, *Sandford* and *Badleſmere*, as alſo to the Office of Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, as Son and Heir to *Mary* beforemention'd, the Sole Heir Female of that great Family; after much diſpute had Judgment on his behalf for that high Office, and being admitted into the Houſe with his Staff 30. *Apr.* the ſame year, was ſeated above all the other Barons. By King *Charles* the Firſt, he was created Earl of *Lindſey*, 22. *Nov.* 2. *Regni ſui*, as alſo afterward elected Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and having been ſometime Lord High Conſtable of *England*, Lord Admiral of his Majeſties whole Fleet, and General of the Kings Royal Army, was mortally wounded in the Battle of *Kineton*, 23. *October.* 1642. and died at *Warwick*-Caſtle (whither he was carried Priſoner,) the ſame Night, being ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son Sir *Montague Bertie* Knight of the *Bath*, thereupon Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord *Willughby* of *Eresby*, and Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, who was One of the Gentlemen of that Kings Royal Bedchamber, and of his Privy Council, as alſo Collonel of the Kings Royal Regiment of Guards, and in divers Battles throughout the whole Courſe of the late unhappy War, which Earl after the Reſtoration was moſt deſervedly inſtalled Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, 16. *Apr.* 1661. and died 25. *July*, 1666. being Father of the preſent Earl.

24. *Henry Mordaunt* Earl of *Peterborow* and Baron *Mordaunt* of *Turvey*, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Son and Heir of *John* Lord *Mordaunt* of *Turvey* created Earl of *Peterborough*, 9. *Mar.* 3. *Car.* 1. who was Son and Heir of *Henry* Lord *Mordaunt* of *Turvey*, and he Son and Heir of *Lewes* Lord *Mordaunt* of *Turvey*, the Son and Heir of Sir *John Mordaunt*, Knight of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, Lord *Mordaunt* of *Turvey*, who was Son and Heir of Sir *John Mordaunt* of *Turvey*, in *Com. Bedford*, Knight, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, Summon'd to Parliament amongst the Peers of this Realm, 24. *Hen.* 8. where he took his Place accordingly upon the 4th of *May*, in which year also King *Henry* going with great State into *France*, and landing at *Calais*, 11. *Octob.* he attended him thither, and so to *Bolein* where he had a Magnificent reception by *Francis* the First, which *John* Lord *Mordaunt* was the 8th Successive lineal Heir Male from *Eustace Mordaunt* of *Turvey*, who was Son of *Osbert* the Son of *Osmund le Mordaunt*.

25. *Thomas Grey*, Earl of *Stamford*, Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, *Bonvile* and *Harrington*, *Custos Rotulorum* for the County of *Leicester*, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, whose Grandfather *Henry* Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, &c. was created Earl of *Stamford* (in *Com. Linc.*) 26. *Mar.* 3. *Car.* 1. and his Grandfather Sir *Henry Grey* of *Pirgo* in *Com. Essex* Knight, was by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Westminster*, 21. *July*, (1603.) 1. *Jac.* 1. honoured with the Title of Baron *Grey* of *Groby* in *Com. Leicest.* with remainder to the Heirs Male of his Body, which *Henry* was Son and Heir of the Lord *John Grey* of *Pirgo* aforesaid, 2d Son to *Thomas Grey* Marquiss *Dorset*, Grandson of Sir *Edward Grey* Knight, Lord *Ferrers* of *Groby*, 2d Son to *Reginald* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*.

26. *Charles Finch*, Earl of *Winchelsey*, Viscount *Maidstone* Baron *Fitz Herbert* of *Eastwell*, Lord of the Royal Mannor of *Wye*, and Baronet, Grandson and Heir of *Heneage*, Earl of *Winchelsey*, Viscount *Maidston* and Baronet, who being a paternal descendent of the Family of *Herbert*, long since of *Eastwell* aforesaid in *Kent*, (his Ancestor *Herbert Fitz Herbert* called *Finch* who was in Ward to the King, 28. *Edw.* 1. deriving himself lineally from *Henry Fitz-Herbert* Chamberlain to *Hen.* 1.) was for his faithful Services and Signal Fidelity, manifested to King *Charles* the 2d, in his Majesties unparalell'd Distresses during his Exile, presently after the Restoration, *Scilt.* 26. *Jun.* (1616.) 12. *Regni. sui.* honoured with the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Fitz-Herbert* of *Eastwell*, and e're long sent Embassador into *Turky*, where he continued about Eight years, being the eldest Son and Heir of Sir *Thomas Finch* Knight, and Baronet, Earl of *Winchelsey* and Viscount *Maidston*, 2d Son and Heir of Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Eastwell* before named Knight, the 25th in number (as to precedence from the first Creation,) of those whom King *James* the 1. rais'd to the Degree and Title of Baronet, in the 9th year of his Reign; his Patent, bearing date 23 *Junij* (1611.) and who not long afterwards should have been more highly dignified, in case his death had not prevented it, for which Consideration *Elizabeth* his Widow, the sole Daughter and Heir of Sir *Thomas Heneage* Knight, Treasurer of the Chamber, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster* to Queen *Elizabeth*, as also One of her Majsties Privy Council, being a Lady of Excellent Endowments, was advanced to the Dignity of Viscountess *Maydston* (in *Kent*,) 8. *July*, 25. *Jac.* 1. with limitation of that Honor to the Heirs Male of her Body lawfully begotten; after which she was promoted to an higher Title, *Scil.* Countess of *Winchelsey* (in *Com. Sussex.*) 12. *July*, 4. *Car.* 1. with the like Entail, and died, 13. *Mar.* 1633. being succeeded by her then eldest surviving Son Sir *Thomas Finch* before-mention'd.

27. *Evelin Pierpont*, Earl of *Kingston* upon *Hull*, Viscount *Newark*, and Baron *Pierpont* of *Holm-Pierpont*, whose Father *Robert* Earl of *Kingston*, &c. was Grandson and Heir to *William Pierpont* of *Thoresby* in *Com. Nott.* Esq; 2d Brother to *Henry* late Marquiss of *Dorchester*, and Earl of *Kingston*, &c. who dying without issue Male, all the Honours which the said Marquiss enjoy'd from *Robert* his Father, who was created Baron *Pierpont* of *Holm-Pierpont* (in *Com. Nott.*) and Viscount *Newark* (in the same County,) 29. *Jun.* 3. *Car.* 1. and Earl of *Kingston* upon *Hull*, 25 *July*, the next ensuing year, devolv'd unto the Father of the present Earl, whose prime Ancestor being of *French* Extraction, came first into *England*, at the time of the *Norman* Conquest.

28. *Charles Dormer*, Earl of *Caernarvon*, Viscount *Ascot*, Baron *Dormer* of *Wenge*, and Baronet; whose Magnanimous Father *Robert* Lord *Dormer* of *Wing* and Baronet, was advanced to the Degree and Dignity of Viscount *Ascot* (in *Com. Bucks.*) and Earl of *Caernarvon*, 2. *Aug.* 4. *Car.* 1. and bravely died in the Bed of Honor, being slain on that Kings part in the first Battle near *Newberie* in *Berkshire*, 20. *Sept.* 1643. and was Grandson and Heir to Sir *Robert Dormer* of *Wing* aforesaid Knight; who was First made Baronet, 10. *Junij* (1651.) 13. *Jac.* 1. and Secondly upon the 30th day of the same Month, created a Baron of this Realm, with Ceremony, by the Title of Lord *Dormer* of *Wing*, which *Robert* was Grandson of Sir *Robert Dormer* Knight, of *Ascot* before-mention'd, who was Treasurer of the Camp at *Montreuil* in *Picardie* under the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lieutenant of the Army to King *Hen.* 8. 36. *ejusd. Regis*, and he the eldest Son of *William Dormer*, of *Westwickham* in *Com. Buck.* where the Family had been seated several Generations.

29. *Philip Stanhope*, Earl of *Chesterfeild*, and Baron *Stanhope* of *Shelford*, succeeded his Grandfather Sir *Philip Stanhope* Knight, who was created Lord *Stanhope* of *Shelford* (in *Com. Nott.*) 7. *Nov.* 14. *Jac.* 1. and Earl of *Chesterfeild*, 4. *Aug.* 4. *Car.* 1. which *Philip* lineally descended from Sir *John Stanhope* Knight, who lived 8. *Ric.* 2. and Married *Elizabeth* the Daughter

ter and Heir of *Stephen Malevel* of *Rampton* in *Com. Nott.* which Sir *John*, was Son and Heir of Sir *Richard Stanhope*, of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, in *Com. Northumb.* Knight, Lord of *Elſtanke* in the ſame County, and he the Son of *Richard de Stanhope*, who had large Poſſeſſions in the *Northern* parts of this Realm.

30. *Thomas Tuſton*, Earl of *Thanet*, Baron *Clifford* and Baron *Tuſton*, Lord *Clifford*, *Weſtmerland* and *Veſcy*, Lord of the Honor of *Skipton* in *Craven*, and Hereditary Sheriff of the County of *Weſtmerland*, and Baronet.

This Family originally aſſumed its Surname from a Place anciently written *Tketon*, but of later Ages *Tuſton* in the Pariſh of *Northiam* in *Com. Suſſex*, (being of very great Antiquity there,) from whence they came to *Hothfeild* in *Kent*, and were honoured with the Degree of Baronet by King *James* 1. Sir *John Tuſton* of *Hothfeild* Knight, being the 60th perſon from the firſt Creation of thoſe who had been promoted to that Dignity, his Patent bearing date 29th *Junij* (1611.) 9. *ejuſdem Regis*, and was ſucceeded by Sir *Nicholas Tuſton* Knight, his eldeſt Son, alſo Baronet, who was created Lord *Tuſton* of *Tuſton*, 1. *Novemb.* 2. *Car.* 1. and Earl of *Thanet* (an Iſle in *Kent*,) upon the 5th of *Auguſt* in the 4th year of the ſame King, whoſe Son and Heir *John* Earl of *Thanet* Married the Lady *Margaret Sackville*, the eldeſt of the two Daughters, and Co-heirs to *Richard* Earl of *Dorſet* by the Lady *Ann Clifford* his Wife Daughter and ſole Heir to *George* Earl of *Cumberland*, Lord *Clifford*, &c. which *Margaret* at length becoming the ſole Heir to her Mother, the Barony of *Clifford*, was in Parliament, 12. *Decemb.* 1691. adjudged to the preſent Earl, who claim'd the ſame in her Right.

31. *William Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, Viſcount *Wentworth*, Baron *Wentworth*, of *Wentworth-Woodhouſe*, *Newmarch*, *Overſley* and *Raby*, and Baronet, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter. Son and Heir of that moſt renowned Peer, and Martyr of the Peoples Envy, *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, &c. ſometime Lord Deputy, and afterwards Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, firſt advanced to the Title of Baron *Wentworth* of *Wentworth-Woodhouſe*, 22. *Julii*, 4. *Car.* 1. next upon the 10th of *December* following, to that of Viſcount *Wentworth*, and laſtly created Baron of *Raby* (*in Epiſcopat. Dunelm.*) as alſo Earl of *Strafford* (publickly at *Whitehall*) by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Weſtminſter*, 12. *Jan.* 15. *Car.* 1. [wherein he is ſtiled, *Prædilectus & perquam fidelis Conſanguineus & Conſiliarius noſter Thomas Wentworth Miles, Baro Wentworth de Wentworth-Woodhouſe, Baro de Newmarch & Overſley, & Vicecomes Wentworth, Deputatus Regni noſtri Hiberniæ & Præſidens Conſilii noſtri in Partibus Borealibus Regni noſtri Angliæ,*] with limitation of the Earldom to the Heirs Male of his Body and an Entail of the Barony of *Raby* (for defect of his own iſſue Male) on his younger Brothers Sir *William Wentworth*, Kt. and Sir *George Wentworth*, Kt. ſucceſſively, and their Male Heirs for ever; after which, he was elected Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and upon that Inſurrection of the *Scots*, *An.* 1639 (being recall'd from his Charge in *Ireland* of Lord Lieutenant) conſtituted Lieutenant General of the Forces then rais'd for repelling of thoſe Invaders, by whoſe ſecret Confederates in that unhappy Parliament thereupon convened, a Charge of High Treaſon was exhibited againſt him, whereupon he was brought to Trial before his Peers, and attainted by a ſpecial Bill, but with this particular Clauſe, *That the like ſhould never be drawn into Practice again*; to which, by ſundry indirect means, the Royal Aſſent being extorted, and a Warrant ſign'd (with great Reluctancy) by the good King for his Execution, he was Beheaded on *Tower Hill*, 12th of *May*, 1641. Which incomparable Perſon was Son and Heir to Sir *William Wentworth*, of *Wentworth Woodhouſe*, in *Com. Ebor.* Baronet, the 22d (as to Precedence) of thoſe on whom that Honour was conferred at the firſt Erection thereof, 22. *May*, (1611) 9 *Jac.* 1. who was Son and Heir of *Thomas Wentworth*, of *Wentworth Woodhouſe*, aforeſaid, Eſq. by *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter and Heir of *William Gaſcoign*, Eſq. whoſe Father's Grandfather, *William Gaſcoign*, Eſq. (Great Grandſon of Sir *William Gaſcoign* Kt. Chief Juſtice of *England*) had married *Jane*, Daughter and Heir of *John Nevil*, Baron of *Overſley*, by *Elizabeth* his Wife, Siſter and Heir to *Ralph Newmarch*, Son and Heir of *Robert Newmarch*, which *John* was Son and Heir of *Ralph Nevil*, by his Wife *Mary*, Daughter, and one of the Heirs of Sir *Robert Ferrers*, Baron of *Overſley*, and he the 2d Son of *Ralph* Lord *Nevil* of *Raby*, the firſt Earl of *Weſtmerland*. This laſt mention'd *Thomas Wentworth*, was the 12th lineal Heir Male from *William Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouſe*, by *Lucy* his Wife, the Daughter of Sir *Adam Newmarch*, Kt. whoſe Father *Robert Wyntworth*, married *Emme*, Daughter and Heir of *William Woodhouſe*, who was of the Fourth or Fifth Generation in a direct Succeſſion from *Yolcy de Woodhouſe*, and was himſelf the 7th Male Heir in a Right Line from *Reynold Wyntword*, prime Anceſtor of the Family.

The preſent moſt Noble Lord having been Created Baron *Wentworth*, Viſcount *Wentworth*, and Earl of *Strafford*, by Patent dated at *Whitehall*, 1. *Dec.* (1641) 17. *Car.* 1. was reſtored to all his Father's Honours by Authority of Parliament, 13 *Car.* 2. wherein the Attainder was reverſed, and all Proceedings in reference thereunto, order'd to be expunged out of the Journal Books.

32. *Robert Spenſer*, Earl of *Sunderland*, and Baron *Spenſer* of *Wormleighton*, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, ſometime one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and Lord Preſident of the Council, *Temp. Jac.* 2. ſucceeded his Memorable Father, *Henry* Lord *Spenſer* of *Wormleyton*, who was rais'd to the Degree of Earl of *Sunderland* (in *Com. Dunelm.*) 8. *Junii*, 19. *Car.* 1. and ſlain on that King's Behalf at the Battel of *Newbery*, upon the 20th of *September* the ſame Year, which Earl *Henry* was Son and Heir to *William* Lord *Spencer* of *Wormleyton*, 2d Son (by Birth) and Heir of *Robert Spencer*, Eſq. created Lord *Spencer* of *Wormleyton* (in *Com. Wor.*) by Letters Patent,

Patent, bearing date 21. *Julii*, 1. *Jac.* 1. the Ceremony being performed at *Hampton-Court*; ſhortly after which, he was ſent Embaſſador to the Duke of *Wirtenburgh*, with the Enſigns of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; which *Robert* Lord *Spencer*, was Son and Heir of Sir *John Spencer* of *Althorp* in *Com. Northampt.* Kt. who was the 12th Deſcendent in a lineal Succeſſion from *Geffry le Spencer*, Younger Brother to *Hugh Diſpenſer*, Juſtice of *England*, ſummon'd to Parliament, 49. *Hen.* 3. Progenitor to the Earls of *Winchester* and *Gloceſter*, and Barons *Le Diſpenſer*.

33. *Robert Leke*, Earl of *Scarſdale*, Baron *Deincourt* of *Sutton*, and Baronet, ſucceeded his Father, *Nicholas* Earl of *Scarſdale*, &c. 2d Son and Heir of Sir *Francis Leke* of *Sutton* in *le Dale Com. Derb.* Kt. who was created Baronet, 22. *May* (1611.) 9 *Jac.* 1. that Title then commencing, he being the Sixth in precedence of thoſe who at that time were honour'd therewith. Upon the 26th of *Octob.* 22. *ejuſdem Regis*, he was advanced to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm, by the Name of Lord *Deincourt* of *Sutton*, and in conſideration of his moſt exemplary Loyalty to King *Charles* the Firſt, was created Earl of *Scarſdale* (in *Com. Derb.*) by Letters Patent bearing date at *Oxford*, 11. *Nov.* 21. *Car.* 1. which *Francis* Earl of *Scarſdale*, Baron *Deincourt* of *Sutton* and Baronet, was Son and Heir of Sir *Francis Leke*, Kt. and he Son of another Sir *Francis Leke* Kt. Son of Sir *John Leke* Kt. Great Grandſon of Sir *John Leke* of *Sutton* aforeſaid, Kt. who was Great Grandſon (in a Knightly Series all of the Name of *John*) to Sir *John Leke*, Kt. Lord of *Cotham*, in the County of *Nottingham*.

34. *Edward Montagu*, Earl of *Sandwich*, Viſcount *Hinchingbrooke*, and Baron *Montagu*, of St. *Neots*, Maſter of the Horſe to his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, Son and Heir of *Edward* Earl of *Sandwich*, &c. whoſe Father Sir *Edward Montagu* of *Hinchingbrooke*, in *Com. Huntingdon*, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, was created Baron *Montagu* of St. *Neots*, in *Com Hunt.*) Viſcount *Hinchinbrook*, and Earl of *Sandwich* (in *Kent*) 12 *Julii* (1660) 12. *Car.* 2. which Magnanimous and Nobly Renown'd Earl, ſerving the King with great Courage, as Vice-Admiral of his Majeſty's Fleet, had the unhappy fate to loſe his Life in that dangerous Engagement with the *Dutch* at Sea, on *Tueſday* the 28th of *May*, 1672, and was buried with great Pomp, in a Vault on the North-ſide of *Weſtminſter*-Abby, being Son of Sir *Sidney Montagu*, Kt. Maſter of Requeſts, youngeſt Brother to *Edward* the Firſt, Lord *Montagu* of *Boughton*; Two of whoſe Elder Brethren dying, the one unmarried, and the other leaving only Daughters, this Family are now the 3d Male branch to the preſent Earl *Montague*, Lord *Montagu* of *Boughton*, and the Earl of *Manchester*, &c. the Second Houſe.

35 *Henry Hide*, Earl of *Clarendon*, Viſcount *Cornbury*, and Baron *Hide* of *Hindon*, Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, High Steward of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, One of the Governors of the *Charter-houſe*, and Fellow of the *Royal-Society*, Eldeſt Son and Heir of Sir *Edward Hyde*, Kt. ſometime Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and One of the Privy Council to *Charles* 1. who attending his late Majeſty King *Charles* 2. in his Exile, was by him ſent Ambaſſador into *Spain*, and made Secretary of State; as alſo laſtly Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and ſoon after the happy Reſtauration, rais'd to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Hyde* of *Hindon* (in *Com. Wilts.*) 3. *Novemb.* 12. *Car.* 2. then created Viſcount *Cornbury* (*Com. Oxon*) and Earl of *Clarendon* (*in Wiltſhire*) upon *Saturday* Afternoon the 20th of *April* next enſuing, 13. *Car.* 2. with Ceremony, in the Banqueting-Room at *Whitehal*, Three Days before his Majeſty's Coronation, being the firſt of the Six Earls who were made againſt that Solemnity. He was Grandfather (by his Eldeſt Daughter) to her late moſt Excellent Majeſty Queen *Mary* 2. of bleſſed Memory, and died at *Rouen* in *Normandy*, 19. *Decemb.* 1674. but was Interr'd on the *North*-ſide of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel at *Weſtminſter*, being Son of *Henry Hide* of *Purton* in *Com. Wilts* and of *Hindon* aforeſaid, who was 3d Son of *Laurence Hide* of *Guſſage* St. *Michael* in *Com. Dorſet*, a younger Branch of the moſt Ancient Knightly Family of *Hinde*, *Hyde*, or *Hide*, of *Norbury*, in the County Palatine of *Cheſter*.

36. *Algernon Capel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Viſcount *Maldon*, and Baron Capel of *Hadham*; One of the Gentlemen of the King's Royal Bed-chamber, Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons in his Majeſties Army, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Hertford*, *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, for the ſaid County, and alſo for the Town of St. *Albans* in *Hertfordſhire*, and Liberty of the ſame; whoſe Noble Father *Arthur* Lord *Capel*, was advanced to the Degree and Dignity of Viſcount *Maldon* (in *Eſſex*) and of an Earl, 20. *Apr.* 13. *Car.* 2. being the ſecond Coronation Earl, and was afterwards Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; which Earl *Arthur*, was Son to the moſt Loyal *Arthur* Lord *Capel* of *Hadham* (in *Com. Hertford*) on whom that Title was conferred, by Letters Patents bearing date 6. *Aug.* (1641) 17. *Car.* 1. who couragiouſly attempting to reſcue that good King from his fatal Impriſonment in the Iſle of *Wight*, and miſcarrying in the Enterprize, ſuffered Death (ſoon after his Martyred Soveraign) 9. *Mar.* 1648. being deſcended by a ſucceſſive ſeries of ſix Knightly Generations, from Sir *William Capel*, Kt. Lord Mayor of *London*, *Anno* 1504, (20. *Hen.* 7.) Son of *John Capel* of *Stoke-Nailand* in *Suffolk*.

37. *Robert Brudnell*, Earl of *Cardigan*, Baron *Brudnell* of *Stanton-Wivill*, and Baronet; ſucceeded his Father *Thomas Brudnel* of *Dene*, in *Com. Northamp.* Eſq. who upon the 29th of *June* (1611) 9. *Jac.* 1. was one of that number then rais'd to the Degree of Baronet (newly inſtituted but a little before) and the 47th as to precedence from the firſt Creation; by reaſon whereof he received the honour of Knighthood at *Whitehal*, 9 *Apr.* the next enſuing Year, and was afterwards by Letters Patent, bearing date at *Weſtminſter*,

26. *Apr.*

26th *Apr.* 3. *Car.* 1. promoted to the Dignity of Baron *Brudnel* of *Stanton-Wyvil* (in *Com. Leiceſt.*) unto which King, having abundantly manifeſted his Loyalty during the late Troubles, for which he ſuffer'd a tedious Impriſonment; in conſideration therefore of thoſe great Merits, he was laſtly created Earl of *Cardigan*, 20. *Apr.* 13. *Car.* 2. Three Days preceding His Majeſty's Coronation, being the 3d of thoſe made for the greater Splendor of that Solemnity, which Noble Earl *Thomas*, was Grandſon and Heir of Sir *Thomas Brudnell* Kt. of *Denn* aforeſaid, (for divers Ages paſt the chief Seat of this Family) originally deſcended from *William Bradenbill alias Brudenell*, who flouriſhed about the Times of King *Henry* the Third, and *Edward* the Firſt, and had much Land in the *Manors* of *Doddington* and *Adderbury*, as alſo in *Bloxham*, in *Com. Oxon*, and in *Aynho ſuper montem* in *Northamptonſhire*.

38. *James Annesley*, Earl of *Angleſey*, Viſcount *Valencia*, Baron *Annesley* of *Newport-Painell*, Lord *Mount-Norris* and Baronet; Son and Heir of *James* Earl of *Angleſey*, &c. who was the Son and Heir of Sir *Arthur Annesley* Baronet, Lord *Mount-Norris* and Viſcount *Valencia* in *Ireland*, who having ſerved His Majeſty King *Charles* 2d, with great Integrity, to the no little hazard of his Life and Fortune, in the then late moſt perillous times, was by Letters Patent dated 20. *Apr.* 13. *ejuſdem Regis*, created a Baron and Earl of this Kingdom, by the Title of Lord *Annesley* of *Newport-Painell* (in *Com. Buck.*) and Earl of *Angleſey*, being the 4th Coronation Earl; He was ſometime Lord Privy Seal to that King, and ſucceeded in his *Iriſh* Honours to his Father Sir *Francis Annesley* Knight and Baronet, Lord *Mount-Norris* and Viſcount *Valencia*, Vice Treaſurer and Secretary in that Realm to the Royal Martyr *Charles* 1ſt of bleſſed Memory, which Sir *Francis* had a Grant of the Reverſion of Viſcount *Valencia* in the County of *Kerry*, after the death of *Henry* (*Power*) Viſcount *Valencia*, to whom he was nearly related in affinity, dated 11th *Mar.* (1621) 19. *Jac.* 1. and was afterwards in the life time of the ſaid *Henry* promoted to the Dignity of a Baron of *Ireland*, by the Name of Lord *Mount-Norris*, by Patent bearing date 18. *Feb.* 4. *Car.* 1. being Son of *Robert Annesley*, Grandſon of another *Robert Annesley* of *Newport-Paganel* aforeſaid, fifth Son of *William Annesley* of *Rodington*, in *Com. Nottingham*, whoſe Father *Thomas Annesley* of *Rodington* was ſecond Son to Sir *Hugh Annesley* of *Annesley*, in the ſame County Kt. who died 23. *Septemb.* 2. *Hen.* 4th, and was Son and Heir of *Thomas Annesley* of *Annesley* before mentioned, the chief lineal Heir Male of that moſt Ancient and Worſhipful Family.

39. *John Granville*, (*vulgo Greneville*) Earl of *Bathe* and *Carbile*, Viſcount *Granville* of *Lanſdown*, Baron *Greneville* of *Biddiford* and *Kilkhampton*, Lord of *Thorigny* and *Granville*, Lord Warden of the *Stannaries*, chief Steward of the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, and of the City of *Exeter* and County of the ſame, Captain and Governor of the Royal Citadel and Town of *Plimouth*, Captain and Keeper of the Iſland of St. *Nicholas* near to the ſaid Town, Governor of *Pendennis* Caſtle and *Scilly* Iſland, Ranger of St. *James's Park*, and one of the Lords of His Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council.

This Noble Lord was the Son and Heir of that Renowned Soldier Sir *Bevil Greneville*, ſlain in the Service of King *Charles* 1ſt at *Landſdown* near *Bath*, in *Com. Somerſet*, who bravely died in the Bed of Honor, being Grandſon and Heir of the Famous Sir *Richard Greneville* of *Stow* in *Cornwall*, Kt. Vice Admiral to Queen *Elizabeth* who loſt his Life valiantly encountring the *Spaniards* in a bloody Navil Fight near the *Tercera* Iſlands, which ſaid Noble Perſon following his Father's ſteps in all Loyal adventures from the Age of 15. years, having Signalized himſelf in all the conſiderable Actions in the *Weſtern* Parts, and on many other Occaſions for the Royal Cauſe, was preſently after the Reſtoration (wherein he had been vigorouſly Inſtrumental,) in conſideration of his High Merits, by Letters Patent bearing date at *Weſtminſter*, 20. *Apr.* (1661) 13. *Car.* 2. (three days preceding the Kings moſt Solemn Coronation) advanced to the Dignities and Titles of Lord *Granville* of *Kilkhampton* and *Biddiford*, Viſcount *Greneville* of *Lanſdown*, and Earl of *Bathe*, being at that time chief Gentleman of his Majeſties Royal Bedchamber, as alſo Warden of the *Stannaries* in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and deriving his Title in a direct line as Heir Male unto *Robert Fitz-Hamon*, Lord of *Glouceſter* and *Glamorgan*, in the Reigns of King *William* the Conqueror, King *William Ruſus* and King *Henry* 1ſt, who was Son and Heir of the Lord *Hamon Dentatus* Earl of *Carbaile* and Lord of *Thorigny* and *Granville* in *Normandy*, whereby he juſtly claims his Deſcent, from the younger Son, as the King himſelf did from the eldeſt of *Rollo*, the firſt Duke of *Normandy*, their common Anceſtor: His Majeſty was further graciouſly pleas'd, by Warrant under his Royal Signet and Sign *Manual* dated the 26th of the ſame Month of *April*, to allow and permit him to uſe theſe Titles of Honor viz. Earl of *Carbaile*, *Thorigny* and *Granville*, as was formerly done by his Anceſtors, tho' the ſame had been diſcontinued of late, by ſome of his late Anceſtors; with full power and authority to the ſaid Earl of *Bath*, not only for himſelf and Poſterity to uſe the ſame, but in caſe he ſhould thereafter erect in Memory of his Father or any other his famous Anceſtors, any Monument or Inſcription concerning him or them, to uſe the Name, Style and Dignity of Earl of *Carbaile*, *Thorigny* and *Granville* as aforeſaid, in as full and ample manner, as his ſaid Anceſtors formerly uſed, before *Normandy* was loſt from the Crown of *England*.

40. *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Carliſle*, Viſcount *Howard* of *Morpeth*, and Baron *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Weſtmerland* and *Cumberland*, Governor of *Carliſle*, and Vice-Admiral of the Sea Coaſts *adjacent*, Son and Heir of *Edward* Earl of *Carliſle*, &c. Son of the moſt Noble *Charles* Earl of *Carliſle*, &c. who was Lord Embaſſador from King *Charles* 2d *Ann.* 1663. to *Ruſſia* as alſo *Ann.* 1664. to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which laſt mention'd *Charles* having been highly inſtrumental for the happy Reſtoration, was in remuneration of his Loyal Services therein, worthily advanced to the Dignity of Baron, Viſcount and Earl, by Patent dated 20th *Apr.* (1661.) 13. *Car.* 2. being the 6th and laſt Coronation Earl. He was 2d Son and Heir of Sir *William Howard* Kt. the Son and Heir of Sir *Philip Howard* Kt. whoſe Father the Lord *William Howard* of *Naworth Caſtle*, in *Com Cumbr.* married *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Thomas*, and Siſter and Co-heir to *George* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, and was 3d Son to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, by *Margaret* his ſecond Wife Daughter and Heir to *Thomas* Lord *Audley* of *Walden*.

41. *William Craven*, Earl of *Craven*, Viſcount *Craven* of *Uffington*, Baron *Craven* of *Hampſted-Marſhal* and Knight, one of the Governors of the *Charter-Houſe*, ſometimes Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Middleſex* and *Borough* of *Southwark*, Collonel of the Cold-ſtreem Regiment of Foot Guards, and one of the Privy Council to King *Charles* 2d, and the late King *James* 2d, created Lord *Craven* of *Hamſtead* Marſhal, in *Com. Berks*, 12th *Mar.* 2. *Car.* 1. with remainder for want of iſſue Male of his own Body, to *John Craven* (afterwards Lord *Craven* of *Ryton*, in *Com. Salop*) and *Thomas Craven* his Brothers ſucceſſively, and to the Heirs Males of their Bodies, by other Letters Patent bearing date 16. *Mar.* 16 *Car.* 2. he was (for his great Loyalty, manifeſted in divers conſiderable ſupplies) advanced to the Title of Viſcount *Craven* of *Uffington*, in the ſame County of *Berks*, and Earl of *Craven* in *Yorkſhire*, and by reaſon that both his Brothers beforemention'd were then dead without Iſſue, with an Entail of the Barony of *Craven* of *Hampſted Marſhal*, for lack of Iſſue Male of his own Body lawfully begotten to Sir *William Craven* of *Lenchwike*, in *Com. Wigorn* Knight, and to the Heirs Male of his Body, and for default thereof to Sir *Anthony Craven* Knight, Brother to the ſame Sir *William*, and to the Iſſue Male of his Body, and afterwards by reaſon that the iſſue Male of the ſaid Sir *William Craven* of *Lenchwick* Kt. was alſo extinct in caſe of failure of iſſue Male from the before ſpecified Sir *Anthony Craven* Kt. obtained a farther Grant, by Patent dated 17. *Decemb.* 17. *Car.* 2. that the ſaid Title of Lord *Craven* of *Hamſted Marſhal*, ſhould remain unto Sir *William Craven* Kt. Son of *Thomas* Brother to the ſaid Sir *Anthony*, and to the Heirs Male of his Body for ever.

This Earl was born *Ann.* 1608. being the eldeſt Son to Sir *William Craven* Kt. Lord Mayor of *London* in the year 1611. (9. *Jac.* 1.) whoſe Father *William Craven* of *Apletrewick* at *Burneſall* in *Craven Com. Ebor.* was 3d Son of *John Craven* of *Apletrewick* aforeſaid Father of *Henry Craven*, whoſe 2d Son and Heir, *Robert Craven* alſo of *Apletrewick*, was Father of (1) Sir *William Craven* of *Lenchwick* Kt. deceas'd without Iſſue Male as aforeſaid (3) Sir *Anthony Craven* Kt. who left no Iſſue, and (2) of *Thomas Craven* likewiſe of *Apletrewick* Father to Sir *William Craven* of *Apletrewick* Kt. late of *Combe Abbey*, in *Com. Warr.* Father to *William Craven* Eſq; now Heir apparent to the Barony of *Craven* of *Hamſted Marſhal* as before recited.

42. *Thomas Bruce*, Earl of *Ailesbury* and *Elgin*, Viſcount *Bruce* of *Ampthill*, Baron *Bruce* of *Whorlton*, *Skelton* and *Kinloſs*, and Hereditary High Steward of the Honor of *Ampthill*; Son and Heir of *Robert* Earl of *Ailesbury* &c. ſometime Deputy Earl Marſhal of *England*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Bedford*, who having given much Teſtimony of his Loyalty to the Crown in the late Troubles, and been not a little Inſtrumental for the happy Reſtoration of His Majeſty King *Charles* 2d, was by Letters Patents bearing date at *Weſtminſter* 18. *Mar.* 16. *ejuſd. Regis* created Lord *Bruce* of *Skelton*, in *Com. Ebor.* Viſcount *Bruce* of *Ampthill* in *Bedfordſhire*, and Earl of *Ailesbury*, in *Com. Bucks*, which Earl *Robert*, was Son and Heir of *Thomas* Earl of *Elgine*, and Baron *Bruce* of *Kinloſs* in *Scotland*, as alſo Lord *Bruce* of *Whorlton*, in *Com. Ebor.* by *Ann* his firſt Wife, Daughter of Sir *Robert Chichester* of *Raleigh* (*vulgò Rawley*) in *Com. Devon* Kt. of the *Bath*, by *Frances* his Wife Daughter and Co-heir [but at length Sole-heir] to *John* Lord *Harington* of *Exton*, which *Ann* was Sole-heir to her Mother.

This laſt mention'd *Thomas* was created Earl of *Elgin* aforeſaid, 21. *July* 9. *Jac.* 1. and Lord *Bruce* of *Whorlton*, *prædict.* 1. *Aug.* 17. *Car.* 1. being Brother and Heir to *Edward* Lord *Bruce* of *Kinloſs* Kt. of the *Bath*, at the Creation of Prince *Henry*, and One of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, Son and Heir of *Edward Bruce* Maſter of the Rolls to King *James* 1ſt, who being eminently Inſtrumental to the peaceful Acceſſion of the ſame King to the Crown of *England*, was by him advanced to the Degree of a Baron, by the Title of Lord *Bruce* of *Kinloſs* as aforeſaid, 8. *July*, 2. *Regni ſui*, being of the moſt Honourable Privy Council to His Majeſty in both Realms, and a Deſcendent from the Ancient Barons *Bruce*, ſometime Lords of *Skelton* in *Cleveland* aforemention'd, and of *Annandale* in *Scotland*, Anceſtor to the Earl of *Carrick*, Progenitor of the *Bruce's* Kings of *Scotland*, whoſe Heir general was married to the Family of *Stuart*, who afterwards obtain'd that Diadem and became the Firſt Monarchs of Great *Britain*.

43. *Richard Boyle*, Earl of *Burlington*, *alias Bridlington* and *Cork*, Viſcount *Dungarvan*, Baron *Clifford* of *Lanſborough* and Baron *Boyle* of *Youghall*.

This

This Noble Lord, in consideration of his Loyal Assistance, and ready Supplies seasonably contributed to King *Charles* 1st, in the time of the late unhappy troubles, and by reason of his Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth Clifford*, Sole Daughter and Heir to *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland*, and Lord *Clifford*, &c. was by Letters Patent dated 4th *Nov.* in the 20th year of his Reign, advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Clifford* of *Lanborough*, in *Com. Ebor.* and afterwards in respect of his own faithful Services both in *England* and *Ireland*, and the great Merits of the same *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland*, was by other Letters Patent bearing date 20th *Mar.* 16. *Car.* 2. created Earl of *Burlington alias Bridlington*, in *Com. Ebor.* being Son and Heir of Sir *Richard Boyle* Kt. who was promoted to the Degree of a Baron of *Ireland*, by the Stile of Lord *Boyle* of *Youghall*, 6th *Septemb.* 14. *Jac.* 1. and further Honour'd with the Dignities of Viscount *Dungarvan*, and Earl of *Cork*, in that Kingdom, by Patent dated 16th *Octob.* (1620.) 18. *ejusdem Regis*, which *Richard* was second Son to *Roger Boyle* of the City of *Canterbury*, who was the second Son of *Roger Boyle*, second Son to *Lodowick Boyle* of the City of *Hereford*, Son and Heir of *James Boyle*, Son of *John Boyle*, the Son of *Lodowick Boyle*, who was Son of *James Boyle*, the Son of *John Boyle*, Son of another *Lodowick Boyle* of the County of *Hereford*.

44. *Isabella Fitz-Roy*, (Dutchess of *Grafton* &c.) Countess of *Arlington*, Viscountess *Thetford*, and Baroness *Arlington* of *Arlington*, Relict of *Henry Fitz-Roy* Duke of *Grafton*, Earl of *Euston*, Viscount *Ipswich*, and Baron of *Sudbury*, Kt. of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

This Noble Lady was the only Daughter and Heir of Sir *Henry Benet* Kt. some time One of the Principal Secretaries of State, and of the most Honourable Privy Council to King *Charles* 2d, by the Lady *Isabella* of *Nassau* his Wife, Daughter to *Lewis* of *Nassau*, Lord *Beverwaert*, a Son to the Illustrious *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, Great Uncle to his present Majesty King *William* 3d, which *Henry* was by Letters Patent bearing date 14th *Mar.* 16. *Car.* 2. advanced to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm, by the Name and Stile of Lord *Arlington* of *Arlington alias Harlington*, *Com. Midd.* and after that, viz. 22. *Apr.* 24. *ejusd. Regis* to the Titles of Viscount *Thetford*, and Earl of *Arlington*, with limitation of all these Honors, for lack of Issue of his own Body, unto Sir *John Benet* Kt. his elder Brother (afterwards created Lord *Ossulstone*) and the Issue Male of his Body lawfully begotten, by virtue of which entail, the present Lady succeeded her Father (who was Kt. of the most Noble Order of the Garter) and enjoys those Dignities accordingly.

45. *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Earl of *Shaftesbury*, Baron *Ashley* of *Wimborne* St. *Giles*, Lord *Cooper* of *Pawlet*, and Baronet, Vice-Admiral of the Coasts of *Dorsetshire* and Town and County of *Poole*; Son and Heir of *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftesbury*, &c. and Baronet, sometime Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Under Treasurer of *England*, One of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Dorset*, One of the Lords of the most Honourable Privy Council, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*, & lastly President of the Council, *temp. Car.* 2. who was Son and Heir of Sr. *John Cooper* of *Rockbourn*, in *Com. Hants.* Baronet, (on whom that Honour was conferr'd 4th *July* 1622.) 20. *Jac.* 1. by *Anne* his Wife Daughter and Sole Heir to Sir *Anthony Ashley* of *Wimborne* St. *Giles*, in *Com. Dorset*, Kt. and Baronet, Son and Heir of *Anthony Ashley* of *Damerham*, in *Com. Wilts.* Esq; which Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, having in sundry respects manifested his Loyalty to King *Charles*, 1st of Blessed Memory, as also his great affection to his Country in those most dangerous times, and by his prudent Consultations facilitated His Majesties peaceful and happy Restoration, in consideration of these his acceptable Services, was by Letters Patent bearing date at *Westminster* 20th *Apr.* (1661.) 13. *Car.* 2. advanced to the Dignity of Lord *Ashley* of *Wimborne* St. *Giles* aforesaid, in Order to his solemn attendance upon the King, at His Majesties Royal Coronation, having chosen That Title pursuant to an Article in his Fathers Marriage, That if Sir *John Cooper*, or his Heirs should come to be honour'd with the Degree of Peerage, they should take that for their Title, and by other Letters Patent dated 23d *Apr.* 24. *ejusdem Regis*, was created Baron *Cooper* of *Paulet*, in *Com. Somerset*, and Earl of *Shaftesbury* in the County of *Dorset*.

46. *Edward-Henry Lee*, Earl of *Lichfeild*, Viscount *Quarendon*, Baron of *Spelesbury* and Baronet, created Baron, Viscount and Earl, by Letters Patent bearing date at *Westminster*, upon the 5th day of *June* 26. *Car.* 2. he was Son and Heir of Sir *Henry-Francis Lee* of *Quarendon*, in *Com. Bucks*, Baronet, by the Lady *Elizabeth Pope*, his Wife, sole Daughter and Heir of *Thomas* Earl of *Down* in *Ireland*, which *Elizabeth* is now Wife to *Robert* Earl of *Lindsey* Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, The said Sr. *Henry-Francis*, was younger Brother to Sir *Henry Lee* of *Ditchley*, in the Parish of *Spellesbury*, *Com. Oxon* Baronet, who died without Issue Male, being Son and Heir of Sir *Henry-Francis Lee* of *Ditchley* aforesaid Baronet, by *Ann* his Wife eldest Daughter to Sir *John*, St. *John* of *Liddiard Tregoz*, in *Com. Wilts*, Kt. and Bar. which *Ann* was after his Death, Countess of *Rochester*: The said *Henry-Francis*, was the only Son and Heir, of Sir *Henry Lee* of *Quarendon*, in *Com. Bucks praedict* Bar. promoted to that Honour, 29th *Junij* (1611.) 9. *Jac.* 1. [he being the 71st person in number from the first Creation] who Married *Eleanor* Daughter of Sir *Richard Worsley* of *Worsley* Hall, in *Com. Ebor*, Kt. by *Elizabeth* his Wife Daughter of *Edward Boughton* of *Causton*, in *Com. Warr.* Esq; who was remarried to *William* Earl of *Devonshire*, &c. which *Eleanor* Lady *Lee*, by her three future Marriages became successively Countess of *Sussex*, *Warwick* and *Manchester*. The said Sir *Henry Lee*, was

Son

Son and Heir of *Robert Lee* of *Hulcot*, in *Com. Bucks*, who was Son and Heir of *Benedict Lee*, likewise of *Hulcot*, younger Brother to Sir *Robert Lee* of *Buckfton*, in the same County Kt. (Grandfather to Sir *Henry Lee* of *Quarendon* Kt. of the most Noble Order of the Garter) which *Benedict* was the Grandson of another *Benedict Lee* of *Quarendon* aforesaid, a younger Son of *John Lee*, of *Lee-hall* in the Parish of *Wilmburie*, in the County *Palatine* of *Chester* Esq; Grandson of Sir *John Lee* Kt. Son and Heir of Sir *Walter Lee* of *Lee* Kt. who lived in the 40th year of the most Victorious *Edward* 3d King of *England*.

47. *Thomas Lennard*, Earl of *Sussex* and Baron *Dacres* of *Herst-Monceaux*, created Earl, by Patent dated 5th *October* (1674.) 26. *Car.* 2. He was Son and Heir of *Francis* Lord *Dacres*, by *Elizabeth* his Wife, youngest Daughter of *Paul*, Viscount *Bayning*, &c. and Co-heir to her Brother *Paul* Viscount *Bayning*, &c. which *Elizabeth* Lady *Dacres*, was created Countess of *Sheppey* (an Isle in *Kent*) for life, 6th *Septemb.* (1680.) 32. *Car.* 2. the said *Francis* was Son and Heir of *Richard* Lord *Dacres*, whose Father *Henry* Lord *Dacres* was Son and Heir of *Sampson Lennard* of *Knol* in *Kent* Esq; by *Margaret Fienes* his Wife Daughter of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*, Sister and sole Heir to *Gregory* Lord *Dacres*, which *Margaret* was adjudged and declared Baroness *Dacres* to Her, and her Heirs, 8th *Dec.* 2. *Jac.* 1. the said *Sampson Lennard* was Son and Heir of *John Lennard* of *Chevening*, in the aforesaid County of *Kent* Esq; *Custos Brevium* of the Common Pleas, Son and Heir of *John Lennard* likewise of *Chevening* before mentioned, who died in the time of Queen *Mary*.

The Title of Baron *Dacre* came to the Family of *Fienes*, by the marriage of *Joan* Daughter and sole Heir to *Thomas* Son and Heir of *Thomas* Lord *Dacre*, with Sir *Richard Fienes* of *Herst-Monceaux* in *Sussex* Kt. (Chamberlain to King *Edward* 4th) by reason of which Match, he was by Letters Patent bearing date 7th *Nov.* 37. *Hen.* 6. accepted and declared Lord *Dacre*, and to be a Baron of this Realm, which Family of *Dacre*, was first Summon'd to *Parliament* in the 28th *Edw.* 1.

48. *Louis de Duras*, Earl of *Feversham*, Viscount *Sondes* of *Lees-Court*, Lord *Duras* of *Holdenby*, and Baron of *Throwley*, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesties the Queen *Dowagers* Household, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter; Marquess of *Blanquefort*, and Brother to the Duke of *Duras* in *France*, lineally descended, from the famous *Galliard Dureford*, Lord of *Duras*, made Knight of the Garter, by King *Edward* 4th, for his especial Services in those times, who moreover gave him a yearly Pension of an Hundred Pounds during life, &c.

This Noble Person having been Naturalized by *Act of Parliament*, 17. *Car.* 2. and being Captain of the Guards, to His Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, whom he personally attended in that perillous and bloody Sea Fight with the *Dutch*, which happen'd in *June Ann.* 1665. wherein he behaved himself with a most exemplary magnanimity and courage, was in consideration of those eminent Services promoted to the Degree and Dignity of Baron *Duras* of *Holdenby*, in *Com. Northamp.* by Letters Patent bearing date at *Westminster*, 19th *Jan.* 24. *Car.* 2. and having married *Mary* eldest Daughter and Co-heir of Sir *George Sondes* of *Lees-Court*, in *Com. Cantii* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, upon the advancement of the said Sir *George*, to the Titles of Baron of *Throwley*, Viscount *Sondes* of *Lees-Court*, and Earl of *Feversham* (all in *Kent.*) *scilt.* 8th *April*, 28. *Regnante Rege*, had the Reversion of those Honors granted to him, and the Heirs Male of his Body, after whose Death he succeeded in them accordingly to the Entail.

49. *Charles Gerard*, Earl of *Macclesfield*, Viscount *Brandon*, and Baron *Gerard* of *Brandon*, Lord Lieutenant of the County *Palatine* of *Lancaster*, Vice Admiral of the Coasts of *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, City of *Chester*, and County of the same, and Collonel of a Regiment of Horse in His Majesties Army: Son and Heir of *Charles Gerard* of *Halsall*, in *Com. Lanc.* Lieutenant General of the Horse, to King *Charles* the 1st, on whose behalf at the beginning of the late Rebellious Times, putting himself in Arms, He rais'd a Regiment of Foot, and a Troop of Horse at his own Charge, and behaved himself with wonderful Valor, Conduct and Success, in most of the then Considerable Actions, whereupon His Majesty in consideration of his eminent and faithful Services, advanced him to the Degree and Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Gerard* of *Brandon* at *Oxford* 8th *Nov.* 22. *Regni sui.* He was created Viscount *Brandon* in *Suffolk*, and Earl *Macclesfield*, in *Com. Pal. Cestriæ*, by Patent dated 21st *July* (1679.) 31. *Car.* 2. and soon after, by Warrant under the Kings Signet and Sign Manual dated 15th *Aug.* ensuing, had in further consideration of his many faithful Services perform'd unto His Majesties Royal Father of blessed Memory, and to himself, an Honourable Addition to his Coat of Arms, as a Testimony to Posterity, *scilt.* That whereas he bare *Argent, a Saltier Gules.* He and his Descendents should thenceforth bear *on the said Saltire Gules, an Imperial Crown Proper.* Which Noble Earl was Son and Heir, of Sir *Charles Gerard* Kt. Son and Heir of *Radcliff Gerard* younger Brother to *Thomas*, the first Lord *Gerard* of *Gerards Bromley*, in *Com. Stafford*; Sons of Sir *Gilbert Gerard* of *Grays-Inn* Kt. sometimes Attorney General and Master of the *Rolls* to Queen *Elizabeth*, whose Father *James Gerard*, was second Son to *William Gerard*, of *Ince* in *Lancashire*, Great Grandson of *John Gerard* of *Ince* aforesaid *temp. Ric.* 2. a younger Son of the Ancient Family of *Gerard* of *Brin*, in the same County, which derive their Origine from the Great *Giraldine* Stock, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

50. *Char-*

50. *Charles Bodvile Roberts*, Earl of *Radnor* Viscount *Bodmyn*, Baron *Roberts* of *Truro* and Baronet, succeeded his Grandfather *John* Lord *Roberts* of *Truro*, &c. Sometime Lord *Privy* Seal, as also Lord *Lieutenant* of *Ireland*, and Lord *President* of the most Honorable *Privy* Council to his Majesty King *Charles* 2. By whom he was created Viscount *Bodmin* in *Cornwall* and Earl of *Radnor* 23. *July* (1679) 31. *ejusdem Regis*, being Son and Heir of Sr. *Richard Roberts* of *Truro* in *Com. Cornub.* Knight, on whom the Degree of Baronet was confer'd 3. *July* (1621.) 19. *Jac.* 1. Soon after which he was promoted to the Dignity of Baron *Roberts* of *Truro* aforesaid, by Letters Patent, bearing date upon the 26th of *January* in the 22. year of the same King, which *Richard* was Grandson of *Richard Roberts* who died 1. *July.* 25. *Eliz.* being also of *Truro*, where his immediate Ancestors had resided for four or five Generations.

51. *William Paston*, Earl of *Yarmouth*, Viscount *Yarmouth*, Lord *Paston* of *Paston* and Baronet, Son and Heir of Sr. *Robert Paston* of *Paston* in *Com. Norfolk* Kt. and Baronet, who in the utmost of Dangers by reason of the potency of the late cruel Regicides ceased not to hazard both life and fortune in whatsoever he could loyally effect either by supply to the Kings Necessities or furtherance of his Majesties happy Restoration, and was therefore in consideration of these his most acceptable services made Baron and Viscount 19. *August.* 25. Car. 2. and afterwards Earl 30. *July* (1679) 31. *Epusd. Regis*, Being Son and Heir of Sir *William Paston* of *Paston* aforesaid and of *Oxnead* in *Norfolk* Baronet, &c. on whom that honor was conferred. 8. *Junij* (1641) 17. *Car.* 1. which Sr. *William* was Son and Heir of Sr. *Edmund Paston* of *Paston* Knight, Grandson and Heir of Sr. *William Paston* Knight of *Paston* aforesaid, who was also Grandson of another Sr. *Wil. Paston* of *Paston* Kr. Son and Heir of Sr. *John Paston* Kt. Grandson of *William Paston* of *Paston*, One of the Justices of the Common *Pleas temp. Hen.* 6. a lineal Descendent (in the 12 Generation) from *Wolstan Paston* Lord of *Paston*.

52. *George Berkeley*, *aliter Fitz-Harding*, Earl of *Berkeley*, Viscount *Dursley*, Baron *Berkeley* of *Berkeley* Castle, *Mowbray*, *Segrave* and *Breaus* (of *Gower*) *Custos Rotulorum*, for the County of *Surrey*, One of the Governors of the *Charter-House*, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

This Noble Family derive their original from *Robert Fitz-Harding* (descended from the Royal Line of the Kings of *Denmark*) who obtain'd a Grant of the Castle, and Honor of *Berkeley* in *Glocestershire*, from *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*, Son of *Maud* the Empress (afterwards King by the Name of *Henry* the 2d) whence they assumed their Surname, it being the possession of their Maternal Ancestor *Roger de Berkeley*, Lord of *Dursley*, whose Daughter *Alice*, by an Accord made at *Bristol*, in the Presence of King *Stephen*, and the same Duke *Henry*, was given in Marriage to *Maurice* the Son of this *Robert Fitz-Harding*, whose Posterity by reason of their Possession of the said Castle (a Feudal Honor) successively bare the Title of Lord *Berkeley*, altho they were but first summon'd to Parliament among the Barons of this Realm, *Ann.* 23. *Edw.* 1. One of which *scil. William* Lord *Berkeley*, was by King *Edward* 4th (21. *Apr.* 21. *Regni sui*) advanced to the Dignity of a Viscount, and created Earl of *Nottingham*, 28. *Jun.* 1. *Rich.* 3. By King *Hen.* 7th in the first year of his Reign, he was constituted Earl Marshal of *England*, with limitation of that great Office to the Heirs Male of his Body, in as ample manner as *John* Duke of *Norfolk* held it (his Mother being One of the Heirs General in a Collateral line to the same Duke) and lastly made Marquess *Berkeley*, 4. *ejusd. Regis*, but died without Issue, 14th *Feb.* 1491. having before by an Indenture, bearing date 10th *Dec.* 3. *Hen.* 7. settled the Castle of *Berkeley*, with those Lands and Lordships which were the Body of that Ancient Barony, for defect of his own Issue on King *Henry* the 7th, and the Issue Male from him descending, so that Sir *Maurice Berkeley* Kr. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, Lord *Berkeley* (his Nephew) being summon'd to Parliament, 14. *Hen.* 8. had not the place of his Ancestors, but was constrained to sit meerly as a New Baron in the lowest place, to whom succeeded Sir *Thomas Berkeley* Kt. his Brother and Heir, who was One of those Lords, That in the 22d of *Hen.* 8. subscribed the Letter to Pope *Clement* the 7. concerning the Kings Divorce, being there placed next after the Lord *Dacre*, and immediately next before the Lord *Morley*, which *Thomas* was Father of *Thomas* Lord *Berkeley*, whose Son *Henry* Lord *Berkeley* repossessing *Berkeley* Castle (the old *Caput Baroniæ* of his Ancestors) upon the death of King *Edward* the 6th [the last Heir Male of *Hen.* 7.] had Summons to Parliament in 4. & 5. *Phil. & Mar.* and was there placed, 25. *Jan.* the same year, according to his Ancienty, being succeeded by his Grandson and Heir *George* Lord *Berkeley*, Father of the present Noble Lord, who was created Viscount *Dursley*, in *Com. Glocester*, and Earl of *Berkeley*, by Letters Patent bearing date 11th *Sept.* (1679) 31. *Car.* 2.

53. *Daniel Finch*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord *Finch* of *Daventre* and Baronet, One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, and One of the Governors of the *Charter-house*; sometime Principal Secretary of State, to the present King and late Queen *Mary* of blessed Memory.

The Father of this Noble Earl, Sir *Heneage Finch* of *Raunston*, in *Com. Bucks* Kt. the Kings Solicitor General was honour'd with the Degree of Baronet 7. *Jun.* (1660) 12. *Car.* 2. [being the 3d (as to precedence) of those whose Patents are of the same date] and upon the 10th of *May* 1670. constituted his Majesties Attorney General, also on the 9th of *November* 1673. made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, shortly after which he was advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Finch* of *Daventry*, in *Com. Northampt.* (being then owner of that Manor)

Mannor) by Letters Patent bearing date 10. *Jan.* 25. *Car.* 2 made Lord Chancellor of *England* 19. *Decemb.* 1676. And laſtly Created Earl 12. *May* (1681) in the 33 year of the ſame King. He died at his Houſe in Great Queen Street on *Monday* in the afternoon 18 *December* 1682. and was the Son and Heir to Sir *Heneage Finch* Knight, Recorder of *London* and Speaker of the Houſe of *Commons Anno.* 1625. (1. *Car.* 1) younger Brother to *Thomas* Earl of *Winchelſey* herein aforemention'd.

54. *Laurence Hide*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, Viſcount *Hide* of *Kenilworth* and Baron of *Wotton-Baſſet*, One of the Lords of Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Councel, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, One of the Governours of the *Charter*-houſe.

This Noble Lord, who was firſt Maſter of the Robes to his Majeſty King *Charles* 2. And then Prime Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, was Created Baron of *Wotton Baſſet* in *Wiltſhire*, as alſo Viſcount *Hyde* of *Kenilworth* in *Com. Warr.* 23. *Apr.* (1681) 33. *Car.* 2. And Earl 29. *November.* (1682) 34. *ejuſdem Regis.* He was likewiſe One of the Gentlemen of the Kings Royal Bed-chamber, and laſtly Lord High Treaſurer of *England temp. Jac.* 2. Being ſecond Son to Sir *Edward Hyde* Knight Earl of *Clarendon*, &c. before mentioned herein.

55. *James Bertie*, Earl of *Abingdon*, and Baron *Norris*, *Chief Juſtice* in *Eyre* of all his Majeſties *Forreſts*, *Chaces*, *Parks* and *Warrens*, ſouth of *Trent*, Lord Lieutenant of *Oxfordſhire* and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſame County; One of the younger Sons to *Montagu* Earl of *Lindſey*, &c. Lord Great Camberlain of *England*, but Heir to his Mother *Bridget* Lady *Norris* Daughter and Sole Heir to *Edward Wray* Eſquire, One of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber to King *James* 1. and King *Charles* 1. (ſecond Son to Sir *William Wray* of *Glentworth* in *Com. Linc.* Knight and Baronet) by the Lady *Elizabeth Norris* his Wife ſole Daughter and Heir to *Francis* Earl of *Berkſhire*, Viſcount *Lane* and Lord *Norris* of *Ricot*, Grandſon and Heir to Sir *Henry Norris* of *Ricot* in *Com. Oxon* Kt. *Ambaſſador* in *France* from Queen *Elizabeth*, who had Summons to Parliament among the Barons of this Realm and took his Place in the Houſe of Peers 8. *May*, in the 14th year of her Reign.

The Title of Baron *Norris* was allowed unto this Noble Lord (by reaſon of his Deſcent as aforeſaid) upon the Reſtoration of his Majeſty King *Charles* 2. who created him Earl of *Abingdon* (in *Com. Berks*) 30. *November* (1682) 34. *Regni ſui.*

56. *Baptiſt Noel*, Earl of *Gainesborough*, Viſcount *Campden*, Baron *Noel* of *Ridlington*, Lord *Hicks* of *Ilmington*, and Baronet.

This Family derive their Original by a younger Son from Sir. *Robert* the Son of *Noel* Lord of *Ranton* and *Ellenhall* in *Com. Stafford temp. Hen.* 2 (whoſe co-heir brought that Inheritance to the *Harcourts* in the time of King *John*) and were Owners of *Ceſſeford*, as alſo of *Newbold* near *Chedſey* and of *Hilcot* in the ſame County, of which Houſe, *Andrew Noel* of *Dalby*, in *Com. Leiceſter* was a younger Brother, whoſe ſecond Son Sir *Andrew Noel* of *Dalby* aforeſaid Knight, One of the Gentlemen Penſioners to Queen *Elizabeth*, was Father of Sir *Edward Noel* of *Brook*, in *Com. Rutland* Knight, on whom the Degree of Baronet was conferr'd 29. *Junij* (1611) 9. *Jac.* 1. ſhortly after the erection of that Honor (he being the 34th perſon from the firſt Creation) which Sir *Edward* was promoted to the Dignity of Baron *Noel* of *Ridlington* in *Rutlandſhire* 23. *March* 14. *ejuſdem Regis*, and having married *Juliana* the Daughter and Co-heir of Sir *Baptiſt Hicks* of *London* Kt. upon the Advancement of the ſame Sir *Baptiſt* to the Titles of Lord *Hicks* of *Ilmington* in *Com. Warr.* And Viſcount *Campden* of *Campden* in *Glouceſterſhire* 5. *May*, 4. *Car.* 1. Obtain'd an entail of them (for defect of Iſſue Male) on himſelf and the heirs Male of his Body, and upon the Death of the ſaid Viſcount *Campden* &c. 18. *Octob.* 1629 ſucceeded him accordingly, leaving Iſſue *Baptiſt* Viſcount *Campden* &c. Father of *Edward Noel* Eſquire, who having Married the Lady *Elizabeth Wriotheſly*, eldeſt Daughter and co-heir of *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton* Lord *Wriotheſley* of *Tichfield*, &c. was created Lord *Noel* of *Tichfeild* in *Com. Hants* 3. *Febr.* (1680) 33. *Car.* 2. which *Edward* Lord *Noel* of *Tichfeild* and (after the Death of his Father) Viſcount *Campden* &c. was by the ſame King made Earl of *Gainesborough* in *Com. Linc* 1. *Decemb.* (1682) 34. *Regni ſui*, with Remainder to *Baptiſt Noel* Eſquire and *John Noel* Eſquire his Brothers ſucceſſively, being ſucceeded by *Wriotheſley-Baptiſt* his Eldeſt Son and Heir, who dying without Iſſue Male the Title devolv'd on the preſent Noble Earl, as Son and Heir of the beforementioned *Baptiſt Noel* Eſquire by vertue of the Entail.

57. *Robert D'arcie*, Earl of *Holderneſs*, Lord *D'arcie Meinel* and *Conyers*, Grandſon and Heir of *Conyers* Earl of *Holderneſs* &c. Son and heir of *Conyers* Lord *Darcie* and *Conyers*, who was Created Earl of *Holderneſs* within the parts of the Eaſt *Riding* of *Yorkſhire* 5. *Decemb.* (1682) 34. *Car.* 2. Which *Conyers* was Son and Heir of Sir *Conyers D'arcy* of *Hornby* Caſtle in *Com. Ebor.* Knight, the principal Male-branch of the Ancient and Noble Family of *D'Arcie*, who came into *England* at the time of the *Norman* Conqueſt, and had firſt Summons to Parliament among the Barons of this Realm 25. *Edward* 1. In the perſons of *Philip D'arci* of *Nocton Com. Linc.* (Whoſe Line determined in Females) Elder Brother to *John D'arci* of *Knaith*, alſo in *Lincolnſhire*, likewiſe called to Parliament as Lord *D'arcie*. 28. *ejuſdem Regis*, Father of *John* Lord *Darcy*, who Married *Elizabeth* ſole Daughter and Heir of *Nicholas* Lord *Meinell*, and had Iſſue *Philip* Lord *Darcie* and *Meinell*, whoſe Heirs general were one of them matched to the Anceſtor of *John* Lord *Conyers* (the other dying Iſſueleſs) and his ſecond Daughter & co-heir *Elizabeth* became the wife of *Thomas* ſecond Son of Sir *Arthur Darcy* Kt. younger Brother to *George* Lord *Darcy*, Great Grandfather to *John* Lord *Darcy* of *Aſton*, in the *Weſt* Riding of *Yorkſhire*, who died without Iſſue Male *Anno* 1635. Which *Elizabeth*

Elizabeth was Mother to the beforementioned Sir *Coniers Darcy* Knight, of *Hornby* Caſtle aforeſaid; unto whom King *Charles* the ſecond by Letters Patent bearing date at *Weſtminſt.* 10. *Aug.* in the 17th Year of his Reign reſtored and confirmd the Stile, Titles and Dignities of Lord *Darcy* and *Coniers*, ſo enjoy'd by his Anceſtors, with ſuch place, preeminence and precedency as *John* Lord *Darcy temp. Hen.* 4. and *John* Lord *Coniers temp. Hen.* 8. *Edw.* 6. & *Mariæ* had and enjoy'd, with limitation of thoſe Honors to the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten.

58. *Henry Windſor*, Earl of *Plymouth* and Lord *Windſor*. Grandſon and Heir of *Thomas* Earl of *Plymouth* and Lord *Windſor* of *Bradenham* whoſe Father *Dixie Hickman* of Kew in *Com. Surr.* Eſquire [Son and Heir of *Walter Hickman*, third Brother to Sir *William Hickman* of *Gainesborough* in *Com. Linc.* Knight, lineally deſcended from *Robert Hickman* of [illegible] *ham* in *Oxfordſhire* 1272. 56 *Hen.* 3] having Married *Elizabeth* the Elder of the two Siſters and Co-heirs of *Thomas* Lord *Windſor* of *Bradenham* who died without Iſſue 6. *Decemb.* 1642 whereby that Barony being in the Kings diſpoſal ſo that he might confer it on the Iſſue of either of thoſe Siſters, or retain it, his Majeſty King *Charles* 2. conſidering that this laſt *Thomas* Lord *Windſor* had ſettled the greateſt part of his Ancient Inheritance upon his Nephew *Thomas Windſor Hickman*, Son of *Dixie Hickman* by *Elizabeth* his elder Siſter before mentiond, was pleaſed to confirm to him and his Heirs the ſaid Title of Lord *Windſor*, with ſuch Place in Parliament as his Predeceſſors had formerly enjoyed from Sir *Andrew Windſor* of *Stanwell* near *Hounſlow* in *Com. Middx* [which fair Lordſhip his Anceſtors had poſſeſſed by ſucceſſion from the time of the *Norman* Conqueſt] firſt ſummon'd among the Barons of this Realm to the Parliament begun at *Weſtminſt.* (3 *Nov.* 21. *Hen.* 8.) By Letters Patent bearing date 16. *Jun.* 1660. In the 12th Year of his Reign, which ſaid *Thomas* Lord *Windſor*, was ſometime, Governor of the Iſland of *Jamaica* and Admiral of thoſe Seas, as alſo Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Worceſter*, and was created Earl of *Plymouth*, in *Com. Devon*, 6. *Decemb.* (1682.) 34. *ejuſd. Regn.*

59. *Catharine Sidley*, Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*, [in *Com. Dorſet*] and Baroneſs of *Darlington* [in the County *Palatine* of *Durham*] only Daughter of Sir *Charles Sedley* Baronet, by the Lady *Catharine Savage*, his Wife 3d Daughter of *John* Earl *Rivers*, advanced to theſe Dignities during life 20. *Januar.* (1685) 1. *Jac.* 2.

60. *Francis Radcliffe*, Earl of *Derwentwater*, Viſcount *Radcliffe* and *Langley*, Baron of *Tyndale* and Baronet; Son and Heir of Sir *Edward Radcliffe* of *Dilſton* in *Com. Northum.* and of *Derwentwater* in the County of *Cumberland* Baronet, the Son and Heir of *Francis Radcliffe* of *Derwentwater* aforeſaid Eſq; on whom the Honourable Degree of Baronet was conferr'd 31. *Jan.* (1619) 17. *Jac.* 1. which Sir *Francis* was Son and Heir of Sir *George Radcliffe* Kt. and he Son and Heir of Sir *Cuthbert Radcliffe* Kt. the Son and Heir of Sir *Edward Radcliff* Kt. by *Ann* his Wife, Daughter and Heir to *John Cartington* of *Cartington*, in *Com. Cumbr.* which Sir *Edward* was 3d Son, and at length Heir (by the death of his Nephews without Iſſue Male,) to *Thomas Radcliffe* Eſq; Son and Heir of Sir *Nicholas Radcliff* Kt. *temp. Hen.* 5. by *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter and Heir of Sir *John Derwentwater* Kt. a deſcendent of the ancient Family of *Radcliff* of *Radcliff* Tower, in the County *Palatine* of *Lancaſter*, which Noble Lord was created Baron of *Tyndale* aforeſaid, in the County of *Northumberland*, Viſcount *Radcliffe* and *Langley* before mention'd, in *Com. Cumbr.* and Earl by Letters Patent bearing date 7. *Mar.* (1687) 4 *Jac.* 2.

61. *Henry Stafford*, Earl of *Stafford*, eldeſt Son of Sir *William Howard* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, 2d Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, and Earl Marſhal of *England*, &c. Great Grandfather to the preſent Duke of *Norfolke*; which Sir *William* by reaſon of his Marriage with *Mary* Siſter and ſole Heir to *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, was by Letters Patent bearing date 12. *Sept.* 16. *Car.* 1. advanced to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Stafford*, and ſhe the ſaid *Mary* of a Baroneſs, and by another Patent dated 11. *Nov.* next enſuing, to the Dignity of Viſcount *Stafford*, which Noble Lord being Accuſed by *Titus Oates* and others for the Popiſh Plot, did thereupon immediately ſurrender himſelf (together with four more) 25. *Oct.* 1678. (30. *Car.* 2.) and was committed to the *Tower*, from whence being brought to his Trial in *Weſtminſter hall* 30. *Nov.* 1680. and by his Peers found Guilty of High-Treaſon, he had Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him, 7. *Dec.* following, and was beheaded on *Tower hill* the 29th of the ſame Month; aſſerting his Innocence to the very laſt Moment: In conſideration therefore of theſe ſuffering King *James* 2. by his Letters Patent dated 5. *Oct.* (1688) 4. *Reg. ſui.* created the preſent Lord Earl of *Stafford*; *ſibi & hæredibus Maſculis* with remainder to *John* & *Francis* his younger Brothers ſucceſſively and their Heirs Male, granting at the ſame time the Degree of a Counteſs unto the Lady *Mary* Widow of the ſaid late Viſcount *Stafford*; and unto *John* and *Francis* aforeſaid, *Mary*, *Urſula* and *Anaſtaſia* the Children of the ſaid late Viſcount ſuch Rights, Privileges and Preeminences, as the Children of any Earl of this Kingdom may have and enjoy, with a Clauſe of Releaſe of the High-Treaſon of the ſaid late Viſcount *Stafford*, and all Forfeitures due for the ſame.

62. *William Bentinck*, Earl of *Portland*, Viſcount *Woodſtock* and Baron of *Cirencester*, Groome of the Stole to his Majeſty, and firſt Gentleman of the Kings Royal Bed-chamber and Privy Purſe, One of the Lieutenant Generals of his Majeſties Army, Collonel and Captain of the *Dutch* Regiment of the Kings Guards, and One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honon-

Honourable Privy Council. This Noble Person having by many faithful Services highly merited from his present most Excellent Majesty (when Prince of *Orange*) and been constantly Attendant on Him, both in the Court and Camp, was therefore in consideration of those his Eminent Deserts, worthily Promoted to the Degrees and Dignities of Baron of *Cirencester* aforesaid, in *Com. Glouceſt.* Viscount *Woodstoke* in the County of *Oxon*, and Earl of *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, by Letters Patent bearing date at *Westminster*, 9. *Apr.* (1689) 1. *Will. & Mariæ*, two days preceding the King and Queens Royal Inauguration, for the greater Honor of that Solemnity.

63. *Thomas Bellaſſis*, Earl of *Fauconberge*, Viscount *Falconberg* of *Henknowle*, Baron *Faucombridge* of *Yarum* and Baroner, *Custos Rotulorum* for the Parts of the *North-Riding* in the County of *York*, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, sometime Captain of the Guard of Gentlemen Pensioners to King *Cha.* 2. and Ambassador Extraordinary to the Illustrious Republick of *Venice*, succeeded his Noble Grandfather Sir *Thomas Bellayse* Baronet, who for his Great Merits was created Lord *Fauconberge* of *Yarum*, in *Com. Ebor.* 25. *Maij.* (1627) 3. *Car.* 1. and having faithfully adhered to that King in the times of the then unhappy troubles, was in further consideration thereof advanced to the Dignity of Viscount *Faulconbridge* of *Henknowle*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, by Letters Patent bearing date at *Oxford* 31. *Jan.* (1642) 18. *ejusdem Regis*, being Son and Heir to Sir *Henry Balayse* of *Newborough*, in *Com. Ebor.* Knight on whom the Degree of Baronet was confer'd 29. *Jun.* (1611) 9. *Jac.* 1. soon after the Erection of of that Honor, He being the 311st (as to Precedence) from the first Creation, which Sir *Henry* was Son and Heir to Sir *William Bellaſſis* of *Newborough* aforesaid Kt. a lineal descendent, in the 13th Generation from Sir *Rowland Bellaſſis* Lord of *Bellaſſis*, in *Com. Pal. Dunelm. temp. Ric.* 1. & *Hen.* 3.

The present Noble Lord was the second Coronation Earl, and created at the same time with the former, his Patent bearing date 9. *Apr.* (1689) 1. *Will. & Mar.*

64. *Charles Mordaunt*, Earl of *Monmouth*, Viscount *Mordant* of *Avalon*, and Baron *Mordaunt* of *Rygate*, One of the Gentlemen of the Kings Royal Bed-chamber, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Northampton*, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council; whose Noble Father *John Mordaunt* (younger Brother to *Henry* now Earl of *Peterborow*) for his Loyal Affection to King *Charles* the 1st in the time of his greatest Distresses, *Ann.* (1648.) and firm adherence to King *Charles* 2. was by Letters Patent bearing date 10. *July* (1659) 11. *ejusd. Regis* advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Mordant* of *Rygate* in *Surrey*, as also to the Honor of Viscount *Mardaunt* of *Avalon*, in *Com. Somerset*, and married *Elizabeth* Daughter of the Honourable *Thomas Cary* Esq; second Son to *Henry* Earl of *Monmouth*, &c. in respect whereof the present Lord chose that Title, and was the Third Coronation Earl, being created 9. *Apr.* (1689) 1. *Will. & Mar.* at the same time with the two next aforegoing.

65. *Ralph Montagu*, Earl of *Montagu*, Viscount *Mount-Hermer* and Baron *Montagu* of *Boughton*, Master or Keeper of the Kings Great Wardrobe, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, Chief of the present Noble Family of *Montagu*. Created Viscount and Earl at the same time, as the three last, *scil.* 9. *Apr.* (1689) 1. *Will. & Mar.* two days before the Coronation in order to the greater splendor of that Ceremony.

He was Son and Heir of *Edward* Lord *Montagu*, whose Father Sir *Edward Montagu* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, was promoted to the Dignity of Baron *Montagu* of *Boughton*, in *Com. Northampton*, by Pat. dated 29. *Jun.* (1621) 19. *Jac.* 1. which *Edward* Lord *Montagu* was 2d surviving Son and Heir to Sir *Edward Montagu* of *Boughton* aforesaid Kt. the Son and Heir of Sir *Edward Montague* Kt. also of *Boughton*, Lord Chief Justice of the Kings *Bench* and Common *Pleas*, *temp. Hen.* 8. *Edw.* 6. & *Mariæ Reginæ*, who was Son and Heir to *Thomas Montagu* of *Hemington* in *Northamptonshire* Esq; the Son and Heir of *Richard Montagu* of *Hanging Houghton* in the said County Esq; Son and Heir of *William Montague* Esq; the Son and Heir of *John Montague* Esq; Son and Heir of *Thomas Montagu* Esq; who was Son and Heir of Sir *Simon de Montagu* of *Hanging Houghton* beforementioned Kt. by *Ellen* his Wife Daughter and Heir of *William de Houghton* of *Houghton*, in *Com. Northampt.* Esq; which Sir *Simon* was a Branch of the ancient Stock of the *Montagu's* or *Montacut's*, long since Earls of *Salisbury* and Lords *Montacute*, who married the Heir General of *Ralph de Monts-Hermer*, sometime Earl of *Glouceſter* and *Hertford* and Lord *Monthermer temp. Edw.* 1. & *Edw.* 2.

66. *John Churchill*, Earl of *Marlborough*, Baron *Churchill* of *Sandridge* and Lord *Churchill* of *Aumouth*, sometime Major General of all his Majesties Forces both Horse and Foot; and One of the Gentlemen of the Kings Royal Bed-chamber, eldest Son and Heir of Sir *Winston Churchill* Kt. One of the Clerks Comptroller of the *Green-cloth* to King *Charles* the 2d, and the late King *James* 2. who was Son and Heir of *John Churchill* of *Minhurst*, in *Com. Dorset* by *Sarah* his Wife, Daughter and Heir of Sir *Henry Winston* Kt. which *John* was younger Brother to *Jasper Churchill*, Father of Sir *John Churchill* of *Churchill*, in *Com. Somerset* Master of the Rolls.

This Noble Lord having been first made a Peer of *Scotland*, by the Title of Baron *Churchill* of *Aumouth*, soon after King *James* the 2d came to the Crown, who further Honour'd him with the Dignity of Lord *Churchil* of *Sandridge*, in *Com. Hertford*, 14. *May* (1685)

1. *Regni*

1. *Regni sui*, he was created Earl of *Marlborough*, in *Com. Wilts* 9. *Apr.* (1689) 1. *Will. & Mar.* being the 4th and last rais'd to that Degree in order to their Attendance upon the King and Queens solemn Coronation.

67. *Arthur Herbert*, Earl of *Torrington*, and Baron *Herbert* of *Torbay*; a younger Son of Sr. *Edward Herbert* Kt. some time Attorney General to the Royal Martyr *Charles* I. and afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal to King *Charles* II. in his Majesties Exile, who dyed at *Rouen* in *Normandy*, *anno* 1660. and was Son to *Charles Herbert* of *Aston* in *Com. Montgom.* Third Brother to *Richard Herbert*, Father of *Edward* first Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* in *England*, and *Castle Island* in *Ireland*, and of Sr. *Henry Herbert* of *Ribbesford* in *Com. Wigorn* Kt. Master of the Revels, Father to the present Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*.

This Noble Person was Master of the Robes to King *James* II. but afterwards betaking himself to the Service of his present Majesty (when Prince of *Orange*) and having the Chief Command of the Fleet, in his happy Expedition hither was therefore in consideration of his fidelity and merit, worthily advanced to the Dignities of Lord *Herbert* of *Torbay* (in *Com. Devon.*) and Earl of *Torrington* beforementioned (in the same County) with Remainder of the Barony to his Brother *Charles Herbert* Esq; by Letters Patent, bearing Date at *Westminster*, 29 *May* 1689, 1 *Will & Mar.* and constituted Vice-Admiral of *England*, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of their Majesties Fleet, having been Rear Admiral of *England*, *sub Car.* II. *anno* 1683.

68. *Richard Lumley*, Earl of *Scarborough*, Viscount *Lumley* of *Lumley Castle*, and Viscount *Lumley* of *Waterford*, Baron *Lumley* of *Lumley*, One of the Gentlemen of the Kings Royal Bed chamber, One of the Major Generals of his Majesty's Army, Collonel and Captain of the First Troop of the Kings Horse-Guards, Lord Lieutenant of the County Palatine of *Durham*, *Custos Rotulorum* for the County of *Northumberland*, Vice-Admiral of the Sea-Coasts of *Durham*, and *Northumberland*, and one of the Lords of his Majesties most Honorable Privy Council; Son and Heir of *John Lumley* Esquire, whose Father Sir *Richard Lumley* Knight was Created Viscount *Lumley* of *Waterford* in the Kingdom of *Ireland* 12. *July* (1628) 4. *Car.* 1. Son of *Roger Lumley* and Heir (by Adoption) to *John* last Lord *Lumley* of the most Ancient Family Sirnamed *Lumley* from their Residence at *Lumley* Castle in *Com. Dunelm.* who lineally descended from *Liulphus* (the Son of *Memiavus*) a Person of great Nobility in the time of King *Edward* the *Confessor*.

The present Noble Lord was Honour'd with the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by King *Charles* II. by Patent dated 31. *May* (1681.) 33 *Regni Sui*, with an Entail thereof for want of Issue Male of his own Body on *Henry Lumley* Esq; his Brother and his Heirs Male, being at that time Master of the Horse to the Queen. His present Majesty made him a Viscount of this Kingdom, 10 *Apr.* (1689.) 1 *Will. & Mar.* the day before the King and Queens solemn Inauguration, and he was lately created Earl of *Scarborough* in *Com. Ebor.* 15 *Apr.* (1690.) 2 *Will. & Mar.*

69. *George Booth* Earl of *Warrington*, Lord *Delamer* of *Dunham Massey* and Baronet, second Son and Heir of *Henry* Lord *Delamer* of *Dunham Massy* and Baronet, who having been most eminently active in, and with (the greatest hazard imaginable) highly contributed to the late happy Revolution, was in consideration of his acceptable Service worthily Honour'd with the Title of Earl of *Warrington* in *Com. Pal. Lanc.* by Letters Patent, bearing Date at *Westminster* 17. *Apr.* (1690.) in the second Year of the Reign of their most Excellent Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

He was Son and Heir to the most Exemplarily Loyal Sr. *George Booth* of *Dunham-Massy* in *Com. Pal. Cestr.* Baronet, who for his well intended (though unsuccessful) Attempt towards the Restauration of King *Charles* II. *Ann.* (1659) was promoted to the Dignity of Baron *Delamer* of *Dunham Massy* aforesaid, 20 *Apr.* (1661.) 13. *ejusdem Regis*, two days before his Majesties Royal Coronation, being the Third Baron then made for the greater Splendor of that Solemnity; which *George* Lord *Delamer* was Grandson and Heir to Sir *George Booth* Knight of *Dunham Massy* beforementioned, the tenth person (as to precedence) of those on whom the Degree of Baronet was conferr'd at the first Erection of that Honor, his Patent bearing date 22. *May* (1611) 9. *Jac.* 1. Paternally descended (by a younger Son) from a very Ancient and Knightly Stock of that Name in those parts, and in *Lancashire*, and by Heirs Female from the *Massies* heretofore Barons of *Dunham* in that County Palatine, as also from the *Manifolks* and *Clintons*, Honourable Families of this Realm.

70. *Francis Newport*, Earl of *Bradford*, Viscount *Newport* of *Bradford*, and Baron *Newport* of *High Ercal*, Treasurer of the Houshold and *Cofferer* to his Majesty, Lord *Lieutenant* of the County of *Salop* and *Custos Rotulorum* for the said County, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council; Son and Heir of Sir *Francis Newport* of *High-Ercal* in *Com. Salop* Knight, who meriting highly for his many and great Services to King *Charles* the First (of blessed Memory) and to the County where he lived, was by Letters Patent bearing date at *Bridgenorth* 14. *Octobr.* (1642) 18. *Ejusdem Regis*, advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Newport* of *High-Ercal* aforesaid, which *Richard* Lord *Newport* having suffer'd much for his Loyalty in the then Unhappy Troubles, and being Aged, retired from the Violence of those Usurpers then Predominant, and dying at *Moulins*, in *France* 8. *Febr.* 1650. was there Interr'd, being the 11th descendant in a lineal Succession (whereof some were Knights) from *Henry de Newport* of *Shropshire*, and extracted by Heirs Female from divers Families of Ancient Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom.

The present Noble Lord having (in his

Fathers life time) manifeſted his Loyalty by taking up Arms on the behalf of the Royal Martyr and acted Valiantly in *North-Wales* and elſe where, until by the Fortune of War he became a Priſoner *Anno.* 1644. was after the happy *Reſtauration* in Conſideration thereof, and other his perſonal Merits firſt made Comptroller, next Treaſurer of the Houſehold and afterwards Viſcount *Newport* of *Bradford* in *Com. Salop.* By Patent dated 11. *Mar.* (1674) 27. *Car.* 2. He was alſo of the moſt Honourable Privy Council to his Majeſty, and to the late King *James* 2. as likewiſe Treaſurer of his Houſhold, and was laſtly created Earl 11. *May*, (1694.) 6. *Will.& Mar.*

71. *Henry Sidney*, Earl of *Rumney*, Viſcount *Sydney* of *Sheppey* and Baron of *Milton*, One of the Gentlemen of the Kings Royal Bed-chamber, Maſter General of his Majeſties Ordnance, Captain and Collonel of the firſt Regiment of the Kings Foot Guards, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Conſtable of *Dover*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Kent* and City of *Canterbury*, and County of the ſame City, Vice-Admiral of *Kent*, *Caſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County of *Kent*, and One of the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, Younger Brother to the preſent Earl of *Leiceſter*.

He was ſometime Envoy Extraordinary from King *Charles* II. to the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, and having upon the late happy Revolution (wherein he was moſt highly inſtrumental) accompanyed his preſent Majeſty (then Prince of *Orange*) in his Expedition hither, been made choice of to be One of the moſt Honourable Privy Council, was ſoon after (for his faithful Services) preferr'd to the Dignities of Baron of *Milton* aforeſaid in *Com. Cantii*, and Viſcount *Sidney* of *Sheppey* (an Iſle in the ſame County) by Letters Patent, bearing Date, 9. *Apr.* (1689.) 1. *Will.& Mar.* two Days before Their Majeſties Solemn Coronation, in ordine to his Attendance at that Ceremony, after which he was firſt conſtituted One of the Principal Secretaries of State, next made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and laſtly, Created Earl of *Rumney* in *Kent* (one of the Cinque-Ports) 14. *May* (1694.) in the Sixth Year of the ſame King, and the late Queen.

72. *Ford Grey*, Earl of *Tankerville*, Viſcount *Glendale*, Baron *Grey* of *Werke* and Baronet, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council; Son and Heir to *Ralph* Lord *Grey* of *Werke* and Baronet, whoſe Father *William Grey* of *Chillingham* in *Com. Northumb.* Eſq; who upon the 15. of *June* (1619.) 17. *Jac.* 1. had been preferred to the Degree of Baroner, was afterwards, *viz.* 11. *Febr.* 1623. 21. *ejuſdem Regis* advanced to the Honour of Baron *Grey* of *Werke* in the County of *Northumberland*, which *William* Lord *Grey* was Son and Heir to Sir *Ralph Grey* of *Chillingham* aforeſaid Kt. by *Jane* his Wife, Daughter of *William Ardington* of *Ardington* in *Com. Eſſex.* Eſq; Younger Brother and Heir to Sir *Thomas Grey* Knight, alſo of *Chillingham*, and Son to another Sir *Ralph Grey* of *Chillingham* aforementioned Knight, Warden of the Weſt Marches towards *Scotland*, 6. *Edw.* 6. by his Wife *Iſabel*, Daughter and Co-heir of Sir *Thomas Grey* of *Horton* in the ſaid County of *Northumberland* Knight, which laſt Sir *Ralph* was Son and Heir of Sir *Edward Grey* Kt. likewiſe of *Chillingham*, whoſe Father Sir *Edward Grey* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, beheaded at *Doncaſter*, 4. *Edw.* 4. was Son and Heir of Sir *Ralph Grey* Kt. Lord of *Werk* aforeſaid, the third Son and Heir to Sir *Thomas Grey*, Brother to Sir *John Grey* Kt. Lord *Powys*, and Earl of *Tankerville* in *Normandy*, *temp.* H. 5. whoſe Male Line became long ſince extinct, in reſpect whereof the preſent Noble Lord, who is the Heir Male Collateral to the ſame *John Grey* Earl of *Tankerville* as before recited, was Created Viſcount *Glendale* in *Com. Northumb.* and Earl of *Tankerville*, by Letters Patent bearing Date at *Weſtminſter*, 11 *May*, (1695.) 7. *Will. Tertii.*

73. *William Zuleſtein*, Earl of *Rochford*, Viſcount *Tunbridge* and Baron of *Enfeild*, One of the Major Generals of the Kings Army; Son of *Frederick* of *Naſſau* Lord of *Zuleſtein*, by *Mary* his Wife, Daughter of Sir *William Killegrew* Kt. ſometime Vice-Chamberlain to Her Majeſty *Catharine*, the preſent Queen Dowager, which *Frederick* was a Collonel of Foot, and ſlain valiantly fighting againſt the *French* at *Verdam*, 12. *Octob.* 1672. being Natural Son to *Henry-Frederick*, the Second of that Name, Prince of *Orange*, &c. Grandfather to his now Majeſty *William* the Third, King of *England*, &c. By whom this Noble Lord was Created Baron of *Enfeild* aforeſaid (*in Com. Middl.*) Viſcount *Tunbridge* (in *Kent*) and Earl of *Rochford* (in *Eſſex*) by Letters Patent Dated 10. *May* 1695. 7. *Regni ſui.*

Viſcounts

VISCOUNTS of ENGLAND.

1. THE most Noble, Potent, and Honourable *Edward Devereux*, Viscount *Hereford* and Baronet, the Primer Viscount of *England*; Son and Heir to *Leicester* Viscount *Hereford*, &c. whose Father was Sir *Walter Devereux* of Castle *Bromwich*, in *Com. Warr.* Kt. and Baronet, on whom the Title of Viscount devolv'd after the death of *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, 14. *Sept.* 1646. which *Walter* Viscount *Hereford* &c. was Son and Heir to Sir *Edward Devereux* of *Castle Bromwich* aforesaid Baronet [so Created 25. *Nov.* (1612.) 25. *Jac.* 1.] a younger Son of *Walter Devereux* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, advanced to the Dignity of Viscount *Hereford*, 2. *Febr.* (1549.) 4. *Edw.* 6.

2. *Francis Brown*, Viscount *Montacute*, Son and Heir of *Francis* Viscount *Montague*, the Son and Heir of *Anthony* Viscount *Montacute*, Grandson and Heir of *Anthony Brown* Esq; who was advanced to the Dignity of Viscount *Montague*, by Letters Patent bearing Date at *Hampton Court*, 2. *Sept.* (1554.) *ann.* 1 & 2. *Phil. & Mar.* by reason that the Lady *Lucie Nevill* his Grandmother was one of the Daughters and Co-Heirs to *John* Marquiss *Montacute*.

3. *William Fiennes*, Viscount and Baron *Say* and *Sele*, whose Grandfather *William* Baron *Say* and *Sele* was Created Viscount, 7. *July* (1624) 22. *Jac.* 1. and dyed 14. *Apr.* 1662. *James* his eldest Son succeeding him, who departed this Life, 15. *Mar.* 1673. without Issue Male, and was Uncle unto the now Viscount, to whom his Honors thereby descended.

The Title of Baron *Say* and *Sele* was conferred on Sir *James Fiennes* Kt. summon'd to Parliament, by a special Writ, bearing Date at *St. Edmundsbury*, 3. *March* 1446. 25. *Hen.* 6. in regard, that *Joan* his Mother was third Sister and Co-heir to *William de Say*, a Descendent of the antient Barons *Say*, with the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the third day after; which *James* Lord *Say* and *Sele* for further corroboration of that Dignity, upon the first of *November* then next following, had a full Confirmation and quit Claimer thereof from *John* Lord *Clinton*; as also of the Arms of *Say*, which by reason of the Descent of the said Lord *John* from *Idonea*, the eldest Sister of the before specified *William de Say* did or might belong unto him; but the Title being discontinued in his Grandson for want of Summons to Parliament, altho he and his Posterity stiled themselves Lord *Say*, King *James* 1. by Letters Patent, dated at *Hampton Court*, 9. *Aug.* (1603) 1. *Regni sui*, fully recognized and confirmed to Sir *Richard Fenys* Kt. and to the Heirs Male of his Body, the said Title of Baron *Say* and *Sele*, which Noble Lord was Father to *William* made Viscount as aforementioned.

4. *Charles Townshend*, Viscount *Townshend* of *Raynham*, Baron *Townshend* of *Lynn Regis* and Baronet, Son and Heir to Sir *Horatio Townshend* of *Raynham* aforesaid in *Com. Norf.* Bar. on whom that Honourable Degree had been conferred, 16. *Apr.* (1617.) 15. *Jac.* 1. who for his Exemplary Loyalty and approved Fortitude was first Created Baron *Townshend* of *Kings Lenne* in *Norf.* 20. *Apr.* (1661) 13. *Car.* 2. being the fourth Coronation Baron, and afterwards Viscount by Letters Patent, bearing Date 2. *Dec.* (1682.) 34. *ejusdem Regis*, which *Horatio* Viscount *Townshend*, &c. Paternally descended from an ancient Family of that Name in the County of *Norfolk*.

5. *Thomas Thynne*, Viscount *Weymouth*, Baron *Thinne* of *Warminster* and Baronet; Son and Heir of Sir *Henry-Frederick Thynne* of *Caurse Castle* in *Com. Salop* and of *Kempsford* in the County of *Worcester* Baronet, who had received that Degree of Honour, 15 *July* (1641.) 17. *Car.* 1. and was the second Person (as to Precedence) whose Patent bears the same Date, Heir Male upon the Death of *Thomas Thinne* Esq; his CousinGerman, (who was most barbarously shot in his Coach in *February* 1681) to the Ancient and Knightly Family of the *Thynnes* of *Long-Seat* in *Com. Wilts*, which first mentioned *Thomas* in consideration of his great Merits was advanced to the Dignity of Baron *Thinne* of *Warminster* aforesaid in *Wiltshire*, and Viscount *Weymouth* in *Com. Dorset*, 11. *Dec.* (1682.) 34. *Car.* 2. with Remainder for want of Issue Male of his own Body to his two Brothers, *James*, and *Henry-Frederick Thynne*.

6. *Christopher Hatton*, Viscount *Hatton* of *Gretton*, and Baron *Hatton* of *Kirby*; *Custos Rotulorum* for the County of *Northampton*, and Governour of the Isle of *Guernsey*; Son and Heir to *Christopher* Baron *Hatton*, Comptroller of the Houshold to his Majesty King *Charles* 1. Governor of *Garnsey*, *temp. Car.* 2. and One of the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, who was Son and Heir to Sir *Christopher Hatton* Kt. of the Bath, the Son and Heir of another Sir *Christopher Hatton*, likewise Kt. of the Bath, Son and Heir of *John Hatton* neareſt Kinsman of the Male Line to the Right Honourable Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter *temp. Eliz.*

This Family took their Denomination from the Lordship of *Hatton* in *Cheshire*, and derive their Descent from *Nigel* Baron of *Halton* in that County, Constable to the old Earls of *Chester*.

The present Lord was Created Viscount *Hatton* of *Gretton* aforesaid, in *Com. Northampt.* by Letters Patent, bearing Date, 17. *Jan.* (1682.) 34. *Car.* His Loyal Father having been made Baron *Hatton* of *Kirby* in the same County at *Oxford*, 29. *July*, (1643.) 19. *Car.* 1.

7. *Henry Yelverton*, Viscount *Longueville*, Lord *Grey* of *Rathen* and Baronet, Brother and Heir of *Charles* Lord *Grey* of *Rathen*, &c. Son to Sir *Henry Yelverton* of *Easton Mauduit* in *Com. Northamp.* Baronet, by *Susanna Longeville* his Wife, sole Daughter

Daughter and Heir to *Charles* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, which *Charles* being Son and Heir of Sir *Michael Longville* of *Wolverton in Com. Buck.* Kt. by the Lady *Susanna* his Wife, Sister and sole Heir to *Henry* the Seventh Earl of *Kent*, Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, whose Ancestor *Roger de Grey* (Second Son to *John* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*) sate in the Parliament held at *York*, *ann.* (1322.) 16. *Edw.* 6. as Lord *Grey*, was upon his Claim exhibited in Parliament begun at *Westminster*, 3. *Nov.* (1640.) 16. *Car.* 1. admitted to the Title and Dignity of Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, and thereupon had his Place and Precedency in that Parliament accordingly, by Writ dated the 16. *Febr.* following, directed *Carolo Longvile de Grey Chevalier.*

This Family which hath long flourished at *Rougham* in *Com. Norf.* and were originally of *Raketh* in the said County, attain'd to the Honourable Degree of Baronet, in the Person of Sir *Christopher Yelverton* Kt. of *Easton Mauduit* aforementioned, 30. *Junij* (1641.) 18. *Car.* 1. and the present Lord was Created Viscount by Letters Patent, dated 21. *Apr.* (1690.) 2. *Will. & Mar.*

8. *Edward Villiers*, Viscount *Villiers* of *Dartford*, and Baron *Villiers* of *Hoo*, Knight Marshal of his Majesty's Household, and Ranger of *Hide-Park*, now Envoy Extraordinary to the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, and the Kings Plenepotentiary in the Congress of the Ministers of the *Confederate Princes* at the *Hague*, Son and Heir of Sir *Edward Villiers* Kt. Marshal to King *Charles* II. and the late King *James* II, by the Lady *Frances Howard*, Fifth Daughter to *Theophilus* Earl of *Suffolk &c.* which Sir *Edward* was younger Brother to the now Viscount *Grandison* of *Ireland*, and the Son of another Sir *Edward Villiers* Kt. by *Barbara* his Wife, Daughter of Sir *John St. John* of *Liddiard-Tregos* in *Com. Wilts* Kt. and Bar. a younger Son to Sir *William Villiers* of *Brooksby* in *Com. Leicest.* Kt. by his first Wife and elder Brother of the half Blood to *George* Duke, Marquiss and Earl of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Coventry*, Viscount *Villiers* and Baron of *Whaddon &c.* as also to *Christopher* Earl of *Anglesey* and Baron of *Daventre*, and to *John* Viscount *Purbeck* and Baron of *Stoke.*

The present Noble Lord was Created Baron *Villiers* of *Hoo* and Viscount *Villiers* of *Dartford*, (Places in *Kent*) by Letters Patent, bearing Date 20. *March* (1690.) in the Third Year of the Reigns of his now Majesty and the late Queen *Mary* (of Blessed Memory) to whom he was Master of the Horse.

A Catalogue of the LORDS SPIRITUAL *of* England.

Arch-Bishops.

1. THE most Reverend Father in God, His Grace *Thomas Tenison*, D.D. by Divine Providence, Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*; One of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. Consecrated Bishop of *Lincoln* at *Lambeth* by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Worcester* and *Ely*, 30. *Jan.* 1691. Translated to the Archiepiscopal See of *Canterbury* at St. *Mary le Bow*, *London*, 16. *Jan.* 1694.

2. The most Reverend Father in God, His Grace *John Sharpe* D.D. by Divine Providence, Lord Arch-Bishop of *York*, Primate and Metropolitane of *England*; Consecrated at St. *Mary le Bow*, *Lond.* by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, *Worcester*, *Bristol* and *Ely*, 5. *July* 1691.

Bishops.

1. THE Right Reverend Father in God *Henry Compton* D.D. by Divine Permission, Lord Bishop of *London*, Dean of the Kings Chappel Royal, and One of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, One of the Governours of the *Charter-House*; Consecrated Bishop of *Oxford* at *Lambeth*, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, *Rochester*, *Peterborough* and *Chichester*, 6. *Decemb.* 1674. Translated to the See of *London* at St. *Martins* in the Fields, 8. *Decemb.* 1675.

2. *Nathaniel Crewe* L.L.D. Lord Bishop of *Durham* and Count Palatine; Consecrated Bishop of *Oxford* at *Lambeth*, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Rochester* and *Lincoln*. 2. *July* 1671. Translated to the See of *Durham*, 22. *Octob.* 1674.

3. *Peter Mew*, L.L.D. Lord Bishop of *Winchester* and Prelate of the most Noble Order of the Garter; One of the Governours of the *Charter-House*; Consecrated Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, at *Lambeth*, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Rochester*, *Exeter*, *St. Asaph*, *Chichester*, *Oxford* and *Gloucester*, 9. *Feb.* 1672. Translated to the See of *Winchester*, 22. *Nov.* 1684.

4. *William Beaw* D.D. Lord Bishop of *Llandaff*; Consecrated at *Lambeth*, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Carlisle* and *Peterborough*, 22. *Jun.* 1679.

5. *William Lloyd* D.D. Lord Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, Lord Almoner to his Majesty; Consecrated Bishop of *St. Asaph* at *Lambeth*, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Rochester*, *Ely* and *Oxford*, 3. *Octob.* 1680. Translated to the See of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, 20. *Octob.* 1692.

6. *Thomas*

6. *Thomas Smith* D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Conſecrated at *York*.
7. *Thomas Sprat*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Conſecrated at *Lambeth* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Peterborough*, *Ely* and *Derry* (in *Ireland*,) 2 *Nov.* 1684.
8. *Jonathan Trelawney*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Exeter* and Baronet, Conſecrated Biſhop of *Briſtoll*, at *Lambeth* by the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Exeter*, *Ely* and *Rocheſter*; Tranſlated to the See of *Exeter* at St. *Mary le Bow*, 13. *Apr.* 1689.
9. *Thomas Watſon*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of St. *Davids*, Conſecrated at *Lambeth*, by the Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Rocheſter* and *Cheſter*, 26. *Jun.* 1687.
10. *Gilbert Burnet*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *Chancellor* of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and Fellow of the Royal Society; Conſecrated at *Fulham*, by the Biſhops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Llandaff* and St. *Aſaph*, 31. *Mar.* 1689.
11. *Humphry Humphreys*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*, Conſecrated at *Fulham*, by the Biſhops of *London*, St. *Aſaph*, *Carliſle* and *Salisbury*.
12. *Nicholas Stratford*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Conſecrated at.——
13. *Edward Stillingfleet*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Conſecrated at *Fulham*, by the Biſhops of *London*, St. *Aſaph* and *Rocheſter*, 13. *Oct.* 1689.
14. *Simon Patrick*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, Conſecrated Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, at *Fulham*, by the Biſhops of *London*, St. *Aſaph* and *Rocheſter*, 13. *Oct.* 1689. (at the ſame time with the Biſhop of *Worceſter*,) Tranſlated to the See of *Chicheſter*, 2. *July* 1691.
15. *Gilbert Ironſide*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Hereford*, Conſecrated Biſhop of *Briſtoll*, at *Fulham*, by the Biſhops of *London*, St. *Aſaph* and *Rocheſter*, 13. *Oct.* 1689. at the ſame time with the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, (now *Ely*) Tranſlated to the See of *Hereford*, 29. *July* 1691.
16. *John Hough*, D. D. Lord Biſhops of *Oxford* and Preſident of *Magdalen College*, Conſecrated at *Fulham*, by the Biſhop of *London*, *Winchester*, St. *Aſaph*, *Llandaff*, *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*, 11. *May*, 1690.
17. *John Moor*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*, Conſecrated at St. *Mary le Bow*, *Lond.* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Briſtoll* and *Ely*, 5. *July*, 1691. at the ſame time with the Arch-Biſhops of *York*.
18. *Richard Cumberland*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*, Conſecrated at St. *Mary le Bow*, *Lond.* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Briſtoll* and *Ely*, 5. *July*, 1691. at the ſame time with the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *Norwich*.
19. *Edward Fowler*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, Conſecrated at St. *Mary le Bow*, *Lond.* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Briſtoll* and *Ely*, 5. *July*, 1691. at the ſame time with the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Norwich* and *Peterborough*.
20. *Robert Grove*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Conſecrated at St. *Mary le Bow*, *Lond.* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich* and *Glouceſter*, 30. *Aug.* 1691.
21. *Richard Kidder*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Conſecrated at St. *Mary le Bow*, *Lond.* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich* and *Glouceſter*, 30. *Aug.* 1691. at the ſame time with the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.
22. *John Hall*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Briſtoll* and Maſter of *Pembroke College*, Conſecrated at St. *Mary le Bow*, *Lond.* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich* and *Glouceſter*, 30. *Aug.* 1691. at the ſame time with the Biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Bath* and *Wells*.
23. *Edward Jones*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, Conſecrated Biſhop of *Cloyne* in *Ireland*, *Mar.* 1682. Tranſlated to the See of St. *Aſaph*, at St. *Mary le Bow*, *Lond.* 13. *Dec.* 1692.
24. *James Gardiner*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Conſecrated at *Lambeth*, by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Coventry* and *Lichfeild*, *and Rocheſter*, 10. *Mar.* 1694.

The Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury *takes Place next to the Princes of the Blood, and above all the Nobility and Great Officers; only by a ſpecial Act of Parliament, for the Naturalization of the moſt Noble Prince* George *of* Denmark *and ſetling his Precedence: It is Enacted, That Prince* George *of* Denmark, *from and after his being Created Duke and Peer of this Realm, ſhall Take, Hold and Enjoy, during the term of his Natural Life, the Place and Rank in and out of the Lords Houſe of Parliament, before the Lord Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *the Lord* Chancellor *and all other Great* Officers *and the* Dukes, *and all other* Peers *of this Realm, any Law, Statute, or Cuſtom whatſoever to the contrary notwithſtanding: Which Bill had the Royal Aſſent*, 9. Apr. (1689.) 1. Will. & Mar.

The Arch-Biſhop of York, *takes Place above all the Nobility (Prince* George *excepted) and Great* Officers, *except the Lord* High-Chancellor, *or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of* England.

The Biſhops (whereof London, Durham *and* Winchester, *always precede the reſt) take Place next after the* Viſcounts *and above the Temporal Barons, being Ranked according to the Seniority of their ſeveral Conſecrations.*

BARONS *of* ENGLAND.

1. THE Moſt Noble and Right Honourable *George Nevil*, Baron of *Abergavenny*, Son and Heir of *Richard Nevil* Eſq; the Son and Heir of Sir *Chriſtopher Nevil* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, who was 3d Brother to *Henry* Lord *Bergavenny*, Father of *John* and *George* Lords *Abergavenny*, which *George* was Father of another *George* Lord *Bergavenny*, upon whoſe death without Iſſue, the Title devolv'd on the preſent Lord, whoſe Anceſtor Sir. *Edward Nevil* Kt. fourth Son to *Ralph* Earl of *Weſtmerland*, &c. married the Lady *Elizabeth Beauchamp*, ſole Daughter and Heir to *Richard* Earl of *Worceſter*, &c. Son and Heir of *Richard Beauchamp* Lord *Abergavenny*, and being poſſeſſed of the Caſtle and Mannor of *Bergavenny*, 27. *Hen.* 6. was thereupon Stiled Lord *Abergavenny*, and had Summons to Parliament by that Title, 5 *Sept.* 29. *Hen.* 6. The ſaid Barony deſcended to the Family of *Beauchamp* with the poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Bergavenny*, by an Entail from the *Haſtings*'s Earls of *Pembroke*, &c. whoſe Anceſtor *John Haſtings* was Summon'd to Parliament, 23. *Junij* 23. *Ed.* 1.

2. *James Tuchet*, Lord *Audley* of *Heleigh*, and Earl of *Caſtle-Haven* in *Ireland*, deſcended by an Heir General from *Nicholas Audley*, who had Summons to Parliament as Baron *Audley*, 26. *Januarij*, 25. *Ed.* 1. His Anceſtor *George* Lord *Audley* of *Heleigh*, (in *Com. Staff.*) was created Earl of *Caſtle-Haven* beforemention'd, in *Sept.* 14. *Jac.* 1.

3. *Robert Bertie*, Lord *Willughby* of *Eresby*, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; Son and Heir apparent of the Right Honourable *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey*, &c. Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*: Summon'd to Parliament, 19. *Apr.* (1690) 2. *Will. & Mar.* and had Place according to the Seniority of his Fathers Barony, whoſe Anceſtor Robert *Willughby* Lord *Willughby* (of *Eresby*) [from whom he is deſcended by an Heir General] was Summon'd to Parliament among the Barons of this Realm, 26. *July*, 7. *Ed.* 2.

4. *John Weſt*, Baron *la Warre*, 2d Son and Heir to *Charles* Lord *la Warre* who died, *Anno* 1688. and was Son and Heir of *Henry* Lord *la Warre*, whoſe Anceſtor Sir *Thomas Weſt* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, was Summon'd to Parliament, 25. *Febr.* 16. *Edw.* 3.

5. *Charles Berkeley*, Lord *Berkeley* of *Berkeley*, (commonly call'd Viſcount *Durſley*) Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Glouceſter* and City of *Briſtoll* and County of the ſame, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County of *Glouceſter*, One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council; Son and Heir apparent of the Right Honourable *George* Earl of *Berkeley*, &c. Summon'd to Parliament, 11. *July*, (1689.) 1. *Will. & Mar.* and had Place according to the Antiquity of his Fathers Barony.

6. *Thomas Parker*, Lord *Morley* and *Mounteagle*, Baron of *Rye*; whoſe Anceſtor *Henry Parker* (Son and Heir of Sir *William Parker* Kt.) being by *Alice* his Mother, Siſter and Heir of *Henry Lovell* Baron *Morley*, deſcended (through) the Iſſue of a ſecond Son from the Lords *Moreley* who had married the Heireſs of *Marſhal* Baron of *Rye*, was Summon'd to the Parliament which began at the *Fryers Preachers London*, 15. *Apr.* 14. *Hen.* 8. as Lord *Morley*. The Title of *Mountegle* came to this Family by the Marriage of *Elizabeth* ſole Daughter and Heir of *William Stanley* Lord *Montegle* [whoſe Grandfather, Sir *Edward Stanley* Kt. &c. 5th Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Derby*, had Summons to Parliament begun at *Weminſter*, 5. *Febr.* 6. *Hen.* 8.] to *Edward Parker* Lord *Morley*, who was Father of *William* Lord *Morley*, and *Mountegle*, Grandfather to the preſent Noble Lord.

7. *Robert Shirley*, Lord *Ferrers* (of *Chartley*) and Baronet, High Steward to her Majeſty *Catharine* Queen *Dowager*; Son and Heir to Sir *Robert Shirley* of *Stanton-Harold*, in *Com. Liceſt.* Baronet, who was Brother and Heir to Sir *Charles Shirley* of *Staunton-Harold* aforeſaid Baronet, the Son and Heir of Sir *Henry Shirley*, alſo of *Stanton-Harold* Baronet, by the Lady *Dorothy Devereux* his Wife, the younger of the two Siſters and Co-heirs to *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, Viſcount *Hereford*, and Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, &c. who died 14. *Sept.* 1646. which Sir *Henry* was Son and Heir of Sir *George Shirley* of *Staunton Harold* beforementioned, Baron, a Perſon of a very Ancient Knightly Family, and the 4th (as to Precedence) of thoſe on whom that Honour was conferred at the firſt Creation thereof, by Letters Patent bearing date 22. *May*, (1611) 9. *Jac.* 1. Created Lord *Ferrers*, by Writ of Summons (by reaſon of his Deſcent as before recited) 14. *Dec.* (1679) 29. *Car.* 2. which Title deſcended to the ſame Earl by lineal Succeſſion from *Walter Devereux* his Anceſtor, who having married *Ann* the ſole Daughter and Heir to *William* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Com. Staff.* was Summon'd to Parliament among the Barons of this Realm, 26. *July*, 1. *Edw.* 4. which Family of *Ferrers* anciently Earls *Ferrers* and of *Derby*, had firſt Summons to Parliament, 6. *Febr.* 27. *Edw.* 1.

8. *Charles Mildmay*, Baron *Fitz-Walter*, deſcended by an Heir Female from *Radcliffe* Earl of *Suſſex* and Lord *Fitz Walter*, to whom this Title came by the Marriage of an Heir General of the Lord *Fitz Walter*, whoſe Anceſtor *Robert Fitz Walter* (a Branch of the Noble Family of *Clare*) was Summon'd to Parliament, by Writ dated 23. *Jun.* 23. *Edw.* 1.

9. *Frances Ward*, Baroneſs *Dudley*, by Deſcent, and Baroneſs *Dowager Ward* of *Birmingham*, Relict of Humble Lord *Ward*, and Grand-daughter and Heir to *Edward* Lord *Dudley*, whoſe Anceſtor

John

John de Sutton, was Summon'd to Parliament as Lord *Dudley* (being extracted by an Heir General from the Family of *Somerie* Baron *Dudley*, 1. *Edw.* 2.) by Writ dated 25. *Febr.* (1341) 16. *Edw.* 3.

10. *Edward Stourton*, Lord *Stourton* of *Stowton*; whose Family hath been of great antiquity in *Wiltshire*, taking their Denomination from the Town of *Stourton* (so call'd from the River *Stoure*, on the bank whereof 'tis situated) and were first rais'd to the degree of a Baron, in the Person of Sir *John Stourton* Kt. Treasurer of the Household to King *Hen.* 6. by Letters Patent bearing date 13. *May*, (1448) 26. *ejusdem Regis*.

11. *Ralph Eure*, Baron *Eure*, whose Ancestor (a younger Son to one of the Barons of *Warkworth*, in *Com. Northumb.* afterwards known by the Name of *Clavering*) assumed his Surname from the Lordship of *Eure*, in *Com. Bucks* (where he was seated) *temp. Hen.* 3. from whom descended Sir *William Eure* Kt. sometime Captain of *Berwick* and Warden of of the *East* Marches towards *Scotland*, who was advanced to the Dignity of Lord *Eure*, by Letters Patent bearing date at *Westminster*, 24. *Febr.* (1543) 35. *Hen.* 8.

12. *Philip Wharton*, Baron *Wharton*, and Lord of *Helie*; whose Ancestor Sir *Thomas Wharton* Knight, was first summon'd among the Barons of this Realm to the Parliament begun at *Westminster* 23. *Novemb.* (1545.) 37. *Hen.* 8. Unto which Sir *Thomas Wharton* Knight, Lord *Wharton*, King *Edward* the 6th considering his high and commendable Service done upon, and against, his Majesties ancient Enemies the *Scots* at a Rode by him made, at a place call'd *Solenmosse* being on St. *Catharine*'s Even, in the 34*th.* Year of the Kings most dear Father *Hen.* VIII. of most Famous Memory, where through his Noble Governance and valiant Chivalry, the Chiefest of all the Nobility of *Scotland* were either slain or taken Prisoners to His Majesty's great Honour and Glory, the same King by the advice and good report of His Majesty's right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councellor, *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, High Marshal of *England*, intending to have the same notified by Signs and Tokens of Nobility set forth in due order, assign'd in perpetual memory of his aforesaid worthy and commendable Service, an Augmentation unto his Ancient Arms [*Sable a Maunch Argent*] that is to say, *a Bordure engrailed Gold, remplised with Lions Leggs in Soultoier razed Gules, armed azure*, to be born and used by him and his Posterity for ever.

13. *Hugh Willughby*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, whose Ancestor Sir *William Willughby* Kt. Son and Heir to *Christopher Willoughby* of *Parham*, in *Com. Suff.* (a younger Son to *Christopher* Lord *Willughby* of *Eresby*) by *Elizabeth* Wife of the said *Christopher*, Daughter of Sir *George Talbois* Kt. was created Baron *Willoughby* of *Parham* beforementioned, 20. *Febr.* (1546.) 1. *Edw* 6. by reason, that King *Hen.* VIII. did design that Honour to him.

14. *William Paget*, Baron *Paget* of *Beaudesert*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Stafford*, and *Custos Rotulorum* for the said County, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the *Grand Seignior*; whose Ancestor Sir *William Paget* Kt. of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Comptroller of the Household to King *Edw.* 6. and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, was called by Writ to Parliament, 3 *Decemb.* 5. *ejusdem Regis*, by the Name of Lord *Paget* of *Beaudesert in Com. Staff.* after which upon the 19. of *January* next ensuing, he had his solemn Creation to that Honour.

15. *Francis Howard*, Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*; whose Ancestor the Lord *William Howard*, a younger Son to *Thomas* Second Duke of *Norfolk* of that Family; was Created Baron *Howard* of *Effingham* by Letters Patent, bearing Date 11. *Mar* (1553.) 1. *Mariæ*, which *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was sometime Lord Admiral of *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, as also Lord Chamberlain of the Household to the same Queen, and likewise to Her Majesty Queen *Elizabeth*, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

16. *William North*, Baron *North* of *Kirtling*, and Lord *Grey* of *Rolleston*, Son and Heir of *Charles North* Esq; who having marryed *Catharine*, Daughter of *William* Lord *Grey* of *Wark*, was by a special Writ of Summons, called to Parliament, 17. *Octob.* 1673. 25. *Car.* 2. by the Title of Baron *Grey* of *Rolston*, in the Life time of his Father *Dudley* Lord *North*, whom he succeeded, which *Dudley* was Grandson and Heir of *Roger* Lord *North* of *Kirtling* before mentioned (*modo Carthlage, in Com. Cantabr.*) whose Father Sir *Edward North* Kt. Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, and one of the Executors to King *Henry* VIII. was advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by Summons to Parliament, 17. *Febr.* 1553. 1. *Mariæ*, where he took his Place upon the 2. of *April*, accordingly.

17. *James Bruges*, Lord *Chandos* of *Sudeley*, and Baronet; Son and Heir to Sir *John Bridges* of *Wilton in Com. Hereford.* Baronet, the Son and Heir of *Giles Bridges* of *Wilton* aforesaid Esq; who was Created Baronet 17. *May*, (1627.) 3. *Car.* 1. which Sir *Giles Bridges* was Son and Heir to *Charles Brugges* Esq; of *Wilton* before mentioned, Second Son of Sir *John Brugges* of *Cobberley in Com. Glouces.* Kt. for the Body to King *Henry* VIII. and Constable of *Sudley* Castle, who was promoted to the Dignity of Lord *Chandos* of *Sudley* by Patent, dated the 8. *Apr.* 1554. 1. *Mariæ*; Father of Sir *Edmund Bridges*, Knight Banneret, Lord *Chandos*, Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, who had Issue *Giles* Lord *Chandos*, who was succeeded by his Brother *William* Lord *Chandos*, Father to *Grey* Lord *Chandos*, commonly called the King of *Cotswould*, whose Eldest Son *George* Lord *Chandos* had an Offer to be made Earl of *Newbery* for his Exemplary Valour (on the Kings behalf) at that Battle, which he modestly refused, till it might please God to restore His Majesty to the peaceful Enjoyment of his Rights, but dyed in *February*, 1654. whereupon *William* his Brother became Lord *Chandos*, and leaving no Issue Male, was succeeded in that Honour, by the Present Noble Lord, who was sometime Ambassador from King

King *Charles* the *Second* to the *Grand Seignior*.

18. *Robert Cary*, Baron *Hunſdon*; whoſe Anceſtor Sir *Henry Cary* Kt. in regard of his near Alliance to Queen *Elizabeth* (being her Mothers Siſters Son) was advanced to the Dignity of Lord *Hunſdon*, by Patent bearing Date, 13. *Jan.* (1558.) 1. *ejuſdem Reginæ*, which *Henry* Baron *Hunſdon* was ſometime Governour of *Berwick*, and Lord Chamberlain of Her Majeſty's Houſhold, Lord Warden of the Eaſt and Middle *Marches* towards *Scotland*, Captain of the Guard of Gentlemen Penſioners, Chief Juſtice in *Eyre* of all Her Majeſty's Foreſts, Chaſes, Parks and Warrens beyond *Trent* One of the Lords of the moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

19. *Robert Sidney*, Lord *Sydney* of *Penſhurſt*, (commonly called Viſcount *Liſle*) Eldeſt Son and Heir Apparent to the right Honourable *Philip* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *&c.* Summon'd to Parliament 11. *Julii* 1689. 1. *Will. & Mar.* and had his Place according to the Precedency of his Fathers Barony.

20. *Thomas Petre*, Baron *Petre* of *Writtle*; whoſe Anceſtor Sir *John Petre* Kt. (Son and Heir to Sir *William Petre* Kt. Dr. of Laws, who had been Secretary, and of the Privy Council to four Kings and Queens, and ſeven times Ambaſſador in Foreign Parts) was Created Lord *Petre* of *Writtle*, *in Com. Eſſex.* by Lettets Patent, bearing Date 21. *July* (1603.) 1. *Jac.* 1.

21. *Charles Gerard*, Lord *Gerard* of *Gerards Bromley*, whoſe Anceſtor Sir *Thomas Gerard* Kt. of *Gerards-Bromley in Com. Staff.* Knight Marſhal of the Houſhold to King *James* the Firſt, was advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Gerard* of *Gerards-Bromley* before mentioned, by Patent dated 21. *Julii* (1603.) 1. *ejuſd. Regis*, at the ſame time with the foregoing Lord, he being the laſt (as to Precedence) of the five Barons then made, and of the Elder Houſe to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, as elſewhere is declared.

22. *Thomas Arundell*, Baron *Arundell* of *Wardour*, and Count of the Sacred Roman Empire; whoſe Anceſtor *Thomas Arundell* of *Wardour-Caſtle*, *in Com. Wilts.* Eſq; ſerving in *Hungary* againſt the *Turks*, manifeſted his Courage in ſo high a Manner (tho then but a young Man) that as a Reward of his Proweſs, the Emperor *Rudolph* the *Second* by Letters Patent dated at *Prague*, 14. *Dec.* 1595. [38. *Eliz.*] advanced him to the Honour of Count of the Empire; for that he had behaved himſelf Manfully in the Field; as alſo in the Aſſaulting of divers Cities and Caſtles ſhew'd great Proof of his Valour; and that in forcing the *Water Town* near *Strigonium* [now called *Gran*] he took from the *Turks* their Banner with his own hand, ſo that every of his Children and their Deſcendents of both Sexes ſhould for ever enjoy that Title, *&c.* which Count *Thomas* was by Patent, bearing Date 4. *May* (1605.) 3. *Jac.* 1. made a Baron of this Realm, by the Name of Lord *Arundell* of *Wardour* before mentioned, the Ceremony of his Creation being performed at *Greenwich*.

23. *Catharine Williamſon*, Baroneſs *Clifton* of *Leighton-Bromſwould*, Wife to Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* Kt. and Relict of *Henry* Lord *Obrien*, Son and Heir to *Henry* Earl of *Thomond* in *Ireland*, Siſter and ſole Heir to *Charles* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, and thereby ſole Heir to the Lady *Catharine* her Grandmother, Daughter and Heir to Sir *Garvaſe Clifton* of *Layton Bromſwould* in *Com. Hunt.* Knight, who had the Title of Lord *Clifton* by Writ of ſummons to Parliament 9. *July* (1608.) 6. *Jac.* 1. which *Catharine* then Lady *Obrien*, making her Claim to the Title and Dignity of Baroneſs *Clifton* in the Parliament begun at *Weſtminſter* 8. *May* (1661.) 13. *Car.* 2. (and held by Prorogation for divers years after) had in *Anno* 1674. (26. *ejuſdem Regis*) that her Claim allowed.

24. *Chriſtopher Roper*, Baron *Tenham*; whoſe Anceſtor Sir *John Roper* Knight (a Perſon of an Ancient Family in *Kent*) was promoted to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Tenham* (a fair Mannor of his own Inheritance in that County) *per. Pat dat.* 9. *July* (1616.) 14. *Jac* 1. on which day he had received the Honour of Knighthood 13 Years before, from the ſame King.

25. *Foulk Grevil*, Lord *Brook* of *Beauchamps-Court*; whoſe Grandfathers Coſin *German*, Sir *Foulk Grevil* Knight of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, *Sub-Treaſurer* and Chancellor of the *Exchequer* to King *James* 1. was by him advanced to the Title of Baron *Brook* of *Beauchamps Court* (the Mannor Houſe to his Lordſhip of *Alceſter* in *Com. Warr.*) by Letters Patents bearing date 9. *Jan.* (1620.) 18. *ejuſdem Regis*.

26. *John Lovelace*, Baron *Lovelace* of *Hurley*; Son and Heir to *William Lovelace* of *Pudhurſt* in *Hurley Com. Berks* Eſquire, by *Mary* his Wife 2d Siſter and Co-heir to Sir *Edward Nevil* of *Grove* in *Com. Nott.* Knight and Baronet, which *William* was the only Son to *Francis Lovelace* of *Pudhurſt* aforeſaid Eſquire, and of *Ann* his Wife eldeſt Daughter to *William King* of *Fyer* in *Com. Bucks* Gentleman, which *Francis* was ſecond Son to Sir *Richard Lovelace* Knight (Son of *Richard Lovelace* of *Hurley* beforementioned Eſquire) promoted to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Lovelace* of *Hurley*, (which Place had heretofore been a Religious Houſe of *Benedictine Monks* and a Cell to *Weſtminſter Abby*) by Patent dated 31. *May* (1627.) 3. *Car.* 1.

27. *John Poulet*, Lord *Powlet* of *Hinton* St. *George*; This Family who are the elder Houſe to the Duke of *Bolton* attain'd to the Degree of Peerage in the perſon of *John Paulet* Eſq; (Son and Heir of Sir *Anthony Paulet* of *Hinton* St. *George* in *Com. Somerſet* Knight) who was Created Baron *Poulet* of *Hinton* St. *George* aforeſaid, by Letters Patent bearing date 23. *Jun.* (1627.) 3. *Car.* 1.

28. *William Maynard*, Baron *Maynard* of *Eſtaines*, Lord *Maynard* of *Wicklow* and Baronet; ſometime *Comptroller* of the Houſhold to his Ma-

Majesties King *Charles* the 2d, and to the late King *James* 2d, as also One of the Lords of the most Honourable Privy Council to those Princes; Son and Heir to Sir *William Maynard* of *Eastanes-parva* in *Com. Essex* Kt. who having first been dignified with the Title of Baronet 29. *Jun.* (1611) 9. *Jac.* 1. Soon after the Erection of that Honour next with that of Baron *Maynard* of *Wicklow* in *Ireland*, by Letters Patent bearing date at *Westminster* 30. *May* (1620) 18. *ejusdem Regis*, and lastly in consideration of his farther Merits was advanced to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Maynard* of *Estaines* ad *Turrim*, otherwise called little *Easton* beforementioned, by other Letters Patents dated at *Westminster* aforesaid, 14 *Mar.* (1627) 3. *Car.* 1.

29. *Thomas Coventry*, Lord *Coventry* of *Ailesborough*, whose Grandfather Sir *Thomas Coventrie* Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* was Created Baron *Coventrie* of *Ailesborough* aforementioned in *Com. Wigorn.* by Patent bearing date the 10th of *April* (1628) in the 4th Year of the Reign of King *Charles* the First.

30. *Charles Howard*, Baron *Howard* of *Escrick* whose Grandfather Sir *Edward Howard* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the Bath, was upon 29th of *April* (1628) 4 *Car.* 1. advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Howard* of *Escrick* in *Com. Ebor.* by reason he did possess that Lordship which came to *Thomas* first Earl of *Suffolk* &c. his Father, by the Marriage of *Elizabeth* the eldest Daughter and Co-heir to Sir *Henry Knevit* of *Charleton* in *Com. Wilts* Knight, as Heir to *Thomas* Lord *Knevet* of *Escrick* her Uncle, who died without Issue, which *Edward* Lord *Howard* of *Escrick* was the 7th Brother to *Theophilus* 2d Earl of *Suffolk* &c. and to *Thomas* First Earl of *Berkshire* &c. and Lord *Howard* of *Charlton*.

31. *Charles Mohun*, Lord *Mohun* of *Okehampton* and Baronet, whose Great Grandfather *John Mohun* Esq; was by Letters Patent bearing date at *Westminster* 15. *April* (1628) 4. *Car.* 1. promoted to the Degree and Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Mohun* of *Okehampton* in *Com. Devon*, in the life time of his Father Sir *Reginald Mohun* of *Boconnock* in *Com. Cornub.* Baronet, on whom that Honour had been conferr'd 25. *Nov.* (1612) 10 *Jac.* 1. which Sir *Reginald* was the Chief Heir Male by a younger Branch of the Noble Family of *Mohun*, whose principal Seat was at *Dunster* Castle in *Com. Somerset.* and had first summons to Parliament in the person of *John de Mohun*, 6. *Febr.* 27 *Edw.* I.

32. *Thomas Leigh*, Baron *Leigh* of *Stoneley* and Baronet, Grandson and Heir to Sir *Thomas Leigh* of *Stoneleigh* in *Com. Warr.* Knight and Baronet, who firmly adhering to King *Charles* 1. of blessed Memory in the then Rebellious Times was upon the first of *July* (1643) in the nineteenth Year of his Reign advanced to the Dignity of Lord *Leigh* of *Stoneley* aforesaid, which *Thomas* Lord *Leigh* was Son of Sir *John Leigh* Knight, who died in the Life time of his Father Sir *Thomas Leigh* Knight also of *Stoneleigh*, which last Sir *Thomas* was Honoured with the Title of Baronet 29. *Jun.* (1611) 9. *Jac.* 1. (then newly erected) he being the 33d, person (as to precedence) from the first Creation.

33. *Thomas Jermyn* Lord *Jermyn* of *St. Edmunds-bury* and Governor of the Island of *Jersey*; succeeded his Uncle *Henry* Earl of *St. Albans*, Lord *Jermyn* of *St. Edmunds-bury*, and Kt. of the most Noble Order of the Garter in the said Barony only, according to an Entail in the Patent, he having been Created Lord *Jermyn* of *St. Edmunds-bury in Com. Suff.* at *Oxford*, 8. *Sept.* (1643) 19 *Car.* 1. with limitation of that Honor for lack of Issue Male of his own Body, lawfully begotten unto *Thomas* his elder Brother, and the Heirs Male of his Body.

34. *William Byron*, Baron *Byron* of *Rochdale*, Son and Heir of *Richard* Lord *Byron*, and Nephew to Sir *John Byron* of *Newstead* in *Com Nott.* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, at the Coronation of King *Charles* I. and Field Marshal of all His Majesties Forces in the Counties of *Worcester, Salop, Chester* and *North-Wales*, who acted his part on the behalf of his injured Soveraign (in those Rebellious times) with Notable Valour in divers sharp Encounters at *Worcester, Kinaston, Brainford, Roundway Down* and *Newbery*, in consideration whereof he was, by Letters Patent bearing date at *Oxford*, 24. *Octob.* (1643.) 19. *ejusd. Regis*, created Lord *Byron* of *Rochdale*, in *Com. Lanc.* with limitation of that Honor for lack of issue Male of his own Body lawfully begotten to every of his six Valiant Brothers, *Richard, William, Thomas, Robert, Gilbert* and *Philip* successively, and their Heirs Male, of whom *Richard, Thomas* and *Robert* were Knights, which *John* Lord *Byron* died in *France Anno.* 1652. without issue.

35. *John Vaughan*, Lord *Vaughan* of *Emlyn*, Custos Rotulorum for the Counties of *Caermarthen* and *Cardigan*, Earl of *Carberie* and Baron *Vaughan* of *Molingar* in *Ireland*; second Son and Heir of Sir *Richard Vaughan* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, at the Coronation of King *Charles* the I. who loyally adhering to his Majesty, and being made Lieutenant General for the Counties of *Caerthurlen, Pembroke* and *Cardigan* in *South-Wales*, and acting vigorously in that trust, was for his farther encouragement advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Vaughan* of *Emlyn*, by Patent dated at *Oxford*, 25. *Octob.* (1643) 19. *Car.* 1. which *Richard* Baron *Vaughan* of *Emlyn* succeeded his Father *John* Earl of *Carberie* and Lord *Vaughan* of *Molingar* in those Titles, and was shortly after the happy Restoration constituted Lord President of the whole Principality of *Wales* and Marches thereof, as also One of the Lords of the most Honourable Privy Council to King *Charles* II. The said Earl *John* having been Knighted by *Robert* Earl of *Essex* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in respect of his Services in that Kingdom, *temp. Eliz.* and made Comptroller of the Houshold to Prince *Charles*, was by King *James* I. rais'd to the Degree of a Baron, 18 *Regni sui*, and Created Earl *per Regem. Car.* 1.

36. *Francis Smith alias Carington*, Baron *Carington* of *Wotton-wawen* in *England*, and Viſcount *Carlington* of *Barreſore* in *Ireland*.

This Family derive themſelves from Sir *Michael Carrington* Kt. Standard bearer to King *Richard* I. in the Holy-land, from whom deſcended *John Carrington*, which *John* about the beginning of *Hen.* IV. having ſtoutly adhered to the then depoſed King was conſtrained to quit the Realm, and after ſome time of abode in Foreign Parts to change his Name to that of *Smith*, being Anceſtor to Sir *Charles Smith* of *Wotton-wawen*, in *Com. Warr.* Kt. who for his loyal Fidelity and conſiderable Aids, ſeaſonably afforded King *Charles* the I. in the times of his greateſt Diſtreſſes, was by Letters Patent dated 31. *Octob.* (1643) 19 *ejuſd. Regis*, advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Carrington* of *Wotton*, and upon the 4th of *November* following created Viſcount *Carrington* of *Barreſore* within the Province of *Connaught* in *Ireland*, being Father to the preſent Noble Lord.

37. *William Widdrington*, Lord *Widdrington* of *Blankney* & Baronet; whoſe Anceſtor Sir *William Widdrington* of *Widdrington* Caſtle, in *Com. Northumb.* Kt. (a Perſon of a moſt Ancient and worthy Family, which had long flouriſhed in that *Northern* Tract) was created Baronet, 9. *July*, (1642) 18. *Car.* I. and in conſideration of his exemplary Loyalty, promoted to the Dignity of Baron *Widdrington* of *Blankney*, in *Com. Lincol.* by Letters Patent, bearing date 10. *Novemb.* the next year.

38. *Edward Ward*, Baron *Ward* of *Birmingham*, whoſe Father Sir *Humble Ward* Kt. (extracted from an Ancient Family of that Name in *Norfolk*) meriting much for his ſeaſonable ſupplies brought to his Majeſty King *Charles* I. in the time of his great diſtreſſes, was advanced to the Dignity of Lord *Ward* of *Birmingham* aforeſaid, in *Com. Warr.* by Letters Patent bearing date at *Oxford*, 23. *Marc.* (1643) 19. *ejuſd. Regis*, which *Humble* Lord *Ward* married *Frances* ſole Daughter and Heir to Sir *Ferdinando Sutton* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, only Son to *Edward* Lord *Dudley*, which Lady, is now Baroneſs *Dudley* as hath already (in due place) been obſerved.

39. *John Colepeper*, Baron *Colepeper* of *Thoreſway*, ſucceeded his Brother *Thomas* Lord *Colepeper*, whoſe Father Sir *John Colepeper* Kt. (the principle branch of an Ancient Family in *Kent* and *Suſſex*) being a Perſon of great Abilities, and perfectly Loyal to his Prince, was firſt conſtituted Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, afterwards Maſter of the *Rolls* and One of the moſt Honourable Privy Council to King *Charles* the I. on whoſe behalf he courageouſly ventured his Life in the Battles of *Kineton*, *Newberie*, and divers other ſharp Encounters; in conſideration whereof he was laſtly advanced to the Dignity of Baron *Colepeper* of *Thoreſway* aforemention'd, in *Com. Linc.* by Patent at *Oxford*, 22. *Oct.* (1644) 20. *ejuſd. Regis*.

40. *Charles Boyle*, Baron *Clifford* of *Launsborough*, Grandſon and Heir Apparent of the Right Honourable *Richard* Earl of *Burlington*, &c. his Father *Charles Boyle* Eſq; having been Summon'd to Parliament, by Writ dated 16. *July* (1689) 1. *Will. & Mar.* as Lord *Clifford* of *Launsburg*, had his Place according to the Antiquity of his Fathers Barony, which *Charles* Lord *Clifford* dying *vita patris*, the preſent Noble Lord thereupon Claim'd to be a Baron by Virtue of that Summons, which was adjudged to him (in Parliament) accordingly, and thereupon he had admittance into the Houſe.

41. *Robert Lucas*, Baron *Lucas* of *Shenfeild*, Chief Governor and Commander in Chief of his Majeſties Tower of *London*, and Lord Lieutenant of the Tower Humlets, ſucceeded his Brother *Charles* Lord *Lucas*, who was Heir to his Uncle Sir *John Lucas*, a Perſon eminently accompliſhed with Learning, and well verſt in ſundry Languages, whoſe perfect Loyalty to the King at the beginning of the then late unhappy Troubles, expoſed him to the Mercileſs Plunder, of thoſe who were in Arms againſt his Majeſty, yet did it not diſcourage him from ſtoutly adventuring his Life in the ſeveral Fights at *Leſtithiel*, *Newberie* and divers other Battles; in conſideration whereof, he was by Letters Patents dated 3. *January*, (1644) 20. *Car.* I. created Lord *Lucas* of *Shenfeild* in *Eſſex*, with limitation of that Dignity, for want of iſſue Male unto Sir *Charles Lucas* Kt. his younger Brother, and to the Heirs Male of his Body, with remainder to Sir *Thomas Lucas* Kt. (his other Brother) and his Male Heirs, which valiant Sir *Charles* being barbarouſly Shot to Death, in cold blood, at *Colcheſter* (by the prevailing Rebels) and never married, and he himſelf leaving only a Daughter, the Honor thereby devolv'd on his Nephew *Charles* late Lord *Lucas* before-mention'd, eldeſt Son to the ſaid Sir *Thomas*.

42. *Edward Watſon*, Lord *Rockingham* of *Rockingham*, and Baronet, Son and Heir to Sir *Lewes Watſon* of *Rockingham* Caſtle, in *Com. Northampton* Kt. on whom the Degree of Baronet was conferr'd 23. *Jun.* (1621) 19. *Jac.* I. which Sir *Lewes Watſon* Kt. and Bart. being a Perſon well deſcended and of an ample Fortune, and likewiſe in the times of the then late unhappy Troubles much deſerving of the King and Country, was in conſideration thereof worthily promoted to the Dignity of Baron *Rockingham* of *Rockingham* aforeſaid, at *Oxford*, by Patent dated 18. *Jan.* (1644) 20. *Car.* I.

43. *Robert Sutton*, Baron *Lexington* of *Aram*, One of the Gentlemen of the Kings Royal Bedchamber, *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the Liberty of *Southwell* and *Scroby* in the County of *York*, and One of the Lords of His Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, now Ambaſſador Extraordinary at *Vienna*; whoſe Father *Robert Sutton* of *Aram* in *Com. Not.* Eſq; was for his Eminent Loyalty, Created Lord *Lexington* of *Aram* before mentioned, by Letters Patent bearing Date at *Oxford*, 21. *Nov.* 1645. 21. *Car.* I. by reaſon of his lineal Deſcent from an Heir Female of the Honourable Family of *Lexington*, ſometime of *Lexington*, [now called *Laxton* near

neat *Tuxford*,] in the said County of *Nottingham*.

44. *Marmaduke Langdale*, Lord *Langdale* of *Holme*, Son and Heir of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* of *Holme* in *Spaldingmoor in Com. Ebor.* Kt. sometime one of the Generals of King *Charles* the *First*'s Northern Armies, who for his very many signal and often successful Services to his Prince and Country, was most deservedly Created Baron *Langdale* of *Holme* aforesaid, by Patent dated at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, 4 *Febr.* (1658.) 10. *Car.* 2.

45. *John Berkeley*, Baron *Berkeley* of *Stratton*, Collonel of the Kings Second Regiment of *Marines*, Admiral of the Blue, and (at present) Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Ships in the Channel, Grome of the Stole to his Royal Highness Prince *George* of *Denmark*, and First Gentleman of his Bedchamber; Brother and Heir to *Charles* Lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton*, Son of the truly Loyal and Valiant Sir *John Berkeley* of *Bruton in Com Somerset.* Kt. younger Brother to *Charles* Viscount *Fitz Harding* of *Berrhaven*, and Lord *Berkeley* of *Rathdowne*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Father to *Charles* Earl of *Falmouth*, and Lord *Botetort* of *Langport* in *England*, which Sir *John* was promoted to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton* aforesaid *in Com. Somerset.* by Letters Patent, dated at *Bruxelles* in *Brabant*, 19. *Maij* (1658) 10. *Car.* 2. and having been Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* for three Years was afterwards Embassador Extraordinary in *France*, as also one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of *Nimiguen*, and one of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

46. *Charles Granvile*, Lord *Granville* of *Kilkhampton* (commonly called Viscount *Lansdown*) and Count of the Sacred Roman Empire; Eldest Son and Heir Apparent of the Right Honourable *John* Earl of *Bath*, &c. which *Charles* having eminently manifested his Military Valour, Gallantry and Courage on the behalf of *Leopold* the present Emperor of *Germany* in his Victorious Army against the *Turks*, upon their (then) late Siege of *Vienna*, at the Battle of *Barrakan*, and taking of *Gran* and divers other Places, where through the auspicious Conduct and transcendent Valour of the Christians, the *Ottoman* Army became totally vanquish'd: In consideration whereof, His Imperial Majesty gratefully recounting the Exemplary Merits of the said Viscount, as a special Mark of Honour to him and his Descendents, did worthily Dignifie him and them with the Title of Counts of the Sacred Roman Empire, by his Royal Charter, bearing Date at the Castle of *Lintz* 27 *Jan.* 1684. He was Summoned to Parliament 16 *July* (1689.) 1. *Will. & Mar* and had Place there according to the Antiquity of his Fathers Barony.

47. *Charles Cornwallis*, Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye* and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Suffolk* and *Custos Rotulorum* for the said County, One of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council; Son and Heir of *Charles* Lord *Cornwallis* of *Eye*, Baronet and Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, whose Father Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* of *Brome in Com. Suff.* [on whom the Degree of Baronet had been confer'd 4 *May* (1627.) 3 *Car.* 1.] having from his youth with great fidelity served the same King both in Court and Camp, for which he suffered the loss of his Estate, Imprisonment and Exile, was by His Majesty King *Charles* II. made Treasurer of his Household, and Created Lord *Cornwallis* of *Eye* before mentioned, *in Com Suff.* 20 *Apr.* (1661.) 3 *ejusdem Regis*, three days before the Kings Solemn Inauguration, he being the Second of the Six Coronation Barons.

48. *Thomas Crewe*, Lord *Crew* of *Stene* and Kt. Son and Heir of *John Crew* of *Stene*, *in Com. Northamp.* Esq; who by his great Prudence (with no small hazard) loyally contributing his best Endeavours in order to the Happy Restauration of King *Charles* II. was in Testimony of His Majesties gracious Acceptance of his laudable Service, advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Crewe* of *Stene* aforesaid, by Letters Patent bearing Date at *Westminster*, 20 *Apr.* 1661. 13. *Regni sui*, and was the last Coronation Baron then made, which *John* Lord *Crew* of *Stene* descended from the antient Family of *Crew* in the County Palatine of *Chester*, and had Issue (besides the present Baron) Dr. *Nathanael Crew*, first Bishop of *Oxford*, and now Lord Bishop of *Durham*.

49. *Mary Grey* (Countess of *Kent*) Baroness *Lucas* of *Crudwell*, Wife to the Right Honourable *Anthony* Earl of *Kent*, Daughter and Sole Heir of the valiant and loyal *John* Lord *Lucas* of *Shenfeild* before mentioned, who procured from King *Charles* II. on the behalf of the said Lady and her Descendents certain Letters Patents, bearing Date the 7 *May*, (1663.) 15. *Regni sui*, whereby the Dignity and Title of Baroness *Lucas* of *Crudwell* aforesaid (*in Com. Wilts.*) was conferred upon her; and of Baron *Lucas* of the same place, upon the Heirs Male of her Body; as also that her Son and Heir by the said Earl of *Kent*, and all other the Sons and Heirs descended from her of his Successors Earls of *Kent*, should bear the Title of Lord *Lucas* of *Crudwel*, and in default of such Male Issue, that the said Title should not be suspended but enjoyed by such of the Daughters and Co-heirs, if any shall be, as other indivisible Inheritances, by the Common Law of this Realm are usually possessed.

50. *John Arundell*, Lord *Arundel* of *Trerise*, Son and Heir of *Richard* Baron *Arundell* of *Trerise*, a Person of a very antient Family, which hath been seated at *Trerise* aforesaid in *Cornwall* from the Time of King *Edward* the *Third*, but came into *England* at the *Norman* Conquest, which *Richard* was very meritoriously Created Lord *Arundel* of *Trerise* before mentioned, By Patent dated at *Westminster*, 23 *Mar.* (1664.) 16. *Car.* 2. In consideration of his great Loyalty and Sufferings during the then late Rebellion, wherein he had amply manifested his Courage and Valour for His Majesties just Interest with the utmost Hazard.

51. *Hugh Clifford*, Baron *Clifford* of *Chudleigh*, Son and Heir of Sir *Thomas Clifford* Kt. (a Branch of the Ancient Family of *Clifford* sometime Earls of *Cumberland*, &c.) who having been Envoy Extraordinary to the Courts of *Swe-*

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den and *Denmark*, afterwards Comptroller, then Treasurer of the Houshold to King *Charles* II. and One of the Commissioners of his Majesties Treasury, as also sometime sole Secretary of State, was created Lord *Clifford* of *Chudleigh* aforesaid, in *Com. Devon*, by Patent dated 22. *Apr.* (1672) 24. *ejusd. Regis*, which *Thomas* Lord *Clifford*, was lastly Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and Treasurer of the *Exchequer*, by Patent.

52. *Susan Bellassyse*, Baroness *Balasis* of *Osgodby*, Relict of Sir *Henry Bellassyse* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, Son and Heir to *John* Lord *Bellassyse* of *Worlaby*; the Daughter and Co-heir to Sir *William Airmine* of *Osgodby* beforemention'd, in *Com. Linc.* Bar. created Baroness for life, by Letters Patent bearing date at *Westminster*, 25 *Mar.* (1674) 26. *Car.* 2.

53. *Peregrine Osborne*, Lord *Osborne* of *Kiveton* (commonly called Marquis of *Carmarthen*) only surviving Son, and Heir apparent to his Grace *Thomas* Duke of *Leeds*, &c. Summon'd to Parliament, 14. *Mar.* (1690) 2. *Will. & Mar.* and had his Place according to the Antiquity of his Fathers Barony.

54. *John Carteret*, Baron *Carteret* of *Hawnes* and Baronet, Son and Heir of Sir *George Carteret*, Baronet, who was created L. *Carteret* of *Hawnes* aforesaid, in *Com. Bedf.* with Remainder for lack of issue Male of his own Body to *Philip* and *Edward Carteret* his Brothers successively, and to the Heirs Male of either of them respectively, by Patent dated 19 *Octob.* (1681) 33. *ejusd. Regis*, which *George* Baron *Carteret*, was Grandson and Heir to Sir *George Carteret* Kt. and Baronet, Vice-chamberlain of the Houshold to King *Charles* the II. One of the Commissioners for the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, and One of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council; a Deloendent of an Ancient Family in the Island of *Jersey*, his Grandfather *George de Carteret* of *Metesches* in the same Isle, who was Vice-chamberlain of King *Charles* the I. Houshold, One of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, and Treasurer of the Navy, having been promoted to the Degree of Baronet, 9. *May*, (1645) in the 21st year of the same King.

55. *Charles Bennet*, Lord *Ossulstone* of *Ossulstone*, Son and Heir to Sir *John Bennet* of *Dawley* near *Uxbridge*, in *Com. Middlesex*, Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, who was advanced to the Dignity of Baron *Ossulstone* of *Ossulstone* beforemention'd (an Hundred in the said County of *Middlesex*) by Letters Patent bearing date 24. *Novemb.* (1682) 34. *Car.* 2. which *John* Lord *Ossulstone* of *Ossulstone*, was elder Brother to *Henry* Earl of *Arlington*, &c. and Son and Heir of Sir *John Bennet* of *Dawley* aforesaid Kt. the Son and Heir of another Sir *John Bennet* Kt. likewise of *Dawley*, sometime One of the Masters in *Chancery*, Judge of the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor to Queen *Ann*, which Sir *John* was 3d Son to *Richard Bennet* of *Clapcot* near *Wallingford*, in *Com. Berks*, by *Elizabeth* his Wife, eldest Daughter of *Thomas Tesdale* of *Fitz-Harris Farm* in *Sandford alias Sandford-Deanley*, in *Com. Berks*; Sister of the half blood and Heir to *Thomas Tesdale* of *Glimpton* near *Woodstock* in *Oxfordshire* Esq; the Chief Founder of *Pembroke* College *Oxon*, which *Richard Bennet* was elder Brother to Sir *Thomas Bennet* Kt. Lord Mayor of *London* 1603. (1. *Jac.* 1.) and Son of *Thomas Bennet* Gent. also of *Clapcot praedict.*

56. *William Legge*, Baron *Dartmouth*, Son and Heir of Coll. *George Legge*, Master General of the Ordnance and Artillery to King *Charles* II. and One of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council (Son and Heir to Coll. *William Legge*, sometime one of the Grooms of the Kings Royal Bedchamber and Lieutenant of the Ordnance) who was in consideration of the faithful Services performed by his Father and himself, Created a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Dartmouth in Com. Devon*, to him and his Heirs Male, and for want of such Issue with Remainder to his Brother *William Legge* Esq; also one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber, by Patent Dated 2. *Decemb.* (1682) 34. *Car.* 2. which *George* Baron *Dartmouth* was some time after made Admiral of His Majesties Fleet, and in that Command served the late King *James*, but dyed presently after the Revolution.

57. *William Stawell*, Lord *Stawell* of *Somerton*, Brother (of the half blood) and Successor to *John* Lord *Stawell*, whose Father *Ralph Stawell* Esq; (Son and Heir of that great Exemplar of Loyalty Sir *John Stawell* Knight of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*) was promoted to the Dignity of Baron *Stawell* of *Somerton* before mentioned, *in Com. Somerset.* by Letters Patent bearing Date, 15. *Jan.* (1682) 34. *Car.* 2. which *Ralph* Lord *Stawell* was lineal Heir Male of the ancient Family of *Stawell* of *Cothelston* in the same County.

58. *Francis North*, Baron *Guilford*, Son and Heir of Sir *Francis North* Kt. sometime Attorney General to King *Charles* II. afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Court of *Common Pleas*, and lastly Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, who was Created a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Guilford*, *in Com. Surr. per Patent dat.* 27. *Sept.* (1683) 35. *ejusdem Regis*, which *Francis* Baron *Guilford* dyed at his House at *Roxton*, *in Com. Oxon.* 5. *Sept.* 1685. and was Second Son to *Dudley* Lord *North* of *Carlbiage* herein aforementioned.

59. *Sidney Godolphin*, Baron *Godolphin* of *Rialton*, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and One of the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council; Second Brother to Sir *William Godolphin* now of *Godolphin*, *in Com. Cornub.* Baronet, which *Sidney* having been first made One of the Principal Secretaries of State, and then Prime Commissioner of the Treasury to His Majesty King *Charles* II. was by him promoted to the Dignity of Lord *Godolphin* of *Rialton* afore recited in *Cornwall*, by Patent bearing Date 8. *Sept.* (1684) 36. *Regni sui.*

60. *Henry Jermyn*, Lord *Dover*, younger Brother to *Thomas* Baron *Jermyn* of St. *Edmundsbury* beforemention'd, Created Baron of *Dover* aforesaid in *Kent*, by Letters Patent dated 13 *May*, 1685. 1 *Jac.* 2. he being then of *Cheveley* in the County of *Cambridge*.

of

61. *John Jeffreys*, Baron *Jeffreys* of *Wem*, and Baronet, Son and Heir of Sir *George Jeffreys* of *Bulstrode*, in *Com. Bucks* Kt. One of the Kings Serjeants at Law and Chief Justice of *Chester*, on whom the Degree of Baronet was confer'd, 17. *Novemb.* (1681) 33. *Car.* 2. who being first constituted Chief Justice of *England*, and One of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, was promoted to the Dignity of a Baron, by the Title of Lord *Jeffreys* of *Wem*, in *Com. Salop*, by Patent bearing date 15. *May*, (1685) 1. *Jac.* 2. and soon after made Lord High Chancellor of *England*; which *George* Lord *Jeffreys* was sixth Son of *John Jeffreys* of *Acton*, in *Com. Denbigh* Esq; by *Margaret* his Wife Daughter of Sir *Thomas Ireland* of *Bewsey*, in *Com. Pal. Lancastr.* Knight; which *John* was Son and Heir of another *John Jeffreys* of *Acton* aforesaid Esq; One of the Judges in *North-Wales*, who was Sirnamed *Jeffreys* from his Father *Jeffrey* (the Son of *Hugh*) likewise of *Acton*, paternally descended from *Tudor Trevor*, Earl of *Hereford*.

62. *James Waldegrave*, Lord *Waldegrave* of *Chewton*, and Baronet, Son and Heir of Sir *Henry Waldgrave* Kt. and Baronet, who was created Baron *Waldegrave*, of *Cheuton* aforesaid, in *Com. Somersetshire*, by Patent dated 20. *Jan.* (1685) 1. *Jac.* 2. which *Henry* Lord *Waldgrave*, was Son and Heir of Sir *Charles Waldegrave*, likewise of *Cheuton* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, and Bar^t. *M.D.* and Philitian in ordinary to the late K. *James* II. the Son and Heir to Sir *Henry Waldegrave* of *Chewton* beforementioned, Kt and Baronet, who was Son and Heir of Sir *Edward Waldegrave* of *Hever*-Castle in *Kent* and also of *Cheuton* Kt. on whom the Honourable Degree of Baronet, was confer'd 1. *Aug.* (1643) 19. *Car.* 1.

63. *Edward Griffin*, Baron *Griffin* of *Braybroke*, (Son and Heir of Sir *Edward Griffin* of *Dingley*, in *Com. Northampton* Knight, Treasurer of the Chamber to King *Charles* II.) descended by Marriage of an Heir General of the Noble Family of *Latimer*, from the *Braybrooks* Lords of *Braybroke* in the said County of *Northampton*, in respect whereof he was created Baron *Griffin* of *Braybrook* aforemention'd, by Patent dated 30. *November*, (1688) 4. *Jac.* 1.

64. *Hugh Cholmondeleigh*, Lord *Cholmondley* of *Wich-Malbank alias Namptwich* and Viscount *Cholmley* of *Kelles* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Son and Heir of *Robert* Viscount *Chomley* of *Kelles*, who was promoted to that Honor after the death of his Uncle, *Robert* Earl of *Lemster*, Viscount *Cholmondeleigh* of *Kelles*, Baron *Cholmley* of *Wich Malbanc alias Nantwich* and Baronet, (who deceased 2. *Octob.* 1659.) by King *Charles* II. *Hugh* his Father being second Brother and Heir to the said Earl *Robert*, the chief Heir Male of a Family of great Antiquity in *Cheshire*, who originally assumed their Surname from the Lordship of *Cholmundeleigh* (*vulgò Cholmleigh* or *Cholmley*) in that County where Sir *Hugh de Cholmundley* Kt. (their Ancestor) Son and Heir of *Robert* 2d Son to *William* Baron of *Malpas* fixt his Habitation.

The present Noble Lord, was created a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Cholmleigh* of *Wich Malbank alias Nantwich praedict.* in *Com. Cestr.* by Letters Patent, bearing Date at *Westminster*, 9. *Apr.* (1689) 1. *Will. & Mar.* Two days preceding their Majesties Royal Coronation, in order to his Attendance thereat for the greater Splendor of that Solemnity.

65. *John Ashburnham*, Baron *Ashburnham* of *Ashburnham*, in *Com. Sussex*, the Chief Heir Male of the Knightly Family of *Ashburnham* lineally descended from *Ansketel Fitz Piers* Lord of *Ashburnham* aforesaid, *temp. Will. Conquestoris*, created a Baron, by the Title of Lord *Ashburnham* of *Ashburnham* before specified, by Patent dated 30. *May* (1689) 1. *Will. & Mar.*

66. *Henry Capell*, Baron *Capel* of *Tewkesbury*, and Knight of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council (second Brother to the Right Honorable *Arthur* late Earl of *Essex*, &c.) advanced to the Dignity and Honor of Lord *Capell* of *Tewksbury* aforemention'd, in *Com. Glouceste.* by Letters Patent bearing date 11. *Apr.* (1692) 4. *Will. & Mar.*

67. *William Farmer*, Lord *Lempster* and Baronet, Son and Heir to Sir *William Farmer* of *Eston-Neston* in *Com. Northampt.* Kt. on whom the Honourable Degree of Baronet was conferr'd, 6. *Sept.* (1641) 17. *Car.* 1. which Sir *William* was Son and Heir to Sir *Hatton Farmer* Kt. High Sheriff of the County of *Northampton*, *an.* 1618. Likewise of *Eston-Neston* aforementioned, where the Family had flourish'd in a Knightly Series for some Generations, but originally descended from *Minster Lovell*, in *Com. Oxon.*

The present Noble Person was promoted to the Dignity of Baron of *Leimster*, *alias Leominster*, in the County of *Hereford*, by Letters Patent, bearing Date, 12. *Apr.* (1692.) 4 *Will. & Mar.*

68. *Charles Butler*, Baron *Butler* of *Weston*; Earl of *Arran*, Viscount *Tullough*; and Baron of *Clogbgrenan* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; (younger Brother to his Grace the present Duke of *Ormond*, &c.) created Lord *Butler*, Baron of *Weston* aforesaid, in *Com. Huntingdon, per Pat. dat.* 23. *Jan.* (1693) in the 5th year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, by whom he was also Honour'd with the *Irish* Titles, all which had been formerly enjoy'd by his Uncle.

69. *Henry Herbert*, Lord *Herbert*, of *Chirbury*, Son & Heir to Sir *Henry Herbert* of *Ribbesford*, in *Com. Wigorn* Kt. Master of the Revels to King *Charles* the I. by *Elizabeth* his 2d Wife, Daughter of Sir *Robert Offley* of *Dalby*, in *Com. Leicest.* Kt. which Sir *Henry* was the *Sixth* Brother to *Edward* First Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* in *England*, and *Castle-Island* in *Ireland*, Father of *Richard* Lord *Herbert* of *Chirbury* and *Castle Island*, who had Issue *Edward* Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* and *Castle Island*, who was succeeded by his Brother *Henry* Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* and *Castle Island*, in whom the Honour became extinct, *an.* 1691. for want of Male Heirs; whereupon the present Honourable Person was the chief Heir Male of this Noble Family, and in consideration thereof promoted to the Dignity of Baron *Herbert* of *Chirbury* before-recited, *in Com. Salop.* by Letters Patent dated 28. *Apr.* (1694.) 6. *Will. & Mar.*

Lords JUSTICES *of* England.

THomas Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*.
Sir *John Sommers* Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*.
Thomas Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Lord Privy Seal.
William Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of his Majeſties Houſhold.
Charles Duke of *Shrewsbury*, One of his Majeſties Principal Secretaries of State.
Charles Earl of *Dorſet* and *Middleſex*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſties Houſhold. And,
Sydney Lord *Godolphin* Firſt Commiſſioner of his Majeſties Treaſury.
Conſtitut. Cuſtodes & Juſticiarios & Locum tenentes Angl. during His Majeſties Abſence *Teſt.* 5 *May*, (1695) 7. *Will.* III.

Privy COUNCELLORS.

1. HIS Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*.
2. *Thomas* Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*.
3. Sir *John Sommers* Kt. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*.
4. *Thomas* D. of *Leeds* L. Preſident of the Council.
5. *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Lord Privy Seal.
6. *Henry* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal of *England*.
7. *William* Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of his Majeſties Houſhold.
8. *Charles* Duke of *Bolton*.
9. *Maimbards* Duke of *Schomberg*.
10. *Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury*, One of his Majeſties Principal Secretaries of State.
11. *William* Duke of *Bedford*.
12. *John* Marquiſs of *Normanby*.
13. *Charles* Marquiſs of *Winchester*.
14. *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*.
15. *Charles* Earl of *Dorſet* and *Middleſex*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſties Houſhold.
16. *Aubrey* Earl of *Oxford*.
17. *John* Earl of *Bridgewater*.
18. *Thomas* Earl of *Stamford*.
19. *John* E. of *Bath* L. Warden of the *Stannaries*.
20. *Daniel* Earl of *Nottingham*.
21. *Laurence* Earl of *Rochester*.
22. *William* Earl of *Portland*, Grome of the Stole to his Majeſty.
23. *Thomas* Earl of *Falconberg*.
24. *Charles* Earl of *Monmouth*.
25. *Ralph* Earl of *Montagu*, Maſter of his Majeſties Great Wardrobe.
26. *Richard* Earl of *Scarborough*.
27. *Francis* Earl of *Bradford*, Treaſurer of his Majeſties Houſhold.
28. *Henry* E. of *Romney*, L. Warden of the *Cinqueports*.
29. *Ford* Earl of *Tankerville*.
30. *Richard* Earl of *Ranelagh*.
31. *Charles* Viſcount *Durſley*.
32. *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, Dean of his Majeſties Chappel Royal.
33. *Robert* Lord *Lexington*.
34. *Charles* Lord *Cornwallis*.
35. *Sydney* Lord *Godolphin*, firſt Commiſſioner of his Majeſties Treaſury.
36. *Henry* Lord *Capell*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.
37. *Thomas* Lord *Coningsby*.
38. Sir *Robert Howard* Kt. Auditor of the *Exchequer*.
39. *Thomas Wharton* Eſq; Comptroler of his Majeſties Houſhold.
40. *Peregrine Bertie* Eſq; Vice-chamberlain to his Majeſty.
41. Sir *William Trumbull* Kt. One of his Majeſties Principal Secretaries of State.
42. *Char. Montagu* Eſq; Chancellor of the *Exchequer*.
43. Sir *John Holt* Kt. Lord Chief Juſtice of the Kings *Bench*.
44. Sir *John Trevor* Kt. Maſter of the *Rolls*.
45. Sir *Edward Seymour* Baronet.
46. Sir *Henry Goodricke* Kt. and Baronet, Lieutenant General of his Majeſties Ordnance.
47. Sir *John Lowther* of *Lowther* Baronet.
48. *Edward Ruſſell* Eſq; Admiral of his Majeſties Fleet, and Treaſurer of the Navy.
49. *Richard Hampden* Eſq;
50. *Hugh Boſcawen* Eſq;
51. *John Smith* Eſq; One of the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſties Treaſury.

Principal SECRETARIES *of* STATE.

CHARLES Duke of *Shrewsbury*.

SIR *William Trumbul* Knight.

CLERKS *of the* COUNCIL.

SIR *John Nicholas* Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*.
William Blaſhwaite Eſq;
Richard Goling Eſq;
William Bridgeman Eſq;

Lords

Lords Lieutenants *and* Cuſtodes Rotulorum.

ENGLAND.

COUNTIES.	*Lords* LIEUTENANTS.	CUSTODES ROTULORUM.
Bedford.	*William* Duke of *Bedford.*	*Paulet* Earl of *Bolenbroke.*
Berks.	*Henry* Duke of *Norfolk.*	*Idem.*
Bucks.	*John* Earl of *Bridgewater.*	*Thomas Wharton* Eſq;
Cambridge.	*William* Duke of *Bedford.*	*Edward Ruſſell* Eſq;
Cheſter.	*Richard* Earl *Rivers.*	*Idem.*
Cornwall.	*John* Earl of *Bathe.*	*Idem.*
Cumberland.	*Charles* Earl of *Carliſle.*	Sir *John Lowther* of *Lowther* Baronet.
Derby.	*William* Duke of *Devonſhire.*	*Idem.*
Devon.	*John* Earl of *Bathe.*	*Idem.*
Dorſet.	*John* Earl of *Briſtol.*	*Idem.*
Durham.	*Richard* Earl of *Scarborough.*	*Idem.*
Eſſex.	*Aubrey* Earl of *Oxford.*	*Idem.*
Glouceſter.	*Charles* Viſcount *Durſley.*	*Idem.*
Hereford.	*Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury.*	*Juſtices* of the Peace.
Hertford.	*Algernon* Earl of *Eſſex.*	*Idem.*
Huntingdon.	*Charles* Earl of *Manchester.*	*Idem.*
Kent.	*Henry* Earl of *Romney*, L. Warden of the *Cinque-ports.*	*Idem.*
Lancaſter.	*Charles* Earl of *Macclesfield.*	*Idem.*
Leiceſter.	*John* Earl of *Rutland.*	*Thomas* Earl of *Stamford.*
Lincoln.	*Robert* Earl of *Lindſey.*	*Idem* for the Parts of { *Keſteven.* *Lindſey.* *Holland.*
Middleſex.	*William* Duke of *Bedford.*	*Idem.*
Monmouth.	*Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke.*	*Thomas Morgan* of *Tredegar* Eſq;
Norfolk.	*Henry* Duke of *Norfolk.*	*Idem.*
Northampton.	*Charles* Earl of *Monmouth.*	*Chriſtopher* Viſcount *Hatton.*
Northumberld.	*Richard* Earl of *Scarborough.*	*Idem.*
Nottingham.	*John* Duke of *Newcaſtle.*	*Idem.*
Oxford.	*James* Earl of *Abingdon.*	*Idem.*
Rutland.	*Bennet* Lord *Sherrard.*	*Idem.*
Salop.	*Francis* Earl of *Bradford.*	*Idem.*
Somerſet.	*James* Duke of *Ormond.*	*John* Viſcount *Fitz-Hardinge.*
Southampton.	*Charles* Duke of *Bolton.*	*Idem.*
Stafford.	*William* Lord *Paget.*	*Idem.*
Suffolk.	*Charles* Lord *Cornwallis.*	*Idem.*
Surrey.	*Henry* Duke of *Norfolk.*	*George* Earl of *Berkeley.*
Suſſex.	*Charles* Earl of *Dorſet.*	*Idem.*
Tower of *London*, and the *Hamlets.*	*Robert* Lord *Lucas.*	*Idem.*
Warwick.	*George* Earl of *Northampton.*	*Idem.*
Weſtmerland.	*Charles* Earl of *Carliſle.*	Sir *John Lowther* of *Lowther* Baronet.
Wilts.	*Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke.*	*Thomas* Viſcount *Weymouth.*
Worceſter.	*Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury.*	*Thomas* Lord *Coventry.*
York. *Eaſt.* Riding	*Thomas* Duke of *Leeds.*	*Thomas* Duke of *Leeds.*
York. *Weſt.* Riding	*Thomas* Duke of *Leeds.*	Dead, and no *Cuſtos.*
York. *North.* Riding	*Thomas* Duke of *Leeds.*	*Thomas* Earl of *Fauconberg.*

WALES.

Angleſey.	*Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury.*	*Richard* Viſcount *Bulkeley.*
Breccon.	*Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke.*	*Henry* Lord *Herbert* of *Chirbury.*
Cardigan.	*Idem.*	*John* Earl of *Carbery.*
Carmarthen.	*Idem.*	*John* Earl of *Carbery.*
Carnarvan.	*Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury.*	*Edward Ruſſell* Eſq;
Denbigh.	*Idem.*	Sir *Richard Middleton* Baronet.
Flint.	*Idem.*	Sir *John Trevor* Kt.
Glamorgan.	*Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke.*	*Idem.*
Merioneth.	*Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury.*	Sir *John Wynne* Kt. and Baronet.
Montgomery.	*Idem.*	*Andrew Newport* Eſq;
Pembroke.	*Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke.*	*Idem.*
Radnor.	*Idem.*	Sir *Rowland Gwynne* Kt.

JUDGES

JUDGES.

SIR *John Sommers*, Kt. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*.

Sir *John Holt*, Kt. Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of Kings-Bench.

Sir *John Trevor*, Kt. Maſter of the Rolls in the High Court of *Chancery*.

Sir *George Treby*, Kt. Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common-Pleas.

Sir *Robert Atkins*, Kt. of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of *Exchequer*.

Sir *William Gregory*, Kt.
Sir *Giles Eyre*, Kt.
Sir *Samuel Eyre*, Kt. } Juſtices of the Court of King's-Bench.

Sir *Edward Nevill*, Kt.
Sir *John Powell*, Kt.
Sir *Thomas Rookſby*, Kt. } Juſtices of the Court of Common-Pleas.

Sir *Nicholas Lechmere*, Kt.
Sir *John Turton*, Kt.
Sir *John Powell*, Kt. } Barons of the Court of Exchequer.

George Bradbury, Eſq; *Curſitor* Baron.

The KINGS Domeſtick Servants *belonging to the* Law.

Edward Ward Eſq; Attorney General.

SIR *Thomas Trevor*, Kt. Solicitor General.

The KINGS Learned Council *at* Law.

John Osborne, of the Inner *Temple* Eſq;
Sir *William Williams*, (of *Grays Inn*) Kt. and Baronet.
Sir *William Whitlock*, of the Middle *Temple* Kt.
Sir *Thomas Trevor*, of the Inner *Temple* Kt. Attorney General, to her late moſt Excellent Majeſty.
William Farrer, the elder, of the Inner *Temple* Eſq; Solicitor General to her late moſt Excellent Majeſty.
John Conyers, of the Middle *Temple* Eſq;
Oliver Mountagu, of the Middle *Temple* Eſq;
William Cowper, of the Middle *Temple* Eſq;
Sir *Nathaniel Powell*, Kt. and Baronet.
William Clerke, of *Grays-Inn* Eſq;
John Agliomby, of *Grays-Inn* Eſq;
John Hawles, (of *Lincolns-Inn*) Eſq;

The KINGS Serjeants *at* Law.

SIR *Ambroſe Philips*, Kt.
Sir *William Thompſon*, Kt.
Sir *William Wogan*, Kt.

Nathaniel Bond, Eſq;
Sir *John Tremain*, Kt.
Sir *George Hutchins*, Kt.

BARONETS

BARONETS *Created by* KING *JAMES the* I.

An. Dom. 1611. May 22 & *An. R.* Jac. *I.* 9.

1. SIR *Nicholas Bacon* of *Redgrave* Kr. the Premier Baronet of *England.* **Suff.**
2. Sir *Richard Molineux* of *Sephton* Kr. (*Iriſh Viſc. viz.* Viſcount *Molineux.*) **Lanc.**
3. Sir *Thomas Maunſell* of *Morgan* Kr. **Glam.**
(*Vide*, Baron *Ferrers*, Number 7.)
4. Sir *John Stradling* of St. *Donats* Kr. **Glam.**
(*Vide*, Earl of *Scarſdale*, Num. 33.)
5. *Thomas Pelham* of *Laughton* Eſq; **Suſſ.**
6. Sir *Richard Houghton* of *Houghton*-Tower Kr. **Lanc.**
7. Sir *Henry Hobart* of *Intwood* Kr. (Attorney General to the King, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.) **Norff.**
(*Vide.* Earl of *Warrington*, Num. 69.)
8. Sir *John Peyton* of *Iſelham* Kr. **Cambr.**
9. *Lionel Tolmach* of *Helmingham* Eſq; from whom the preſent Chief Lineal deſcendent hath a juſt expectancy to be a *Scotch* Earl, *viz.* Earl of *Dyſert*, and now beareth the Title of Lord *Huntingtower*, as being eldeſt Son to the Counteſs of *Dyſert* Daughter of *William Murray* Earl of *Dyſert* and the relict of the late Sir *Lionel Tolmach*, but ſince married to the D. of *Lauderdale* **Suff.**
10. Sir *Gervaſe Cliffton* of *Cliffton* Kr. of the *Bath.* **Nott.**
11. Sir *Thomas Gerard* of *Bryn* Kr. **Lanc.**
12. Sir *Walter Aſton* of *Tixhall* Kr. of the *Bath*, Embaſſador in *Spain* from King *James* I. (*Scotch* Baron, *viz.* Lord *Aſton*) **Staff.**
13. *Philip Knevet* of *Buckenham* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Norff.**
14. Sir *John* St. *John* of *Lidiard-Tregoz* Kr. **Wiltſ.**
15. *John Shelly* of *Michelgrove* Eſq; **Suſſ.**
Junij 29.
(*Vide.* Earl *Rivers*, Num. 22.)
16. Sir *Francis Barington* of *Barington*-Hall Kr. **Eſſex.**
17. *Henry Berkely* of *Wimundham* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Leic.**
(*Vide*, Earl of *Stafford*, Num. 31.)
18. Sir *Richard Muſgrave* of *Hartley* Caſtle Kr. **Weſtmerl.**
19. *Edward Seymour* of *Bury-Pomeray* Eſq; **Devon.**
(*Vide*, Earl of *Winchelſey*, Num. 26.)
20. Sir *Anthony Cope* of *Hanwell* Kr. **Oxon.**
21. Sir *Thomas Mounſon* of *Carleton* Kr. **Linc.**
(*Vide*, *Charles Vavaſor Junij* 22. 1631.)
22. *George Greſely* of *Drakedow* Eſq; **Derb.**
23. *Paul Tracy* of *Stanway* Eſq (Extinct.) **Glouc.**
24. Sir *John Wentworth* of *Goſfield* Kr. (Extinct.) **Eſſex.**
(*Vide*, Earl of *Fauconberge*, Num. 63.)
25. *William Conſtable* of *Flamborough* Eſq; (Extinct) **Eboz.**
(*Vide*, Baron *Leigh*, Num. 32.)
(*Vide*, Earl of *Gainsborough*, Num. 56.)
26. Sir *Robert Cotton* of *Connington* Kr. **Hunt.**
27. *Robert Cholmondeleigh* of *Cholmondeleigh* Eſquire *Iriſh* Earl, *viz.* Earl of *Lompſter*, as alſo *Engliſh* Baron, *viz.* Lord *Cholmondeleigh* of *Wiche-Malbank alias Nant-wiche*, (Extinct.) **Cheſh.**
28. *John Molineux* of *Teverſal* Eſq; **Nott.**
29. Sir *Francis Wortley* of *Wortley* Kr. (Extinct.) **Eboz.**
(*Vide* Marquiſs of *Halifax*, Num. 1.)
30. *William Kniveton* of *Mircaſton* Eſq; **Derb.**
31. Sir *Philip Woodhouſe* of *Wilberhall* Kr. **Norf.**
32. Sir *William Pope* of *Wilcot* Kr. (*Iriſh* Earl, *viz.* Earl of *Down*) (Extinct.) **Oxon.**
33. Sir *James Harrington* of *Ridlington* Knight, **Rutl.**
34. Sir *Henry Savile* of *Methley* Kr. (Extinct.) **Eboz.**
35. *Henry Willoughby* of *Riſley* Eſq (Extinct.) **Derb.**
36. *Lewes Treſham* of *Ruſhon* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Northamp.**
(*Vide*, Earl of *Cardigan*, Num. 37.)
37. Sir *George* St. *Paul* of *Snariford* Kr. (Extinct.) **Linc.**
38. Sir *Philip Tirwhit* of *Stainefield* Kr. **Linc.**
39. Sir *Roger Dalliſon* of *Laughton* Kr. (Extinct.) **Linc.**
40. Sir *Edward Carye* of *Sleford* Kr. **Linc.**
41. Sir *Edward Huſſey* of *Hunnington* Kr. **Linc.**
42. *L'Eſtrange Mordant* of *Maſſingham* Eſq; **Norff.**
43. *Thomas Bendiſh* of *Steeple Bumſted* Eſq; **Eſſex.**
44. Sir *John Wynne* of *Gwedyr* Kr. **Caernarv.**
45. Sir *William Throckmorton* of *Tortworth* Kr. **Glouc.**
46. Sir *Richard Worſeley* of *Appledore-combe* Kr. **Hantſ.**
47. *Richard Fleetwood* of *Caldwiche* Eſq; **Staff.**
48. *Thomas Spenſer* of *Yarnton* Eſq; **Oxon.**
(*Vide*, Earl of *Thanet*, Num. 30.)
49. Sir *Samuel Peyton* of *Knoxton* Kr. **Kent.**
50. Sir *Charles Morriſon* of *Caſhio-Bury* Kr. (Extinct.) **Hertf.**
51. Sir *Henry Baker* of *Siſſinghurſt* Kr. (Extinct.) **Kent.**
52. *Roger Appleton* of *South Bumſted* Eſq; **Eſſex.**
53. Sir *William Sidley* of *Aſlesford* Kr. **Kent.**
54. Sir *William Twiſden* of *Eaſt-Peckham* Kr. **Kent.**
55. Sir *Edward Hales* of *Wood-Church* Kr. **Kent.**
56. *William Monins* of *Walderſhare* Eſq; **Kent.**
57. *Thomas Mildway* of *Mulſham* Eſq; (*Engliſh* Baron, *viz.* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, *Vide*, Num 8.) **Eſſex.**
(*Vide*, Baron *Maynard*, Num. 28.)
(*Vide*, Earl of *Lichfeild*, Num. 46.)

An. Dom. 1612. Nov. 25. & *R. Jac.* I. 10.

58. Sir *John Portman* of *Orchard* Kr. **Somerſ.**
59. Sir *Nicholas Saunderſon* of *Saxby* Kr. (*Iriſh* Viſc. *viz.* Viſcount *Caſtleton.*) **Linc.**
60. Sir *Miles Sandys* of *Wilberton* Kr. (Extinct.) **Cambr.**
61. *William Goſtwick* of *Willington* Eſq; **Bedf.**
62. *Thomas Puckering* of *Weſton* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Hertf.**
63. Sir *William Wray* of *Glentworth* Kr. **Linc.**
64. Sir *William Aiſloffe* of *Braxted-magna* Kr. **Eſſex.**
65. Sir *Marmaduke Wivel* of *Conſtable Burton* Kr. **Eboz.**

66. *John Perſhall* of *Horſley* Eſq; **Staff.**
67. *Francis Engleſield* of *Wotton Baſſet* Eſq; **Wiltſ.**
68. Sir *Thomas Ridgway* of *Torre* Kt. (*Iriſh* Earl, *viz.* E. of *London Derry.*) **Devon.**
69. *William Eſſex* of *Bewcot* Eſq; **Berkſ.**
70. Sir *Edward Georges* of *Langford* Kt. (*Iriſh* Baron) *viz.* Lord *Georges.* **Wiltſ.**
(*Vide*, Viſcount *Hereford*, Num. 1.)
(*Vide*, Baron *Mohun*, Num. 31.)
71. Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* of *Bradfield* Kt. **Eſſex.**
72. Sir *Thomas Holt* of *Aſton juxta Birmingham* Kt. **Warw.**
73. Sir *Robert Napier*, *alias Sandy*, of *Lawton-How* Kt. (*vid. John Napier Martij* 4. 1660. **Bedf.**
74. *Paull Banning* of *Bentley-Parva* Eſq; (*Engliſh* Vſt. *viz.* Viſcount *Banning*, (Extinct.) **Eſſex.**
75. Sir *Thomas Temple* of *Stow* Kt. **Buck.**
76. *Thomas Penyſton* of *Leigh* Eſq; **Suſſ.**

An. Dom. 1615. & *R. Jac.* 13.

77. *Maij* 27. *Thomas Blackſton* of *Blackſton* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Durh.**
(*Vide*, Earl of *Carnarvon*, Num. 28.)

An. Dom. 1617. & *R. Jac.* 15.

78. *Aprilis* 5 Sir *Rowland Egerton* of *Egerton* Kt. **Ceſtr.**
(*Vide*, Viſcount *Townſhend*, Num. 4.)
79. *Maij* 1. *Simon Clark* of *Salford* Eſq; **Warw.**
80. *Oct.* 2. *Edward Fitton* of *Gawſworth* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Ceſtr.**
81. *Martij* 11. Sir *Richard Lucy* of *Broxburn* Kt. (Extinct.) **Hertf.**

An. Dom. 1618. & *R. Jac.* 16.

82. *Maij* 25. Sir *Matthew Boynton* of *Bramſton* Kt. **Eboz.**
83. *Julij* 25. *Thomas Littleton* of *Frankley* Eſq; **Wigorn.**
84. *Dec.* 24. Sir *Francis Leigh* of *Newnham* Kt. (*Engliſh* Earl, *viz.* Earl of *Chicheſter* (Extinct.) **Warw.**
85. *Febr.* 25. *Thomas Burdet* of *Bramcote* Eſq; **Warw.**
86. *Martij* 1. *George Morton* of St. *Andrews-Milborn* Eſq; **Dorſ.**

Anno Dom. 1619. & *Regis* Jac. 17.

87. *Maij* 31 Sir *William Hervey* of *Kidbrook* Kt. with remainder to *William Hervey* his Son, and to the Heirs Males of the body of the ſaid *William.* (*Iriſh and Engliſh* Baron viz. Lord *Hervey* Extinct.) **Kent**
88. *Junij* 4. *Thomas Mackworth* of *Normanton* Eſq; **Rutl.**
(*Vide* Earl of *Tankerville Nov.* 72).
89. *Julij* 19 *William Villers* of *Brookesby* Eſq; The eldeſt Brother by a former Venter to *George Villers*, then Marqueſs, after Duke of *Buckingham.* **Leic.**
90. *Julij* 20 Sir *James Ley* of *Weſtbury* Kt. Serjeant at Law, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's *Bench*, and afterwards Lord High Treaſurer of *England* (*Engliſh* Earl viz. E. of *Marlborough Extinct*) **Wiltſ.**
91. *Julij* 21 *William Hicks* of *Beverſton* Eſq; **Glouc.**
92. *Sept.* 17 Sir *Thomas Beaumont* of *Cole-Orton* Kt. (*Iriſh Vic.* viz. Viſcount *Beaumont*) **Leic.**
93. *Nov.* 10 *Henry Salisbury* of *Llewney* Eſquire **Denb.**
94. *Nov.* 16 *Erasmus Driden* of *Canons-Aſhby* Eſq; **Northamp.**
95. *Nov.* 28 *William Armine* Eſq; Son and Heir to Sir *William Armine* of *Oſgodby* Kt. (*Extinct*) **Linc.**
96. *Dec.* 1. Sir *William Bamburgh* of *Howton* Kt. (*Extinct*) **Ebor.**
97. *Dec.* 3 *Edward Hartop* of *Freathby*, Eſq; **Leic.**
98. *Dec.* 31 *John Mill* of *Camoys Court* Eſq; **Suſſ.**
(*Vide* Earl of *Berwentwater Nov.* 60.)
99. *Feb.* 6. Sir *David Foulis* of *Ingleby* Knight **Ebor.**
100. *Febr.* 16 *Thomas Philips* of *Barrington* Eſq; **Somerſ.**
101. *Martij* 7 Sir *Claudius Forſter* of *Bamborough* Caſtle Kt. (*Extinct*) **Northumb.**
102. *Martij* 23 *Anthony Cheſter* of *Ceichley* Eſq; **Buck.**

Anno Dom. 1620. & *Regis* Jac. 18.

103. *Martij* 28 Sir *Samuell Tryon* of *Layre-Marney* Kt. **Eſſex**
104. *April* 2 *Adam Newton* of *Charleton* Eſq; **Kent**
105. *Apr.* 12 Sir *John Boteler* of *Hatfield-woodhal* Kt. (*Engliſh* Barons viz. Lord *Boteler* of *Bramfield Extinct*) **Hertf.**
106. *Apr.* 13 *Gilbert Gerard* of *Harrow* on the Hill Eſq; **Midd.**
107. *Maij* 3 *Humphrey Lee* of *Langley* Eſquire **Salop.**
108. *Maij* 5 *Richard Berney* of *Parkhal* in *Redham* Eſq; **Norff.**
109. *Maij* 20 *Humphrey Forſter* of *Alder-Marſton* Eſq; **Berkſ.**
110. *Maij* 26 *Thomas Biggs* of *Lenchwike* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Wigorn.**
111. *Maij* 30. *Henry Bellingham* of *Helſington* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Weſtmerl.**
112. *Maij* 31. *William Yelverton* of *Rougham* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Norff.**
113. *Junij* 1. *John Scudamore* of *Home-Lacy* Eſq; (*Iriſh* Vic. *viz.* Viſcount *Scudamore*,) **Hereſ.**
114. *Junij* 2. Sir *Thomas Gower* of *Stitnam* Kt. **Eboz.**
115. *Junij* 22. *John Pakington* of *Aleſbury* Eſq; **Buck.**
116. *Junij* 28. *Ralph Aſhton* of *Lever* Eſq; **Lanc.**
117. *Julij* 1. Sir *Baptiſt Hicks* of *Camden* Kt. (*Engliſh* Viſc. *viz.* Viſcount *Camden* (Extinct) **Glouc.**
118. *Julij* 3. Sir *Thomas Roberts* of *Glaſſenbury* Kt. **Kent.**
119. *Julij* 8. *John Hanmer* of *Hanmer* Eſq. **Flint.**
120. *Edward Fryer* of *Water Eaton* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Oxon.**
(*Vide*, Duke of *Leeds*, Num. 16.)
121. *Julij* 20. *Henry Fleton* of *Playford* Eſquire. **Suſſ.**

122. *Julij*

122. *Julij* 20 *William Chaloner* of *Gisborough* Eſq; (Extinct) **Chor.**
123. *Julij* 24 Sir *Thomas* Biſhop of *Parham* Kt. **Suſſ.**
124. *Julij* 26 Sir *Francis Vincent* of *Stoke Dabernon* Kt. **Surr.**
125. *Febr.* 27 *Henry Clere* of *Ormesby* Eſq; (Extinct) **Norf.**
126. *Martij* 8 Sir *Benjamin Tichburne* of *Tichburne* Kt. **Hantſh.**

Anno Dom. 1621. *& Regis* Jac. 19.

127. *Maij* 5 Sir *Richard Wilbraham* of *Woodhey* Kt. **Ceſtr.**
128. *Maij* 8 Sir *Thomas Delves* of *Dodington* Kt. **Ceſtr.**
(*Vide* Baron *Rockingham* Num. 42.)
129. *Junij* 29 Sir *Thomas Palmer* of *Wingham* Kt. **Kent.**
(*Vide* Earl of *Radnor* Num. 50.)
130. *Julij* 19 *John Revers* of *Chafford* Eſq; **Kent.**
131. *Sept.* 6 *Thomas Darnell* of *Heydling* Eſq; **Linc.**
132. *Sep.* 14 Sir *Iſaac Sidley* of Great *Chart* Kt. **Kent**
133. *Sep.* 21 *Robert Browne* of *Walcot* Eſq; (Extinct) **Northamp.**
134. *Oct.* 11 *John Hewet* of *Headley-Hall* Eſq; **Chor.**
135. *Oct.* 16 *Henry Fernegan* of *Coſſey* alis *Coſſeſe* Eſq; **Norf.**
136. *Nov.* 1 Sir *Nicholas Hide* of *Albury* Kt. (Extinct.) **Hertf.**
137. *Nov.* 9 *John Philips* of *Picton* Eſq; **Pembr.**
138. *Nov.* 24 Sir *John Stepney* of *Prendergaſt* Kt. **Pemb.**
139. *Dec.* 5 *Baldwin Wake* of *Clevedon* Eſq; **Somerſ.**
140. *Dec.* 20 *William Maſhom* of *High-Laver* Eſq; **Eſſex.**
141. *Dec.* 21 *John Colbrond* of *Borham* Eſq; **Suff.**
142. *Jan.* 4 Sir *John Hotham* of *Scarborough* Kt. Governour of *Hull.* **Chor.**
143. *Jan.* 14 *Francis Manſell* of *Mudleſcombe* Eſq; **Caermarth.**
144. *Jan.* 18 *Edward Powell* of *Penkelley* (one of the Maſters of the *Requeſts*) (Extinct) **Heref.**
145. *Febr.* 16. Sir *John Gerrard* of *Lamer* Kt. **Hertf.**
146. *Febr.* 23. Sir *Richard Groſvenour* of *Eaton* Knight. **Ceſtr.**
147. *Martij* 11. Sir *Henry Moody* of *Gareſdon* Kt. (Extinct.) **Wiltſ.**
148. *Martij* 17. *John Barker* of *Grimſton*-Hall in *Trimley* Eſq; **Suff.**
149. *Martij* 18 Sir *William Button* of *Alton* Kt. **Wiltſ.**

An. Dom. 1622. *& R. Jac.* 20.

150. *Martij* 26. *John Gage* of *Ferle* Eſquire, **Suſſ.**
151. *Maij* 14. *William Goring* Eſq; Son and Heir of Sir *Henry Goring* of *Burton* Kt. **Suſſ.**
152. *Maij* 18. *Peter Courtene* of *Aldington alias Aunton* Eſq; (Extinct) **Wigorn.**
153. *Maij* 23. Sir *Richard Norton* of *Rotherfild* Knight. **Hantſ.**
154. *Maij* 30. Sir *John Leventhorpe* of *Shingley-Hall* Kt. **Hertf.**
155. *Junij* 3. *Capell Bedell* of *Hamerton* Eſquire, (Extinct.) **Hunt.**
156. *Junij* 13. *John Darell* of *Weſt-Woodhey* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Berkſ.**
157. *Junij* 15. *William Williams* of *Veynol* Eſq; **Caernarv.**
158. *Junij* 18. Sir *Francis Aſhbey* of *Harfield* Kt. **Midd.**
159. *Julij* 3. Sir *Anthony Aſhley* of St. *Giles-Winburne* Kt. (Extinct.) **Dorſ.**
(*Vide*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Num. 45.)
160. *Julij* 17. *Edmund Prideaux* of *Netherton* Eſq; **Devon.**
161. *Julij* 21. Sir *Thomas Harſlerigge* of *Noſely* Knight. **Leic.**
162. *Julij* 22. Sir *Thomas Burton* of *Stockerſton* Knight. **Leic.**
163. *Julij* 24. *Francis Folejambe* of *Walton* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Derb.**
164. *Julij* 30. *Edward Tate* of *Buckland* Eſq; **Berkſ.**
165. *Aug.* 1. *George Chudleigh* of *Aſhton* Eſq; **Devon.**
166. *Aug.* 2. *Francis Drake* of *Buckland* Eſquire. **Devon.**
167. *Aug.* 13. *William Meredith* of *Stanſty* Eſq; **Denb.**
168. *Octo.* 22. *Hugh Middleton* of *Ruthin* Eſq; **Denb.**
169. *Nov.* 12. *Giffard Thornhurſt* of *Agnes Court* Eſquire. **Kent.**
(*Vide*, Marquiſs of *Powis*, Num. 2.)
170. *Dec.* 7. Sir *Robert Fiſher* of *Packington* Kt. **Warw.**
171. *Dec.* 18. *Hardolph Waſtneys* of *Headon* Eſq; **Nott.**
172. *Dec.* 20. Sir *Henry Skipwith* of *Preſtwould* Knight. **Leic.**
173. *Dec.* 22. *Thomas Harris* of *Boreaton* Eſq; **Salop.**
174. *Dec.* 23. *Nicholas Tempeſt* of *Stella* Eſq **Duth.**
175. *Febr.* 16. *Francis Cottington* Eſq; Secretary to King *Charles* the I. when Prince of *Wales*, afterwards paſſing thro ſeveral eminent Employments and great Offices he was advanced to be Lord High Treaſurer of *England* (*Engliſh* Baron, *viz.* Lord *Cottington* Extinct.)

An. Dom. 1623. *& R. Jac.* 21.

176. *Apr.* 12. *Thomas Harris* of *Tong*-Caſtle Serjeant at Law (Extinct.) **Salop.**
177. *Junij*, 28. Edward *Barkham* of *South-Acre* Eſq; (Lord Mayor of *London.*) **Norf.**
178. *Julij* 4 *John Cobet* of *Sprowſton* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Norf.**
179. *Aug.* 13. Sir *Thomas Playters* of *Sotterly* Eſq; **Suff.**

BARONETS *Created by* KING CHARLES *the* I.

An. Dom. 1626. & *R. Car. primi* 2.

180. *Julij* 27. SIR *John Ashfield* of *Netherhall* Kt. (Extinct.) **Suff.**
181. *Sept.* 8. *Henry Harper* of *Calke* Esq; **Derb.**
182. *Dec.* 20. *Edward Seabright* of *Beisford* Esq; **Wigorn.**
183. *Jan.* 29. *John Beaumont* of *Gracedieu* Esq; **Leic.**
184. *Febr.* 1. Sir *Edward Dering* of *Surrenden-Dering* Kt. **Kent.**
185. *Febr.* 5. *George Kempe* of *Pentlene* Esquire (Extinct.) **Eſſex.**
186. *Martij* 10. *William Brereton* of *Hanford* Esq; (Extinct.) **Ceſtr.**
187. *Martij* 12. *Patricius Curwen* of *Workington* Esq; (Extinct.) **Cumbr.**
188. *Martij* 12. *William Ruſſel* of *Witley* Esq; **Wigorn.**
189. *Martij* 4. *John Spenſer* of *Offley* Eſquire. **Hertf.**
190. *Martij* 17. Sir *Giles Eſtcourt* of *Newton* Kt. **Wiltſ.**

An. Dom. 1627 & *R. Car.* I. *tertio.*

191. *Apr.* 19. *Thomas Aylesbury* Esq; (One of the Maſters of the Requeſts,) (Extinct.)
192. *Apr.* 21. *Thomas Style* of *Wateringbury* Esq; **Kent.**
(*Vide*, Baron *Cornwallis*, Num. 47.)
193. *Maij* 7. *Drue Drury* of *Ridleſworth* Esq; **Norf.**
194. *Maij* 8. *William Skeffington* of *Fiſherwick* Esq; (*Iriſh* Vic. *viz.* Viſcount *Maſſereene*) **Staff.**
195. *Maij* 11. Sir *Robert Crane* of *Chilton* Kt. (Extinct.) **Suff.**
196. *Maij* 17. *Anthony Wingfield* of *Goodwins* Esq; **Suff.**
197. *Maij* 17. *William Culpeper* of *Preſton-Hall* Esq; **Kent.**
(*Vide*, Baron *Chandos*, Num. 17.)
198. *Maij* 17. *John Kirle* of *Much-Marcle* Esq; **Heref.**
199. *Maij* 20. Sir *Humphrey Stiles* of *Beckham* Knight (Extinct.) **Kent.**
200. *Maij* 21. *Henry Moor* of *Falley* Eſquire **Berkſ.**
201. *Maij* 28. *Thomas Heale* of *Fleet* Eſquire **Devon.**
202. *Maij* 28. *John Carleton* of *Holcum* Esq; (Extinct.) **Oxon.**
203. *Maij* 30. *Thomas Maples* of *Stow* Esq; (Extinct.) **Hunt.**
204. *Maij* 30. Sir *John Iſham* of *Lamport* Kt. **Northamp.**
205. *Maij* 30. *Hervey Bagot* of *Blithfield* Esq; **Staff.**
206. *Maij* 31. *Lewes Pollard* of *King's Nimph* Esq; (Extinct.) **Devon.**
207. *Junij* 1. *Francis Mannock* of *Gifford's-Hall* in *Stoke juxta Neyland* Esq; **Suff.**
208. *Junij* 7. *Henry Griffith* of *Agnes Burton* Esq; (Extinct.) **Ebor.**
209. *Junij* 8. *Lodowicke Dyer* of *Staughton* Esq; **Hunt.**
210. *Junij* 9. Sir *Hugh Stukely* of *Hinton* Knight **Hantſ.**
211. *Junij* 26. *Edward Stanley* of *Bickerſtaffe* Esq; **Lanc.**
212. *Junij* 28. *Edward Littleton* of *Pillaton* Hall Esq; **Staff.**
213. *Julij* 7. *Ambroſe Brown* of *Beſtworth-Caſtle* Esq; (Extinct.) **Surr.**
214. *Julij* 8. *Sackvile Crow* of *Llanberne* Esq; for ſeveral years Embaſſador to the Grand Seignior. **Caerm.**
215. *Julij* 11. *Michael Liveſey* of *East-Church* in the Iſle of *Shepey* (Extinct.) **Kent.**
216. *Julij* 17. *Simon Benet* of *Bechampton* Esq; (Extinct.) **Buck.**
217. *Julij* 19. Sir *Thomas Fiſher* of the Pariſh of St. *Giles* Kt. **Midd.**
218. *Julij* 23. *Thomas Bowyer* of *Leighthorn* Esq; (*Vide*, Sir *James Bowyer*, *May* 18. 1677.) **Suff.**
219. *Julij* 29. *Butts Bacon* of *Mildenhall* Eſquire **Suff.**
220. *Sept.* 19. *John Corbet* of *Stoke* Eſquire, **Salop.**
221. *Oct.* 31. Sir *Edward Tirrell* of *Thorneton* Knight, (*Vide*, Sir *Edward Tirrell* *Feb.* 19. 1638.) **Buck.**
222. *Febr.* 18. *Baſill Dixwell* of *Terlingham*, alias *Gerelingham* Esq; (Extinct.) **Kent.**
223. *Martij* 10. Sir *Richard Young* Kt. One of the Gentlemen of His Majeſties Privy Chamber (Extinct.)

An. Dom. 1628 & *R. Car.* I. *quarto.*

224. *Maij* 6. *William Pennyman* the younger of *Maske*, alias *Marske* Esq; A Collonel in the late Kings Army, and ſometime Governor of *Oxford* (Extinct.) **Ebor.**
225. *Maij* 7. *William Stonehouſe* of *Radley* Esq; (*Vide*, Sir *George Stonehouſe*, *May* 5. 1668.) **Berkſ.**
226. *Maij* 21. Sir *Thomas Fowler* of *Iſlington* Kt. (Extinct.) **Midd.**
227. *Junij* 9. Sir *John Fenwick* of *Fenwick* Kt. **Northumb.**
228. *Junij* 30. Sir *William Wray* of *Trebitch* Kt. **Cornub.**
229. *Julij* 1. *John Trelawney* of *Trelawney* Esq; **Cornub.**
230. *Julij* 14. *John Conyers* of *Horden* Gent. **Durh.**
231. *Julij* 24. *John Bolles* of *Scampton* Eſquire **Linc.**
232. *Julij* 25. *Thomas Aſton* of *Aſton* Eſquire **Ceſtr.**
233. *Julij* 30. *Kenelme Fenoure* of *Much-Dunmow* Eſquire **Eſſex.**
234. *Aug.* 15. Sir *John Price* of *Newtown* Kt. **Montgom.**
235. *Aug.* 19. Sir *Richard Beaumont* of *Whitley* Knight (Extinct.) **Ebor.**

236. *Aug.* 29 *William Wiſeman* of *Canfield* Hall Eſq; **Eſſex**

237. *Sept.* 1 *Thomas Nightingale* of *Newport-Pond* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

238. *Sept.* 2 *John Jacques* of Eſq; One of His Majeſties Gentlemen Penſioners (Extinct.) **Midd.**

239. *Sept.* 6 *Robert Dillington* of *Knighton-Gorge*, in the Iſle of *Wight* Eſq; **Hantſ.**

240. *Sept.* 12 *Francis Pile* of Compton Eſquire, **Berkſ.**

241. *Sept.* 12 *John Pole* of *Shute* Eſq; **Devon.**

242. *Sept.* 14 *William Lewes* of *Langors* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Brecк.**

243. *Sept.* 20 *William Culpeper* of *Wakehurſt* Eſq; **Suſſ.**

244. *Oct.* 3 *Peter Van Loor* of *Tylehurſt* Eſquire, (Extinct) **Berkſ.**

245. *Oct.* 9 Sir *John Laurence* of *Iver* Kt. **Buck.**

246. *Oct.* 23. *Anthony Slingesby* of *Screvin* Eſquire, **Ebor.**

247. *Oct.* 24 *Thomas Vavaſour* of *Haſelwood* Eſq; **Ebor.**

248. *Nov.* 24 *Robert Wolſeley* of *Wolſeley* Eſq; **Staff.**

249. *Dec.* 8 *Rice Rudd* of *Aberghaney* Eſquire, **Caerm.**

250. *Dec.* 18 *Richard Wiſeman* of *Thurnderſley* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

251. *Dec.* 19 *Henry Ferrers* of *Skellingthorpe* Eſq; **Linc.**

252. *Jan.* 3 *John Anderſon* of St. *Ives* Eſq; **Hunt.**

253. *Jan.* 19 Sir *William Ruſſel* of *Chippenham* Knight, **Cambr.**

254. *Jan.* 29 *Richard Everard* of *Much-Waltham* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

255. *Jan.* 21 *Thomas Powell* of *Berkinhead* Eſq; **Ceſtr.**

256. *Martij* 2 *William Luckin* of *Waltham* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

An. Dom. 1629 *&* *R. Car.* I. *quinto.*

257. *Martij* 29 *Richard Graham* of *Eske* Eſq; (*Scottiſh* Viſcount, *viz. Vic. Preſton.*) **Cumber.**

258. *Apr.* 2 *George Twiſleton* of *Barly* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Ebor.**

259. *Maij* 30 *William Acton* of the City of *London* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Lond.**

260. *Junij* 1 *Nicholas L' Eſtrange* of *Hunſtanton* Eſq; **Norf.**

261. *Junij* 15 *John Holland* of *Quiddenham* Eſq; **Norf.**

262. *Junij* 24 *Edward Aleyn* of *Hatfield* Eſquire, (Extinct.) **Eſſex.**

263. *Julij* 2 *Richard* Earl of *Cragletborp* Eſquire, **Linc.**

264. *Nov* 28 *Robert Ducy* Lord Mayor of *London.* **Lond.**

An. Dom. 1630. *&* *R. Car.* I. *ſexto.*

265. *Apr.* 9 Sir *Richard Greneville* Knight, (younger Brother to Sir *Bevill Greneville*) of *Kilkhampton*, in *Com. Cornw.* (Extinct.) **Cornub.**

An. Dom. 1631 *&* *R. Car.* I. *ſeptimo.*

266. *Junij* 22 *Charles Vavaſour* of *Killingthorpe* Eſquire, with an eſpecial Clauſe of precedency, *viz.* to take place next below Sir *Thomas Mounſon* of *Carleton*, in *Com. Linc. Bar.* and next above Sir *George Greſely* of *Drakelow*, in *Com. Derb* Baronet, created 29 *Junij*, 1611. **Linc.**

An. Dom. 1638 *&* *R. Car.* I. xiv.

267. *Feb.* 19 Sir *Edward Tirrell* of *Thornley* Knight, with remainder to the Heirs Male of *Toby Tirrell*, One of the Sons of the ſaid Sir *Edward Tirrell*; and for default of ſuch Iſſue, on *Francis Tirrell* another of the Sons of the ſaid Sir *Edward*, and the Heirs Male of the body of him the ſaid *Francis*. And to have precedency from the 31ſt of *Oct. Anno tertio Car. Reg.* according to a Patent then granted to him the ſaid Sir *Edward Tirrell*, which was ſurrendred upon the ſealing of this preſent Patent. **Buck.**

An. Dom. 1640. *&* *R. Car.* I. xvj.

268. *Julij* 20 *Edward Moſeley* of *Rowlſton* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Staff.**

269. *Jan.* 8 *Martin Lumley* of *Bradfield* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

270. *Febr.* 15 *William Dalſton* of *Dalſton* Eſquire. **Cumber.**

271. *Febr.* 19 *Henry Fletcher* of *Hutton* in the Forreſt Eſq; **Cumber.**

272. *Martij* 4 *Nicholas Cole* of *Brancepeth* Eſq; **Durh.**

An. Dom. 1641. *&* *R. Car.* I. xvij.

273. *Apr.* 23 *Edmund Pye* of *Leckhamſted* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Buck.**

274. *Maij* 26. *Simon Every* of *Egginton* Eſquire, **Derb.**

275. *Maij* 29 *William Langley* of *Higham-Gobion* Eſq; **Bedf.** (*Vide*, Earl of *Yarmouth*, Num. 51.)

276. *Junij* 11 *James Stonehouſe* of *Amerden*-Hall Eſq; **Eſſex.**

277. *Junij* 24 *John Palgrave* of *Norwood-Barningham* Eſq; **Norf.**

278. *Junij* 25 *Gerard Napper* of *Middle-Mertball* Eſq; **Dorſ.**

279. *Junij* 28 *Thomas Whitemore* of *Apley* Eſq; **Salop.**

280. *Junij* 29 *John Maney* of *Linton* Eſquire, **Kent.**

281. *Junij* 30. Sir *Thomas Cave* jun. of *Stanford* Kt. **Northamp.** (*Vide*, Viſcount *Longueville*, Num. 7.)

282. *Julij* 3 *William Boteler* of *Teſton* Eſquire, **Kent.**

283. *Julij* 5 Sir *Thomas Hatton* of *Long-Stanton* Kt. **Cambr.**

284. *Julij* 7 *Thomas* Abdy of *Feilx*-Hall Eſq; **Eſſex.**

285. *Julij* 14 *Thomas Bampfield* of *Poltmore* Eſq; **Devon.**

286. *Julij* 14 Sir *John Cotton* of *Landwade* Kt. **Cambr.**

287. *Julij* 15 Sir *Simonds D'Ewes* of *Stow*-Hall Kt. **Suff.**

(*Vide*, Viſcount *Weymouth* Num. 5.)

288. *Julij* 15 *John Burgoyne* of *Sutton* Eſq; **Bedf.**
289. *Julij* 16 *John Northcote* of *Haine* Eſq; **Devon.**
290. *Julij* 17 Sir *William Drake* of *Sherdelow* Kt. **Buck.**
291. *Julij* 23 *Thomas Rous* of *Rouſe-Lench* Eſq; **Wigorn.**
292. *Julij* 23 *Raphe Hare* of *Stow Bardolfe* Eſq; **Norf.**
293. *Julij* 24 Sir *John Norwich* of *Brampton* Kt. **Northamp.**
294. *Julij* 26 *John Brownlow* of *Belton* prope *Grantham* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Linc.**
295. *Julij* 27 *William Brownlow* of *Humby* Eſq; **Linc.**
296. *Julij* 28 *John Sidenham* of *Brimpton* Eſq. **Somerſ.**
297. *Julij* 28 *Henry Prat* of *Coleſcall* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Berkſ.**
298. *Julij* 28 *Francis Nichols* of *Hardwick* Eſq; **Northamp.**
299. *Julij* 30 Sir *William Strickland* of *Boynton* Kt. **Ebor.**
300. *Aug.* 4 Sir *Thomas Wolriche* of *Dudmaſton* Kt. **Salop.**
301. *Aug.* 4 *Thomas Mauleverer* of *Allerton Mauleverer* Eſq; **Ebor.**
302. *Aug.* 4 *William Boughton* of *Lawford* Eſq; **Warw.**
303. *Aug.* 4 *John Chicheſter* of *Raleigh* Eſq; **Devon.**
304. *Aug.* 4 *Norton Knatchbull* of *Merſham Hatch* Eſq; **Kent.**
305. *Aug.* 4 *Hugh Windham* of *Pilsden Court* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Dorſ.**
306. *Aug.* 9 *Richard Carew* of *Antony* Eſquire, **Cornub.**
307. *Aug.* 9 *William Caſtleton* of Saint *Edmonds-Bury* Eſq; **Suff.**
308. *Aug.* 9 *Richard Price* of *Gogarthan* Eſquire, **Cardigan.**
309. *Aug.* 10 *Hugh Cholmley* of *Whitby* Eſquire, **Ebor.**
310. *Aug.* 11 *William Springe* of *Pakenham* Eſq; **Suff.**
311. *Aug.* 11 *Thomas Trevor* of *Enfield* Eſquire, (Extinct.) **Midd.**
312. *Aug.* 11 Sir *John Curſon* of *Kedleſton* (Baronet of *Scotland*,) **Derb.**
313. *Aug.* 11 *Hugh Owen* of *Orielton* Eſquire, **Pembr.**
314. *Aug.* 12 *Morton Briggs* of *Haughton* Eſq; **Salop.**
315. *Aug.* 12 *Henry Heyman* of *Somerfield* Eſquire, **Kent.**
316. *Aug.* 12 *Thomas Sandford* of *Howgill-Caſtle* Eſquire, **Weſtmerl.**
317. *Aug.* 14 Sir *Francis Rodes* of *Barlbrough* Knight, **Derb.**
318. *Aug.* 14 *Richard Sprignell* of *Coppenthorpe* Eſquire, **Ebor.**
319. *Aug.* 14 Sir *John Potts* of *Mannington* Kt. **Norfk.**
320. *Aug.* 14 Sir *John Goodricke* of *Ribſtan* Kt. **Ebor.**
321. *Aug.* 16 *Robert Bindloſſe* of *Borwicke* Eſq; **Lanc.**
322. *Aug.* 16 *William Walter* of *Sareſden* Eſq; **Oxon.**
323. *Aug.* 16 *Thomas Lawley* of *Spoonhill* Eſq; **Salop.**

(*Vide*, Baron *Lempſter* Num. 67.)

324. *Sept.* 9 *John Davye* of *Creedy* Eſq; **Devon.**
325. *Sept.* 23 *Thomas Pettus* of *Rackheath* Eſq; **Norf.**
326. *Dec.* 11 *William Andrews* of *Denton* (*alias Dodington*) Eſq; **Northamp.**
327. *Dec.* 11 *John Meaux* of *Kingſton* in the Iſle of *Wight* Eſq; **Hantſh.**
328. *Dec.* 14 Sir *Richard Gurney*, Kt. the ſignally Loyal Lord Mayor of *London* (Extinct.) **Lond:**
329. *Dec.* 15 *Thomas Willys* of *Fen-Ditton* Eſq; **Cantbr.**
330. *Dec.* 15 *Francis Armitage* of *Kirklees* Eſq; **Ebor.**
331. *Dec.* 18 *Richard Halford* of *Wiſtow* Eſq; **Leic.**
332. *Dec.* 24 Sir *Humphrey Tufton* of the *More*, juxta *Maidſton* Kt. (Extinct.) **Kent.**
333. *Dec.* 30 *Edward Coke* of *Langford* Eſq; **Derb.**
334. *Jan.* 21 *Iſaac Aſtley* of *Melton-Conſtable* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Norf.**
335. *Jan.* 21 Sir *David Cunningham* Baronet of *Scotland* (Extinct.) **Lond:**
336. *Jan.* 22 Sir *John Rayney* of *Wrotham*, Baronet of *Scotland*. **Kent.**
337. *Jan.* 29 *Revet Eldred* of *Saxham Magna* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Suff.**
338. *Jan.* 29 *John Gell* of *Hopton* Eſq; **Derb.**
339. *Jan.* 29 Sir *Vincent Corbet* of *Morton-Corbet* Kt. **Salop.**
340. *Feb.* 4 Sir *John Kay* of *Woodſome* Knight, **Ebor.**
341. *Febr.* 5 *Thomas Trollop* of *Caſewick* Eſq; **Linc.**
342. *Martij* 3 *Edward Thomas* of *Michaells-Town* Eſq; **Glam.**
343 *Martij* 4. Sir *William Cowper* of *Ratlings-Court* Baronet of *Scotland*. **Kent.**
344. *Martij* 5 *Denner Strut* of *Little Worley-Hall* Eſq; **Eſſex.**
345. *Martij* 8 *William* St. *Quintin* of *Harpham* Eſq; **Ebor.**
346. *Martij* 14 Sir *Robert Kempe* of *Giſſing* Kt. **Norf.**
347. *Martij* 16 *John Reade* of *Brockes-Hall* Eſq; **Pertk.**

An. Dom. 1642. & *R. Car.* I. xviij.

348. *Apr.* 9 *James Enyan* of *Flowre* Eſquire (Extinct.) **Northamp.**
349. *Apr.* 19 Sir *Edmund Williams* of *Marnehull* Kt. (Extinct.) **Dorſ.**
350. *Apr.* 22. *John Williams* of *Minſter* in the Iſle of *Thanet*. **Kent.**
351. *Apr.* 29 *George Wintour* of *Huddington* Eſq; **Wigorn.**
352. *Maij* 4 *John Borlaſe* of *Bockmer* Eſquire, **Buck.**
353. *Maij* 6 *Henry Knollys* of *Greveplace* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Hantſh.**
354. *Maij* 11 *John Hamilton* of *London* Eſquire, **Lond.**

355. *Maij* 12 *Edward Morgan* of *Llanternam* Eſq; **Monm.**

356. *Maij* 13 Sir *Nicholas Kemeys* of *Kevenmabley* Kt. **Glam.**

357. *Maij* 14 *Trevor Williams* of *Llangibbye* Eſq; **Monm.**

358. *Maij* 16 *John Reresby* of *Thribergh* Eſq; **Ebor.**

359. *Maij* 17 *William Ingilby* of *Ripley* Eſquire, **Ebor.**

360. *Maij* 18 *Poynings Moore* of *Loſeley* Eſq; **Surr.**

361. *Maij* 19 *Chriſtopher Dawney* of *Cowick* Eſq; **Ebor.**

362. *Junij* 3 *Thomas Hampſon* of *Taplow* Eſquire, **Buck.**

363. *Junij* 3 *Thomas Williamſon* of *East Markham* Eſq; **Nott.**

364. *Junij* 3 *William Denney* of *Gillingham* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Norf.**

365. *Junij* 3 Sir *Richard Hardres* of *Hardres* Kt. **Kent.**

366. *Junij* 11 *Chriſtopher Lowther* of *White Haven* Eſq; **Cum.**

367. *Junij* 13 Sir *Thomas Alſton* of *Odell* Kt. **Bedf.**

368. *Junij* 20 *Edward Corbet* of *Leighton* Eſq; **Montgom.**

369. *Junij* 24 *George Middleton* of *Leighton* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Lanc.**

370. *Junij* 28 *Edward Payler* of *Thoraldby* Eſq; **Ebor.**

(*Vide*, Baron *Widdrington*, Num. 37.)

371. *Julij* 20 *Matthew Valckenburg* of *Middle-Ing* Eſq; **Ebor.**

372. *Julij* 20 *Philip Conſtable* of *Everingham* Eſq; **Ebor.**

373. *Julij* 30 *Ralph Blackſton* of *Gibſide* Eſq; **Durh.**

374. *Aug.* 8 Sir *Edward Widdrington* of *Cartington*, Baronet of *Scotland* (Extinct.) **Northumb.**

375. *Aug.* 15 *Robert Markham* of *Sedgbrook* Eſq; **Linc.**

376. *Aug.* 15 *Philip Hungate* of *Saxton* Eſquire, **Ebor.**

377. *Aug.* 15 *Stephen Lennard* of *Weſt-Wickham* Eſq; **Kent.**

378. *Aug.* 24 Sir *William Thorold* of *Marſton* Kt. **Linc.**

379. *Aug.* 29 *Walter Rudſtone* of *Hayton* Eſq; **Ebor.**

380. *Walter Wroteſley* of *Wroteſly* Eſquire, **Staff.**

381. *Aug.* 30 *Thomas Bland* of *Kippax-Park* Eſquire.

382. *Sept.* 1 *Robert Throckmorton* of *Coughton* Eſq; **Warw.**

383. *Sept.* 10 *William Halton* of *Samford* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

384. *Sept.* 26 *Brocket Spenſer* of *Offley* Eſquire, **Heref.**

385. *Sept.* 27 *Edward Golding* of *Colſton-Baſſet* Eſq; **Nott.**

386. *Sept.* 27 *William Smith* of *Crantock* Eſq; **Cornub.**

387. *Oct.* 1 *Henry Heme* of *Wingfield* Eſquire, **Berkſ.**

388. *Oct.* 5 *Walter Blount* of *Sodington* Eſquire, **Wigorn.**

389. *Oct.* 14 *Adam Littleton* of *Stoke-Milburge* Eſq; **Salop.**

390. *Nov.* 2 *Thomas Lidell* of *Ravenſholme*-Caſtle Eſq; **Durh.**

391. *Nov.* 9 *Richard Lawday* of the City of *Exeter* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Devon.**

392. *Febr.* 4 *Thomas Chamberlain* of *Wickham* Eſq; **Oxon.**

393. *Feb.* 28 *Henry Hunloke* of *Wingarworth* Eſq; **Derb.**

394. *Febr.* 28 *Thomas Badd* of *Cames-Oſſelt* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Hantſ.**

395. *Martij* 20 *Richard Crane* of *Woodhalling* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Norf.**

396. *Martij* 21 *Samuel Danvers* of *Culworth* Eſq; **Northamp.**

Anno Dom. 1643. *& R. Car.* I. xix.

397. *Julij* 3 *Henry Anderſon* of *Penley* Eſquire **Hertf.**

398. *William Vavaſour* of Eſquire (Extinct.) **Ebor.**

399. *Julij* 25 Sir *Henry Jones* of *Abermarles* Kt. **Caermard.**

(*Vide*, Baron *Waldegrave*, Num. 62.)

400. *Aug.* 15 *Thomas Haggerſton* of *Haggerſton*-Caſtle Eſq; **Durh.**

401. *Oct.* 28 *John Pate* of *Syſonby* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Leic.**

402. *Nov.* 9 *John Bale* of *Carleton-Curlew* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Leic.**

403. *Nov* 13 *Brian O Neile* of in *Com. Dublin* Eſq; **Iriſh.**

404. *Nov.* 16 *Willoughby Hickman* of *Gainsborough* Eſq; **Linc.**

405. *Dec.* 7 *John Butler* of *Bramfield* Eſquire, **Hertf.**

406. *Dec.* 15 *Edward Bathurſt* of *Leachland* Eſq; **Glouc.**

407. *Jan.* 17 *Edward Acton* of *Aldenham* Eſq; **Salop.**

408. *Martij* 14 Sir *Francis Hawley* of *Buckland* Knight (*Iriſh* Baron, *viz.* Lord *Hawley*) **Somerſ.**

Anno Dom. 1644. *& R. Car.* I. xx.

409. *Apr.* 1 *John Preſton* of the *Mannour* in *Furneſſe* Eſq; **Lanc.**

410. *Apr.* 2 *John Web* of *Odſtoke* Eſquire, **Wiltſ.**

411. *Apr.* 25 *Thomas Preſtwich* of *Holme* Eſquire, (Extinct.) **Lanc.**

412. *Maij* 4 *Henry Williams* of *Guernevet* Eſq; **Brecknock.**

413. *Maij* 20 *Gervaſe Lucas* of *Fenton* Eſq; Governor of *Belvoir*-Caſtle for King *Charles* the *I.* in time of the late horrible rebellion (Extinct.) **Linc.**

414. *Junij* 14 *Robert Thorold* of *Hawley* Eſquire, **Linc.**

415. *Julij* 23 *John Scudamore* of *Balingham* Eſq; **Heref.**

416. *Oct.* 8 Sir *Henry Bard* of *Staines* Knight, a Commander in the late Kings Army, and Embaſſadour from King *Charles* the II. to the Emperour of *Perſia* (*Iriſh* Viſcount, *viz.* Vic. *Bellamount*,) (Extinct.) **Midd.**

417. *Febr.* 12 Sir *Richard Vivian* of *Trelowren* Kt. **Cornub.**

418. *Febr.* 28 *William Van-Colster* of *Amsterdam* in *Holland.* **Holland.**

419. *Martij* 21 *William de Boreel* of *Amsterdam* in *Holland.* **Holland.**
(*Vide*, *Hugh Ackland Jan* 21. 1677.)
(*Vide*, *Francis Edwards Apr.* 22. 1678.)

An. Dom. 1645. *&* *R. Car.* I. xxj.

(*Vide*, Baron *Carteret*, Num. 54.)

420. *Nov.* 25 *Thomas Windibanke* of *Haynes* Esq; **Wiltſ.**

421. *Febr.* 7 *Benjamin Wright* of *Dennington* Esq; (This Patent was afterwards Superſeded by the Kings Warrant.) **Suff.**

422. *Martij* 6 *Edward Charleton* of *Heſterſide* Gent. (Extinct.) **Northum.**

An. Dom. 1646. *&* *R. Car.* I. xxij.

423. *Junij* 11 Sir *Richard Willis* Kt. (Brother to Sir *Thomas Willis* of *Fen-Ditton*) Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe; as alſo Colonel General of the Counties of *Lincoln Notingh.* and *Rutland*, and Governour of the Town and Caſtle of *Newarke* **Cambr.**

424. *Jan.* 11 Sir *Evan Lloyd* of *Yale* Knight, **Denb.**

BARONETS *Created by* KING CHARLES *the* II.

An. Dom. 1649. *&* *R. Car.* II. *primo.*

425. *Sept.* 1 *Richard Browne* of *Deptford* Eſq; (for ſeveral years Reſident for King *Charles* I. and King *Charles* II. with the *French* King *Lewis* the 13th and the preſent King *Lewis* the 14th and One of the Clerks of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council) by Letters Patents, Dated at St. *Germans* in *France.* **Kent.**

426. *Sept.* 3 *Henry de Vic*, of the *Iſle* of *Guernſey* (Reſident for King *Charles* I. near Twenty years in *Bruxells*) afterwards Chancellour of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; by Letters Patents, dated at St. *Germans* in *France*, **Guernſey.**

427. *Sept.* 18 *Richard Forſter* of *Stokeſley* Eſquire, (by Letters Patent dated at St. *Germans* aboveſaid.) (Extinct.) **Ebor.**

Anno Dom. 1650. *&* *R. Car.* II. iij.

428. *Sept.* 2 *Richard Fanſhaw* (a younger Brother to *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Fanſhaw* of *Dromore* in *Ireland*) Secretary of State to his Majeſty at *Worceſter* Battle, where he was taken Priſoner; Maſter of the Requeſts (ſince his Majeſties Reſtauration) and Embaſſador extraordinary in *Spain* and *Portugal.*

An. Dom. 1657. *&* *R. Car.* II. ix.

430. *Oct.* 19 Sir *Arthur Slingsby* of [redacted] near *Canterbury*, (by Letters Patents, dated at *Bruges* in *Flanders.*) **Kent.**

An. Dom. 1658 *&* *R. Car.* II. x.

431. *Thomas Orby* of [redacted] Eſq; Servant to the Queen Mother, (by Letters Patents bearing date at *Bruxells* in *Brabant.*) **Linc.**

432. *Thomas Bond* Eſquire (Servant to the Queen Mother,) by Letters Patent bearing date at *Bruxells.*

433. *Aug.* *Arthur Marigny Carpentier* (a *Frenchman*) at *Bruxells.*

An. Dom. 1659 *&* *R. Car.* II. xi.

434. *Julij* 1 *Henry Browne* of *Kiddington* Eſquire (Son of Sir *Peter Browne* Knight) ſlain in the ſervice of King *Charles* the I. for default of iſſue Male, to *Francis* his Brother, *&c.* dated at *Bruxells*, **Oxon.**

An. Dom. 1660 *&* *R. Car.* II. xii.

435. *Apr.* 2 *Jeremy Whichcote* of the Inner-*Temple London*, **Lond.**

436. Sir *Anthony de Merces* (a *Frenchman*) (Extinct.)

437. *Maij* 29. (*Stilo Novo*) Sir *John Evelin* of by Letters Patents bearing date at the *Hague* in *Holland.*

438. *Maij* 30 (*Stilo Novo*) Sir *Gualter de Raed* of in *Holland.*

439. *Junij* 7 Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* of Great *Lever* Kt. Chief Baron of the Exchequer, then Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common pleas and afterward Lord-keeper of the Great Seal of *England.* **Lanc.**

440. *Junij* 7 Sir *Geofrey Palmer* of *Carleton* Knight, Attourney General to His Majeſty, **Northamp.**
(*Vide*, Earl of *Notingham*, Num. 53.)

441. *Junij* 7 Sir *John Langham* of *Cotsbrooke* Knight *Alderman* of *London.* **Northamp.**

442. *Junij* 9 *Humphrey Winch* of *Hannes* Eſq; afterwards One of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, **Bedf.**

443. *Junij* 9. Sir *Robert Abdy* of *Albins* Knight, **Eſſex.**

444. *Junij* 9 *Thomas Draper* of *Sunninghill-Park* Eſq; **Berkſ.**

445. *Junij* 11 *Henry Wright* of *Dagenham* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Eſſex.**

446. *Junij* 12 *Jonathan Keate* of the *Hoo* Esq; **Hertf.**

447. *Junij* 12 Sir *Hugh Speke* of *Haſilbury* Kt. **Wiltſ.**

448. *Junij* 13 *Nicholas Gould* of the City of *London* Esq; (Extinct.) **Lond.**

449. *Junij* 13 Sir *Thomas Adams* Kt. *Alderman* of *London.* **Lond.**

450. *Junij* 13 *Richard Atkins* of *Chapham* Esq; **Surr.**

451. *Junij* 14 *Thomas Allen* then Lord Mayor of *London.* **Lond.**

452. *Junij* 14 *Henry North* of *Mildenhal* Eſquire **Suff.**

453. *Junij* 15 Sir *William Wiſeman* of *Rivenhal* Kt. (Extinct.) **Eſſex.**

454. *Junij* 18 *Thomas Cullum* of *Haſtede* Eſquire **Suff.**

455. *Junij* 19 *Baſil Dixwell* of *Broom-houſe* Eſq; **Kent**

456. *Junij* 20 *Thomas Darcy* of St. *Cleres-Hall in* St. *Oſith's* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

457. *Junij* 20 *George-Grubham How* of *Cold Barwick* Eſq; **Wiltſ.**

458. *Junij* 21 *John Cuts* of *Childerley* Eſquire (Extinct.) **Cambr.**

459. *Junij* 21 *Solomon Swale* of *Swale-Hall* Eſq; **Eboz.**

460. *Junij* 21 *William Humble* Citizen of *London* **Lond.**

461. *Junij* 22 *Henry Stapleton* of *Miton* Eſquire **Eboz.**

462. *Junij* 22 *Gervaſe Elwes* of *Stoke juxta Clare* **Suff.**

463. *Junij* 22 *Robert Cordel* of *Melford* Eſquire. **Suff.**

464. *Junij* 22 Sir *John Robinſon* Kt. Lord Mayor, and Lieutenant of the *Tower*, of *London* **Lond.**

465. *Junij* 22 Sir *John Abdy* of *Moores* Knight, (Extinct.) **Eſſex.**

466. *Junij* 25 Sir *Robert Hilliard* of *Patrington* Kt. **Eboz.**

467. *Junij* 25 *Jacob Aſtley* of *Hill-Morton* Eſq; **Warw.**

468. *Junij* 25 Sir *William Bowyer* of *Denham* Kt. **Buck.**

469. *Junij* 25 *Thomas Stanley* of *Alderley* Eſq; **Ceſtr.**

470. *Junij* 26 *John Shuckborough* of *Shuckborough* Eſq; **Warw.**

471. *Junij* 27 *William Wray* of *Aſhby* Eſquire **Linc.**

472. *Junij* 27 *Nicholas Steward* of *Hartley-Mauduit* Eſq; **Hantſ.**

473. *Junij* 27 *George Warburton* of *Arley* Eſq; **Ceſtr.**

474. *Junij* 27 *Francis Holles* of *Winterburn* Eſq; (Son and Heir to *Denzil* Lord *Holles*) Engliſh Baron, *viz.* Lord *Holles* (Extinct.) **Dorſ.**

475. *Junij* 28 *Oliver* St. *John* of *Woodford* Eſq; **Northamp**

476. *Junij* 29 *Ralph de la Val* of *Seton* Eſquire, **Northumb.**

477. *Junij* 30 *Andreas Henley* of *Henley* Eſquire, **Somerſ.**

478. *Junij* 30 *Thomas Ellis* of *Wyham* Eſquire, **Linc.**

479. *Julij* 2 *John Covert* of *Slangham* Eſquire, **Suſſ.**

480. *Julij* 2 *Peter Lear* of *London* Gent. **Lond.**

481. *Julij* 2 *Maurice Berkeley* of *Bruton* Eſquire, (*Iriſh* Viſcount, *viz.* Vic. *Fitz-Harding.*) **Somerſ.**

482. *Julij* 3 *Henry Hudſon* of *Melton Moubray* Eſq; **Leic.**

483. *Julij* 3 *Thomas Herbert* of *Tinterne* Eſq; **Monm.**

484. *Julij* 4 *Thomas Middleton* of *Chirk* Eſq; **Denb.**

485. *Julij* 6 *Verney Noell* of *Kirkby* Eſquire, **Leic.**

486. *Julij* 7 *George Buſwell* of *Clipſton* Eſquire, **Northamp.**

487. *Julij* 10 *Robert Auſten* of *Bexley* Eſquire, **Kent.**

488. *Julij* 12 *Robert Hales* of *Bekeſkurne* Eſq; **Kent.**

489. *Julij* 13 *John Clarke* of *Northweſton* Eſq; **Dron.**

490. *Julij* 13 Sir *William Boothby* of *Bradley-Aſhe* Kt. **Derb.**

491. *Julij* 14 *Wolſtan Dixey* of *Market-Boſworth* Eſq; **Leic.**

492. *Julij* 16 *John Bright* of *Badſworth* Eſquire, (Extinct.) **Eboz.**

493. *Julij* 16 *John Warner* of *Parham* Eſq; **Eboz.**

494. *Julij* 17 Sir *Job Harby* of *Aldenham* Kt. **Hertf.**

495. *Julij* 18 *Samuel Morland alias Morley* of *Southamſtede-Banaſter* Eſq; One of the Gentlemen of his Majeſties Privy-Chamber in Ordinary, and Maſter of the Mechanicks, **Berkſ.**

496. *Julij* 19 Sir *Thomas Hewit* of *Piſbo Bury* Kt. *Iriſh* Viſcount, *viz.* Viſcount *Hewet* of *Goran*, (Extinct.) **Hertf.**

497. *Julij* 19 *Edward Honywood* of *Evington* Eſq; **Kent.**

498. *Julij* 22 *Richard Brown* Lord Mayor of *London*, **Lond.**

499. *Julij* 23 *Henry Vernon* of *Hodnet* Eſquire, **Salop.**

500. *Julij* 23 Sir *John Aubrey* of *Llantrithied* Kt. **Glam.**

501. *Julij* 23 *William Thomas* of *Fowington* Eſq; **Suſſ.**

502. *Julij* 25 *Thomas Selater* Eſq; (of *Cambridge*,) **cambr.**

503. *Julij* 25 *Henry Conway* of *Botrihan* Eſq; **Flint.**

504. *Julij* 26 *Edward Green* of *Sampford* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

505. *Julij* 28 *John Stapeley* of *Patcham* Eſq; **Suſſ.**

506. *Julij* 30 *Metcalfe Robinſon* of *Newby* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Eboz.**

507. *Julij* 31 *Marmaduke Greſham* of *Limpsfield*, Eſq; **Surr.**

508. *Aug.* 1 *William Dudley* of *Clopton* Eſq; **Northamp.**

509. *Aug.* 2 *Hugh Smithſon* of *Stanwick* Eſquire, **Eboz.**

510. *Aug.* 3 Sir *Roger Moſtin* of *Moſtin* Knight, **Flint.**

511. *Aug.* 4 *William Willoughby* of *Willoughby* Eſq; (Extinct) **Nott.**

512. *Aug.* 6 *Anthony Oldfield* of *Spalding* Eſq; **Linc.**

513. *Aug.* 10 *Peter Leiceſter* of *Tabley* Eſq; **Ceſtr.**

514. *Aug.* 11 Sir *William Wheeler* of the City of *Weſtm.* Kt. with Remainder to *Charles Wheeler* Coſin to the ſaid Sir *William* and the Heirs Males of the Body of the ſaid *Charles*, **Midd.**

515. *Aug.* 16 *John Newton* of *Barſcote* Eſquire, **Glouc.**

516. *Aug.* 16 *Thomas Lee* of *Hartwell* Eſquire, **Buck.**

517. *Aug.* 16 *Thomas Smith* of *Hatherton* Eſq; with Remainder for want of Iſſue Male of his Body to *Laurence Smith* his Brother, *&c.* and for want of Iſſue Male of *Laurence*, to *Francis Smith* his Brother, *&c.* **Ceſtr.**

518. *Aug.* 17 Sir *Ralph Aſheton* of *Middleton* Kt. **Lanc.**

519. *Aug.* 17 *John Rous* of *Henham* Eſquire, **Suff.**

520. *Aug.* 22 *Henry Maſſingberd* of *Bratoft's*-Hall Eſq; **Linc.**

521. *Aug.* 28 *John Hales* of *Coventry* Eſquire, **Warw.**

522. *Aug.* 30. *Ralph Bovey* of *Hill-fields* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Warw.**

523. *Aug.* 30 *John Knightley* of *Offchurch* Eſq; **Warw.**

524. *Aug.* 31 Sir *John Drake* of *Aſhe* Knight, **Devon.**

525. *Sept.* 5 *Oliver* St. *George* of *Carick-Drumruſk*, in the County of *Le Trim* Eſq; **Ireland.**

526. *Sept.* 11 Sir *John Bowyer* of *Knipersley* Kt. **Staff.**

527. *Sept.* 13 Sir *William Wilde* Knight, Recorder of the City of *London*, afterwards One of the Juſtices of the Kings *Bench* (Extinct.) **Lond.**

528. *Sept.* 19 *Joſeph Aſhe* of *Twittenham* Eſq; **Midd.**

529. *Sept.* 22 *John How* of *Compton* Eſquire, **Glouc.**

530. *Sept.* 26 *John Swinburne* of *Cap-Heaton* Eſq; **Northumb.**

531. *Oct.* 12 *John Trot* of *Laverſtoke* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Hantſ.**

532. *Oct.* 13. *Humphrey Miller* of *Oxenheath* Eſq; **Kent.**

533. *Oct.* 15 Sir *John Lewes* of *Ledſton* Kt. (Extinct.) **Ebor.**

534. *Oct.* 19 *John Beale* of *Maidſton* Eſquire, **Kent.**

535. *Oct.* 19 Sir *Richard Franklin* of *Moore-Parke* Kt. **Hertf.**

536. *Nov.* 8 *William Ruſſel* of *Langborn* Eſq; **Caerm.**

537. *Nov.* 9. *Thomas Boothby* of *Friday-Hill* in the Pariſh of *Chingford* Eſquire (Extinct.) **Eſſex.**

538. *Nov.* 9 *William Backhouſe* Eſq; Grandchild to *Rowland Backhouſe* late Alderman of *London* (Extinct.) **Midd.**

539. *Nov.* 12 Sir *John Cutler* of the City of *London* Kt. (Extinct.) **Lond.**

540. *Nov.* 16 *Giles Mottet* of *Leige* Eſquire,

541. *Nov.* 21 *Henry Gifford* of *Burſtall* Eſquire, **Leic.**

542. *Nov.* 21 Sir *Thomas Foote* Kt. Citizen of *London*, v. *Arthur Onſlow Maij* 8. 1674. **Lond.**

543. *Nov.* 22 *Thomas Manwaring* of *Over-Peover* Eſq; **Ceſtr.**

544. *Nov.* 22 *Thomas Benet* of *Baberham* Eſq; **Cambr.**

545. *Nov.* 29 *John Worth* of *Blendenhall* **Kent.**

546. *Dec.* 3 *George Wynne* of *Noſtell* Eſquire, **Ebor.**

547. *Dec.* 4 *Heneage Fetherſton* of *Blakeſware* Eſq; **Hertf.**

548. *Dec.* 4 *Humphrey Monnox* of *Wotton* Eſq; **Bedf.**

549. *Dec.* 10 *John Peyton* of *Doddington* within the Iſle of *Ely* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Cambr.**

550. *Dec.* 11 *Edmund Anderſon* of *Broughton* Eſq; **Linc.**

551. *Dec.* 11 *John Fagg* of *Wiſton* Eſquire, **Suſſ.**

552. *Dec.* 18 *Matthew Herbert* of *Bramfield* Eſq; **Salop.**

553. *Dec.* 19 *Edward Ward* of *Bexley* Eſquire, **Norf.**

554. *Dec.* 22 *John Keyt* of *Ebrington* Eſq; **Glouc.**

555. *Dec.* 22 *William Killegrew* of *Arwynike* Eſq; with Remainder to *Peter Killegrew* of *Arwynike* aforeſaid Eſq; Son of Sir *Peter Killegrew* Kt. **Cornub.**

556. *Dec.* 22 *John Buck* of *Hambygrange* Eſq; **Linc.**

557. *Dec.* 24 *William Frankland* of *Thirkelby* Eſq; **Ebor.**

558. *Dec.* 24 *Richard Stiddolph* of *Norbury* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Surr.**

559. *Dec.* 24 *William Gardner* Citizen of *London*, **Midd.**

560. *Dec.* 28 *William Juxon* of *Albourn* Eſq; **Suſſ.**

561. *Dec.* 29 *John Legard* of *Ganton* Eſquire, **Ebor.**

562. *Dec.* 31 *George Marwood* of *Little-Buſkby* Eſq; **Ebor.**

563. *Dec.* 31 *John Jackſon* of *Hickleton* Eſq; **Ebor.**

564. *Jan.* 2 Sir *Henry Pickering* of *Whaddon* Kt. **Cambr.**

565. *Jan.* 2 *Henry Bedingfield* of *Oxbrough* Eſq; **Norf.**

566. *Jan.* 4 *Walter Plomer* of the Inner-*Temple London* Eſq; **Midd.**

567. *Jan.* 8 *Herbert Springet* of *Broyle* Eſquire, (Extinct.) **Suſſ.**

568. *Jan.* 23 *William Powell* (*alias Hinſon*) of *Pengethley* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Heref.**

569. *Jan.* 25 *Robert Newton* of the City of *London* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Midd.**

570. *Jan.* 29 *Nicholas Staughton* of *Staughton* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Surr.**

571. *Jan.* 29 *William Rokeby* of *Skyers* Eſquire, **Ebor.**

572. *Febr.* 2 *Walter Ernely* of *New Sarum* Eſq; **Wiltſ.**

573. *Febr.* 2 *John Hubaud* of *Ipſley* Eſquire, **Warw.**

574. *Febr.* 7 *Thomas Morgan* of *Langattock*, **Monm.**

575. *Febr.* 9. *Richard Lane* of *Tulske* in the County of *Roſcommon Iriſh* Viſcount viz. Vic. *Lanſborough* **Ireland.**

576. *Febr.* 13 *George Wakeman* of *Beckford* Eſq; the Patent Engroſſed but never Seal'd **Glouc.**

577. *Febr.* 15 *Benjamin Wright* of *Grantham Hall* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

578. *Febr.* 18 *John Colleton* of the City of *London* Eſq; **Lond.**

579. *Febr.* 18 Sir *James Modyford* of the City of *London* Kt. **Lond.**

580. *Febr.* 21 *Thomas Beaumont* of *Stoughtongrange* Esq; **Leic.**

581. *Febr.* 23 *Edward Smith* of *Eſhe* Eſquire, **Durh.**

Martij 4 *John Napier*, alis *Sandy*, Eſquire, with remainder to *Alexander Napier*, &c. with remainder to the Heirs male of Sir *Robert Napier* Knight, Gandfather to the ſaid *John*: And with Precedency before all Baronets, made ſince the four and twentieth of *September Anno* 10. *Regn Jac.* at which time the ſaid Sir *Robert* was Created a Baronet. Which Letters Patents ſo granted to the ſaid Sir *Robert Napier*, were ſurendred by Sir *Robert Napier*, (Father of the ſaid *John* and *Alexander*) lately deceaſed; to the intent that the ſaid degree of Baronet ſhould be granted to himſelf, with remainder to the ſaid *John* and *Alexander*.

582. *Martij* 4 *Thomas Gifford* of Caſtle-*Jordan in* the County of *Meath* (Extinct.) **Ireland.**

583. *Martij* 4 *Thomas Clifton* of *Clifton* Eſquire, (Extinct.) **Lanc.**

584. *Martij* 4 *William Wilſon* of *Eaſtborne* Eſq; **Suſſ.**

585. *Martij* 4 *Compton Read* of *Barton* Eſq; **Berkſ**

586. *Martij* 10 Sir *Brian Broughton* of *Broughton* Kt. **Staff.**

587. *Martij* 16 *Robert Slingesby* of *Newcells* Eſq; **Hertf.**

588. *Martij* 16 *John Crofts* of *Stow* Eſq; **Suff.**

589. *Martij* 16 *Ralph Verney* of *Middle-Claydon* Eſq; **Buck.**

590. *Martij* 18 *Robert Dicer* of *Uphall* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Hertf.**

591. *Martij* 20 *John Bromfield* of *Suffolk* Place in *Southwark* Eſq; **Surr.**

592. *Mar.* 20 *Thomas Rich* of *Sunning* Eſq; **Berkſ.**

593. *Martij* 20 *Edward Smith* of *Edmundsthorpe* Eſq; **Leic.**

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594. *Martij* 26 *Walter Longe* of *Whaddon* Eſq; **Wiltſ.**

595. *Martij* 30 *John Fettiplace* of *Chilbey* Eſq; **Berkſ**

596. *Apr.* 8 *Walter Hendley* of *Cuckfield* Eſq; **Suſſ.**

597. *Apr.* 9 *William Parſons* of *Langley* Eſquire, **Buck.**

598. *Apr.* 9 *John Cambell* of *Woodford* Eſquire, (Extinct.) **Eſſex.**

599. *Apr.* 20 *William Morrice* of *Werrington* Eſq; eldeſt Son to Sir *William Morrice* Kt. (One of His Majeſties Principal Secretaries of State,) **Devon.**

600. *Apr.* 20 Sir *Charles Gawdey* of *Crowſhall* Kt. **Suff.**

601. *Apr.* 26 *William Godolphin* of *Godolphin* Eſq; **Cornub.**

602. *Apr.* 26 *William Caley* of *Brumpton* Eſquire, **Ebor.**

603. *Apr.* 30 *Thomas Curſon* of *Water-Perry* Eſq; **Oxon.**

604. *Maij* 1 *Edmund Fowell* of *Fowell* Eſquire, **Devon**

605. *Maij* 7 *John Cropley* of *Clerkenwell* Eſquire, **Midd.**

606. *Maij* 10 *William Smith* of *Red-Cliff* Eſquire; **Buck.**

607. *Maij* 10 *George Cooke* of *Wheatley* Eſq; with Remainder to *Henry Cooke* his Brother, &c. **Ebor.**

608. *Maij* 10 *Charles Lloyd* of *Garth* Eſquire, **Montgom.**

609. *Maij* 10 *Nathaniel Powell* of *Earhurſt* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

610. *Maij* 15 *Denney Aſhburnham* of *Bromham* Eſq; **Suſſ.**

611. *Maij* 16 *Hugh Smith* of *Long-Aſhton* Eſq; **Somerſ.**

612. *Maij* 18 *Robert Jenkinſon* of *Walcot* Eſq; **Oxon.**

613. *Maij* 20 *William Glynne* of *Biſſeter alias Burncester* Eſq; **Oxon.**

614. *Maij* 21. *John Chernocke* of *Holcot* Eſquire, **Bedf.**

615. *Maij* 21 *Robert Brooke* of *Newton* Eſquire, **Suff.**

616. *Maij* 25 *Thomas Nevill* of *Holt* Eſquire, **Leic.**

617. *Maij* 27 *Henry Andrews* of *Lathbury* Eſq; **Buck.**

618. *Junij* 4 *Anthony Craven* of *Sperſholt* Eſq; **Berkſ.**

619. *Junij* 5 *John Clavering* of *Axwell* Eſq; **Durh.**

620. *Junij* 8 *Thomas Dereham* of *Weſt-Dereham* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Norf.**

621. *Junij* 17 *William Stanley* of *Houton* Eſq; **Ceſtr.**

622. *Junij* 17 *Abraham Cullen* of *Eaſt-Sheen* Eſq; **Surr.**

623. *Junij* 17 *James Roufhout* of *Milnſt-Marlers* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

624. *Junij* 17 *Godfrey Copley* of *Sprotborough* Eſq; **Ebor.**

625. *Junij* 17 *Griffith Williams* of *Penrhin* Eſq; **Caern.**

626. *Junij* 18 *Henry Winchcombe* of *Buckebury* Eſq; **Berkſ.**

627. *Junij* 18 *Clement Clerke* of *Launde Abby* Eſq; **Leic.**

628. *Junij* 18 *Thomas Viner* Alderman of *London.* **Midd.**

629. *Junij* 18 *John Sylyard* of *de la Ware* Eſq; **Kent.**

630. *Julij* 10 *Chriſtopher Guiſe* of *Elſmore* Eſq; **Glouc.**

631. *Junij* 11 *Reginald Forſter* of *Eaſt Grenewiche* Eſq; **Kent.**

632. *Julij* 16 *Philip Parker* of *Erwarton* Eſq **Suff.**

633. *Julij* 16 Sir *Edward Duke* of *Denhall* Kt. **Suff.**

634. *Julij* 21 *Charles Huſſey* of *Caythorp* Eſq; **Linc.**

635. *Julij* 21 *Edward Barkham* of *Waynflete* Eſq; **Linc.**

636. *Julij* 23 *Thomas Norton* of the City of *Coventry* Eſq; (Extinct.) **Warw.**

637. *Julij* 23 *John Dormer* of *Le Grange* Eſq; **Buck.**

638. *Aug.* 2 *Thomas Carew* of *Haccombe* Eſquire, **Devon.**

639. *Aug.* 7 *Mark Milbanke* of *Halnaby* Eſq; **Ebor.**

640. *Aug.* 16 *Richard Rothwell* of *Ewerby* and *Stapleford* Esq; (Extinct.) **Linc.**

641. *Aug.* 22 *John Bankes* of the City of *London*, (now of *Aleſford* in *Kent.*) **Lond.**

642. *Aug.* 30 *Henry Ingoldesby* of *Lethenborow* Esq; **Buck.**

643. *Sept.* 3 *Francis Bickley* of *Attilborough* Esq; **Norf.**

644. *Sept.* 5 *Robert Jaſon* of *Broad-Somerford* Esq; **Wiltſ.**

645. *Sept.* 26 Sir *John Young* of *Cullizon* Kt. **Devon.**

646. *Oct.* 4 *John Frederick van Freiſendorf* of *Herdick*, Lord of *Kymp*, of Council to the King of *Sweden*, and Embaſſadour extraordinary to His Majeſty King *Charles* the II.

647. *Nov.* 8 *William Roberts* of *Willeſdon* Esq; **Midd.**

648. *Nov.* 15 *William Luckin* of *Waltham* Esq; **Eſſex.**

649. *Nov.* 28 *Thomas Smith* of *Hill-Hall.* **Eſſex.**

650. *Dec.* 3 *Edwyn Sadler* of *Temple-Dinſley* Esq; **Hertf.**

651. *Dec.* 9 Sir *William Windham* of *Orchard-Windham* Knight, **Somerſ.**

652. *Jan.* 24 *George Southcote* of *Bliborough* Esq; **Linc.**

653. *Jan.* 24 *George Trevilian* of *Nettlecombe* Esq; **Somerſ.**

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654. *Febr.* 4 *Francis Duncombe* of *Tangley* Esq; **Surr.**

655. *Febr.* 7 *Nicholas Bacon* of *Gillingham* Esq; **Norf.**

656. *Febr.* 7 *Richard Cocks* of *Dumbleton.* **Glouc.**

657. *Febr.* 11 *John Osburne* of *Chicksand* Esq; **Bedf.**

658. *Febr.* 27 *John Coriton* of *Newton* Eſquire, **Cornub.**

659. *Febr.* 28 *John Lloyd* of *Woking* Eſquire, **Surr.**

660. *Martij* 1 *Edward Moore* of *Moorehall* Esq; Note, That this Patent to *Edward Moore*, though at this time the *Recepi* was made, did not paſs the Seal until the 22d *Nov.* 1675. **Lanc.**

661. *Martij* 7 *Thomas Proby* of *Elton* Hall Eſquire, **Hunt.**

662. *Martij* 20 *Miles Stapleton* of *Carleton* Esq; **Ebor.**

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663. *Apr.* 16 Sir *Richard Braham* of *New-Windſor* Kt. **Berkſ.**

664. *Maij* 2 Sir *John Witerong* of *Stantonbury* Kt. **Buck.**

665. *Junij* 13 *Philip Matthews* of Great *Gobions* in *Collyer-Roward* Esq; **Eſſex.**

666. *Julij* 1 *Robert Bernard* of *Huntingdon* Eſquire Serjeant at Law, **Hunt.**

667. *Julij* 15 *Roger Lort* of *Stock-poole* Eſquire, **Pemb.**

668. *Julij* 15 *Edward Gage* of *Hargrave* Eſquire, **Suff.**

669. *Julij* 22 *Thomas Hooke* of *Flanchford.* **Surr.**

670. *Julij* 24 *John Savile* of *Copley* Eſquire, (Extinct.) **Ebor.**

671. *Aug.* 5 *Chriſtopher Wandesford* of *Kirklington* Esq; **Ebor.**

672. *Aug.* 13 *Richard Aſtley* of *Patſhull* Eſquire, **Staff.**

673. *Aug.* 16 Sir *Jacob Gerard* of *Langford* Kt. **Norf.**

674. *Aug.* 21 *Edward Fuſt* of *Hill* Eſquire, **Glouc.**

675. *Sept.* 1 *Robert Longe* of the City of *Weſtminſter* Eſquire, Auditor General of the Exchequer, and One of his Majeſties moſt Honorable Privy Council, with Remainder for lack of Iſſue Male upon *James Longe* of *Draycot-cerne*, in *Com. Wilts.* and the Heirs Male of his Body, **Midd.**

676. *Sept.* 13 Sir *Robert Can* of *Compton Greenfield* Kt. **Glouc.**

677. *Oct.* 24 *William Middleton* of *Belſey*-Caſtle Esq; **Northumb.**

678. *Nov.* 17 *Richard Graham* of *Norton Conyers* Esq; **Ebor.**

679. *Nov.* 17 *Thomas Tankard* of *Burrow-Brigg* Esq; **Ebor.**

680. *Nov.* 20 *Cuthbert Heron* of *Chipchaſe* Esq; **Northum.**

681. *Nov.* 29 Sir *Francis Wenman* of *Caſwell* Kt. **Oxon.**

682. *Dec.* 4 *Henry Purefey* (Son and Heir to *George Purefey* of *Wadley* Esq;) **Berkſ.**

683. *Dec.* 9 *Thomas Cobb* of *Adderbury* Esq; **Oxon.**

684. *Dec.* 12 *Henry Brook* of *Norton* Eſquire, **Ceſtr.**

685. *Dec.* 22 *Peter Pindar* of *Edinſham* Eſquire, **Ceſtr.**

686. *Jan.* 19 Sir *Nicholas Slaning* of *Mariſton* Kt. of the *Bath*, and Standard bearer to the band of Gentlemen Penſioners. **Devon.**

687. *Jan.* 22 Sir *George Reeve* of *Thwayte* Kt. **Suff.**

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688. *Martij* 18 *Thomas Bregrave* of *Hemmels* Esq; **Hertf.**

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689. *Apr.* 7 Sir *Thomas Bernardiſton* of *Ketton alias Kedington* Kt. **Suff.**

690. *Maij* 11 *Samuel Bernardiſton* of *Brightwell Hall* Esq; and to the Heirs Males of his Body; and for want of ſuch iſſue to *Nathaniel Bernardiſton* of *Hackney* Esq; &c. with Remainder to *Pelitiax Bernardiſton* of *London* Esq; &c. **Suff.**

691. *Junij.* 1 Sir *John Daws* of *Putney* Knight, **Midd.**

692. *Junij.* 1 Sir *John Holman* of *Banbury* Kt. **Oxon.**

693. *Junij.* 29 *William Cook* of *Bromehall* Esq; **Nort.**

694. *Junij* 30 *John Bellot* of *Moreton* Eſquire, **Ceſtr.**

695. *Julij* 1 Sir *George Downing* of *East-Hatley* Kt. Embaſſador in *Holland*, Secretary to the Treaſury, and One of his Majeſties Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms. **Cambr.**

696. *Julij* 13 *William Gawdy* of *West-Herling* Esq; **Norf.**
697. *Julij* 14 Sir *Charles Pym* of [illegible]more Kt. (Extinct.) **Somerſ.**
698. *Julij* 29 Sir *William D'oyley* of *Shottiſham* Kt. **Norf.**
699. *Aug.* 12 Sir *John Marſham* of *Cuxton* Kt. **Kent.**
700. *Aug.* 15 *Robert Barnham* of *Boughton Munſcholsey* Esq; **Kent.**
701. *Dec.* 15 *Francis Leake* of *Newarke* upon *Trent* Esq; [Governor of *Graveſend.*] **Nott.**
702. *Dec.* 30 *John* St. *Barbe* of *Broadlands* Esq; **Hantſ.**

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703. *Febr.* 22 Sir *James Pennyman* of *Ormesby* in *Cleveland* Kt. **Ebor.**
704. *Febr.* 22 *Thomas Cambell* of *Clay-Hall* Esq; **Eſſex.**
705. *Martij* 1 *Thomas Muddiford* of *Lincolns Inn* Esq; **Midd.**
706. *Martij* 3 *George Selby* of *Whitehouſe* Esq; **Durh.**

An. Dom. 1664.

707. *Martij* 31 Sir *Edmund Forteſcue* of *Fallowpit* Kt. **Devon.**
708. *Martij* 31 *Samuel Tuke* of *Curſon-Temple* Esq; **Eſſex.**
709. *Maij* 25 *John Tempeſt* of *Tong* Esq; **Ebor.**
710. *Junij* 25 *Littleton Osbaldeſton* of *Chadlington* Esq; **Oxon.**
711. *Julij* 1 *Giles Tooker* of *Madington* Esquire, **Wiltſ.**
712. *Julij* 13 *Stephen Anderſon* the younger of *Aywoth* Esq; **Bedf.**
713. *Aug.* 31 *Thomas Bateman* of *How-Hall* Esq; **Norf.**
714. *Sept.* 26 *Thomas Lorraine* of *Kirkharle* Esq; **Northumbr.**
715. *Sept.* 27 Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Bretton* Kt. with Remainder to *Matthew Wentworth* his Brother, **Ebor.**
716. *Nov.* 2 Sir *Theophilus Biddulph* of *Weſtcombe* Kt. **Kent.**
717. *Nov.* 2 *William Greene* of *Micham* Esq; (Extinct.) **Surr.**
718. *Dec.* 24 *William Cookes* of *Norgreve* Esquire, **Glouc.**
719. *Jan.* 10 Sir *John Wolſtenholme* of *London* Kt. (One of the Farmers of the Cuſtoms.) **Lond.**
720. *Jan.* 11 Sir *John Jacob* of *Bromley* Knight, (another of the Farmers of His Majeſties Cuſtoms.) **Midd.**
721. *Jan.* 12 *John Yeomans* of the City of *Briſtol* Esq; **Somerſ.**
722. *Jan.* 13 *John Pye* of *Horne* Esquire, **Derb.**
723. *Jan.* 18 *Thomas Taylor* of the *Parkehouſe* in the Pariſh of *Maydon* Esquire, **Kent.**

Anno. R. Car. II. xvij.

724. *Martij* 3 *William Leman* the elder of *Northaw alias Northall* Esq; **Hertf.**

An. Dom. 1665.

725. *Martij* 30 Sir *Robert Smith* of *Upton* Knight, **Eſſex.**
726. *Apr.* 14 Sir *Nicholas Criſpe* of *Hamerſmith* Kt. **Midd.**
727. *Apr.* 15 Sir *John Shaw* of the City of *London* Knight, (One of the Farmers of His Majeſties Cuſtoms.) **Midd.**
728. *Maij* 10 *John Browne* of *Caſtme* Esq; **Oxon.**
729. *Maij* 20 *George Rawdon* of *Moira* in *Com. Downe* Esq; **Ireland.**
730. *Junij* 8 *Robert Jocelyn* of *Hyde-Hall* Eſquire **Hertf.**
731. *Junij* 16 *Robert Duckenfeild junior* of *Duckenfield Hall* Esq; **Ceſtr.**
732. *Junij* 6 *John Lawſon* of *Brough* Esq; **Ebor.**
733. *Junij* 20 *Philip Tyrel* of *Hanſlap* and *Caſtlethorpe* Esq; **Buck.**
734. *Julij* 25 *Francis Burdet* of *Burthwait* Esq; **Ebor.**
735. *Julij* 26 *George Moore* of *Mayds-Morton* Esq; **Buck.**
736. *Sept.* 9 *Abell Barker* of *Hambleton* alias *Hambledon* Esq; **Rotel.**
737. *Dec.* 12 Sir *William Oglander* of *Nuswel* in the Iſle of *Wight* Kt. **Hantſ.**

Anno R. Car. II. xviij.

738. *Jan.* 31 *William Temple* of *Sheene* Esq; Reſident for His Majeſty at *Bruxells.* [Afterwards Embaſſadour to the States General of the United Provinces and One of his Majeſties Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of *Nimmegen.*] **Surr.**
739. *Martij* 1 Sir *William Swan* of *Southfleet* Knight, **Kent.**
740. *Martij* 6 *Anthony Shirly* of *Preſton* Esq; **Sull.**
741. *Martij* 6 *Maurice Diggs* of *Chilham-Caſtle* Esq; (Extinct.) **Kent.**
742. *Martij* 6 *Peter Gleane* of *Hardwick* Eſquire, **Norf.**

An. Dom. 1666.

743. *Maij* 10 *John Neltthorpe* of *Grays-Inn* Esq; with Remainder to *Goddard Neltthorpe* of *Clarkenwell* Esq; **Midd.**
744. *Maij* 10 Sir *Robert Vyner* of the City of *London* Knight, **Lond.**
745. *Junij* 30 Sir *Thomas Twiſden* of *Bradburn* juxta *Eaſt-Malling* Kt. One of the Juſtices of the Kings Bench, **Kent.**
746. *Julij* 4 Sir *Anthony Aucher* of Biſhops *Bourne* Kt. **Kent.**
747. *Julij* 7 *John D'oylie* of *Chiſelhampton* Esq; **Oxon.**
748. *Julij* 12 *Edward Hoby* of *Biſham* Esq; with Remainder to *John Hoby* Esq; his Brother, **Berkſ.**
749. *Julij* 21 *Thomas Putt* of *Combe* Eſquire, **Devon.**
750. *Oct.* 22 *John Tyrell* of *Swingfield* Eſquire, Son and Heir apparent of Sir *John Tirell* of *Heron* in *Com. Eſſex* Kt. **Eſſex.**
751. *Nov.* 17 *Gilbert Gerard* of *Fiskerton*, Entayling the ſame Title upon his iſſue Male by *Mary* his ſecond Wife, Daughter to Dr. *John Coſin* Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, **Linc.**

752. *Dec.* 31 Sir *Robert Yeomans* of *Redlands* Kt. **Glouc.**

753. *Jan.* 16 *Carr Scroope* of *Cockerington* Esq; **Linc.**

754. *Jan.* 29 *Peter Fortescue* of *Wood* Esquire, **Devon.**

Anno R. Car. II. xix.

755. *Feb.* 7 Sir *Richard Bettenson* of *Wimbledon* Kt. **Surr.**

756. *Martij* 21 *Algernon Peyton* of *Dodington* in the Isle of *Ely*, Esq; **Cantab.**

Anno Dom. 1667.

757. *Martij* 28 *Roger Martin* of *Long-Melford* Esq; **Suff.**

758. *Maij* 7 *Richard Hastings* of *Redlench* Esq; **Somerf.**

759. *Maij* 24 *William Hanham* of *Winburne* Esq; **Dorf.**

An. Dom. 1668. *&. R. Car.* II. xx.

760. *Julij* 25 *Francis Topp* of *Totmarton* Esq; (Extinct) **Glouc.**

761. *Aug.* 28. *William Langhorne* of the *Inner-Temple London* Esquire, **Lond.**

An. Dom. 1670 *&* *R. Car.* II. xxij.

762. *Apr.* 28. *Edward Mostyn* of *Talacre* Esquire, **Flint.**

763. *Maij* 5 Sir *George Stonehouse*, for life (having surrendred his former Patent by a fine) with remainder to *John Stonehouse* his second Son and to the Heirs Male of his Body; and for lack of such issue to *James* his third Son, *&c.* with precedency to him and his said Sons according to the first Patent dated 7. *Maij* 1628. **Berkf.**

764. *Junij* 4 *Philip Carteret* of St. *Owen* Esq; **Jerley.**

765. *Oct.* 25 *Fulwar Skypwith* of *Newbold Hall* Esq; **Warw.**

Anno R. Car. II. xxiij.

766. *Martij* 22. Sir *John Sabin* of *Eyne* in the Parish of *Gravenhurst* Knight, **Bedf.**

Anno Dom. 1671.

767. *Junij* 28 *William Chater* of *Croft-Hall* Esq; **Ebor.**

768. *Nov.* 18 *Herbert Croft* of *Croft-Castle* (Son and Heir to the Bishop of *Hereford.*) **Heref.**

769. *Dec.* 11 *John* St. *Aubin* of *Clowance* Esq; **Cornub.**

Anno Dom. 1672 *&* *R. Car.* II. xxiv.

770. *Nov.* 13. *Robert Eden* of *West-Auckland* Esq; **Durh.**

771. *Nov.* 28 *John Werden* Esquire, Secretary to his Royal Highness the Duke of *York* **Chesh.**

An. R. Car. II. xxv.

772. *Febr.* 7 *Thomas Allen* of *Blundeston* a Captain at Sea, sometime Admiral in the *Streights*, then Controuler of the Navy, and One of the Commissioners thereof. **Suff.**

Anno Dom. 1673.

773. *Junij* 2 *Francis Warre* of *Hestercombe* Esq; **Somerf.**

774. *Nov.* 12 *Orlando Bridgeman* of *Ridley* Esq; second Son to Sir *Orlando Bridgman* Kt. and Baronet, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, **Chesh.**

775. *Nov.* 18 *Francis Windham* of *Trent* Esq; **Somerf.**

776. *Dec.* 1 *Arthur Harris* of *Stoford* Esquire, **Devon.**

777. *Dec.* 12 *William Blacket* of *Newcastle* Esq; **Northumb.**

778. *Dec.* 12 *John Thompson* of *Haverfham* Esq; **Buck.**

779. *Jan.* 7 *Halsewell Tint* of *Halsewell* Esq; **Somerf.**

Anno Dom. 1674 *&* *R. Car.* II. xxvi.

780. *Martij* 25 *Cornelius Martin Trump* Vice-Admiral of *Holland* and *West-Friezland.*

781. *Maij* 22. Sir *Robert Parker* of *Ratton* in the Parish of *Willingdon* Esq; **Suff.**

782. *Maij* 20 *John Sherrard* of *Lopthorpe* Esquire, **Linc.**

783. *Maij* 8 *Arthur Onslow* of *West-Clandon* Esq; in reversion after the death of his Father in law, Sir *Thomas Foote*, without issue male (who was created 21. *Nov.* 1660.) and with the same precedency. **Surr.**

784. *Oct.* 30 *Walter Cleargis* of St. *Martins* in the Fields Esq; **Midd.**

785. *Nov.* 2 *Thomas Williams* of *Eltham* Esquire, his Majesties Physitian in Ordinary. **Kent.**

786. *Dec.* 26 *Robert Filmer* of *East-Sutton* Esq; **Kent.**

An. R. Car. II. xxvij.

787. *Febr.* 24 Sir *Edward Nevil* of *Grove* Kt. (Extinct.) **Natt.**

An. Dom. 1675.

788. *Apr.* 23 Sir *Richard Tulpe* of *Amsterdam* in the Province of *Holland* Kt. **Holland.**

789. *Dec* 22 *Thomas Samwell* of *Upton* Esq; **Northamp.**

790. *Jan.* 24 *Charles Rich* of the City of *London* Gent. for life with remainder to *Robert Rich* of *Sonden* in *Com. Essex* Esq; **Lond.**

Anno R. Car II. xxviij.

791. *Martij* 11 *Benjamin Maddox* of *Wormley* Esq; **Hertf.**

An. Dom. 1676.

792. *Martij* 29 *William Barker* of *Beckenhall* Esq; **Essex.**

793. *Junij* 9 *John Brooks* of the City of *York* Esq; **Ebor.**

794. *Aug.* 19 *Richard Head* of the City of *Rochester* Esq; **Kent.**

795. *Junij* 21 *William Pennington* of *Moncaster* Esq; **Cumbr.**

796. *Dec.* 18 *Bennet Hoskyns* of *Harwood* Esq; **Heref.**

An. R. Car. II. xxix.

797. *Febr.* 8 *Richard Standiſh* of (*Deuxbury*) in the County Palatine of *Lancaſter* Eſq; **Lanc.**

798. *Feb.* 26 Coll. *Alexander Robertſon alias Colbear*, of the Province of *Holland*. **Holland.**

799. *Martij* 3 *Thomas Dike* of *Horeham* Eſq; **Suſſ.**

An. Dom. 1677.

800. *Martij* 29 Sir *Robert Cotton* of *Cumbermere* Kt. **Cheſh.**

801. *Apr.* 7 *Francis Willoughby* of *Wolaton* Eſq; with Remainder (for lack of Iſſue Male) to *Thomas* his Brother and to the Heirs Male of his Body, **Nott.**

802. *Junij* 29 *Ignatius Vitus, alias White, alias D'alby*, (ſecond Son of Sir *Dominick White* of the County of *Lymerick* in *Ireland* Baronet) for want of iſſue Male, to his Nephew *Ignatius Maximilian Vitus*, and to the Heirs Male of his Body, **Ireland.**

803. *Julij* 13 *John Barlowe* of *Slebege* Eſq; **pembr.**

804. *Julij* 24 *Richard Newdigate* (of *Erdbury*) Serjeant at Law, **Warw.**

805. *Sept.* 29 *Richard Cuſt* of *Stamford* Eſq; **Linc.**

806. *Oct.* 8 *Francis Anderton* of *Loſtock* Eſq; **Lanc.**

807. *Oct.* 18 *James Symeon* of *Chilworth* Eſq; **Dron.**

808. *Oct.* 25 *James Poole* of *Poole* in *Worrell* Eſq; and for lack of iſſue Male to *William* his Brother, and to the Heirs Male of his Body, **Cheſh.**

809. *Dec.* 31 *George Wharton* of *Kirkby-Kendall* (Treaſurer of the Ordnance.) **Weſtmerl.**

810. *Jan.* 21 *Hugh Ackland* of *Cullum-John* Eſq; with a ſpecial Clauſe for Precedency before all Baronets Created ſince (the 24 *Jun.*) 1644 **Devon.**

An. Dom. 1678 & *R. Car.* II. xxx.

811. *Apr.* 22 Sir *Francis Edwards* of *Shrewsbury* and to the Heirs Male of his Body, with Remainder to *Thomas*, *Benjamin*, *Herbert* and *Jonathan Edwards* and the Heirs Male of their Bodies, *&c.* and a ſpecial Clauſe for Precedency before all Baronets Created before (the 7 *Febr.*) 1644, **Salop.**

812. *Maij* 8 Sir *Henry Oxinden* of *Deane* Kt. **Kent.**

813. *Maij* 18 Sir *James Bowyer* of *Leighthorne* Eſq; Grandſon and Heir to Sir *Thomas Bowyer* Baronet (Created the 23 *Julij* 3. Car. I.) ſurrendring his Patent, had now a new Creation to that Digniry for life only; the Remainder to *Henry Goring* of *Highden* in the ſame County Eſq; and to the Heirs Male of his Body, with the ſame Precedency as the ſaid Sir *Thomas Bowyer* enjoyed, **Suſſ.**

814. *Junij* 22 *Walter Curll* of *Suberton* Eſquire, **Hantſ.**

815. *Junij* 20 *Ralph Dutton* of *Shirburne* Eſq; **Glouc.**

816. *Julij* 6 *William Dyer* of *Totenham* Eſq; **Hertf.**

817. *Julij* 18 *Joſias Childe* of *Wanſteede* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

818. *Julij* 27 Sir *Thomas Skypwith* of *Metheringham* Knight, **Linc.**

819. *Dec.* 6 *Walter Hawkeſworth* of *Hawkeſworth* Eſq; **Ebor.**

820. *Jan.* 25 *Jeremy Snowe* of *Salesbury* Eſq; **Hertf.**

Anno Dom. 1679 & *R. Car.* II. xxxi.

821. *Martij* 29 *William Kenrick* of *Whiteley* Eſq; **Berkſ.**

822. *Julij* 16 Sir *Samuel Marow* of *Berkswell* Kt. **Warw.**

823. *Nov.* 17 Sir *Roger Bradſhaigh* of *Haigh* Kt. **Lanc.**

824. *Dec.* 20 *William Stapleton* Eſquire, Governor of the *Leeward-Iſlands* in *America*.

825. *Jan.* 27 *Thomas-Pope Blount* of *Tittenhanger* Eſq; **Hertf.**

826. *Jan.* 28 Sir *George Walker* of *Buſhy-Hall* Kt. **Hertf.**

Anno 1680 & *R. Car.* II. xxxij.

827. *Oct.* 22 *Gelebrand Sas-Van-Boſch* (Secretary to the Prince of *Orange*)

828. *Febr.* 10 *John Roberts* of *Bromeley St. Leonards* Eſquire, **Eſſex.**

Anno 1681. & *R. Car.* II. xxxiij.

829. *Apr.* 15 *Roger Beckwith* of *Alborough* Eſq; **Ebor.**

830. *Maij* 18 *Thomas Parkyns* of *Bonny* Eſquire, **Nott.**

831. *Junij* 29 *Thomas Bunbury* of *Bunbury* and *Stanny* Eſq; **Cheſh.**

832. *Julij* 1 *Hugh Parker* of the City of *London* Eſq; and to the Heirs Male of his Body, with Remainder to *Henry Parker* of *Hemington* in *Com. Warwick* Eſq; *&c.* **Lond.**

833. *Julij* 8 *Henry Seymour* Eſq; Son and Heir to *Henry Seymour* Eſq; One of the Grooms of his Majeſties Bed-Chamber, and to the Heirs Male of his Body; with Remainder to the ſaid *Henry* the Father, and to the Heirs Male of his Body.
(*Vide*, Baron *Jeffreys* Num. 60.)

834. *Dec.* 6 *Hugh Middleton* of *Hackney* Eſq; **Midd.**

835. *Jan.* 20 *Joſeph Alſton* the elder of *Chelſey* Eſq; **Midd.**

836. *Jan.* 26 *Thomas Robinſon* of *Kentwell-Hall* Eſq; Chief Prothonitor of the Common Pleas, **Suff.**

Anno R. Car. II. xxxiv.

837. *Febr.* 1 *William Maynard* of *Walthamſtow* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

838. *Febr.* 25 Sir *Robert Napier* of *Puncknoll* Kt. **Dorſ.**

Anno Dom. 1682.

839. *Maij* 12 *Robert Davers* of *Rougham* Eſquire, **Suff.**

840. *Junij* 28 *Cane James* of *Criſhall* Eſq; **Eſſex.**

841. *Junij* 22 *Cornelius Gans* of the United *Netherlands*, with Remainder (for default of iſſue Male of his Body) to *Stephen Graulart* of the ſame, and his Heirs Male, **Holland.**

842. *Dec.* 14 *Timothy Thornhill* of the Iſland of *Barbadoes* Eſq; **Barbadoes.**

Anno R. Car. II. xxxv.

843. *Febr.* 17. Sir *Edward Eveling* of Long *Ditton* Kt. (Extinct.) **Surr.**

Anno

Anno Dom. 1683.

844. *Aug.* 2 *Thomas Lear* of *Lindridge* Esq; with several Remainders, *viz.* to *John* and *Walter Lear* his two Brothers, with Remainder to *Thomas Lear* of the Island of *Barbados* Esq; **Devon.**

845. *Dec.* 13 Sir *John Wytham* of *Gouldesborough* Kt. (Deputy Governor of *Barbados*,) **Ebor.**

Anno. R. Car. II. xxxvi.

846. *Febr.* 22 *James Richards* of *Bramblety*-House Esq; **Suffex.**

Anno Dom. 1684.

847. *Sept.* 16 Sir *Robert Dashwood* of *Northbrooke*, Kt. with Remainder (for want of issue Male of his Body) to the Heirs Male of *George Dashwood* late of *Hackney* Esq; **Oxon.**

848. *Sept.* 17 *George Chute* of *Hinxhill* Esquire, **Kent.**

849. *Oct.* 16 *George Sheirs* of *Shfeild* House Esq; (in the Parish of *Bookham Magna*) (Extinct.) **Surr.**

850. *Dec.* 15 *Richard Sandys* of *Northburn* Esq; with Remainder (for default of issue Male of his Body) to *Benedict Sandys* his Brother; **Kent.**

851. *Jan.* 23 *William Blacket* of the Town and County of *Newcastle* upon *Tyne* Esq; **Northum.**

Anno R. Car. II. xxxvij.

852. *Febr.* 4 *John Childe* (of *Surrat*) Governor-General and President of the *East-India* Company.

853. *Febr.* 5 *William Soame* of *Thirlow Parva* Esq; with Remainder (for lack of issue Male of his Body) to *Peter Soame* of *Haydon* in *Essex* Esq; and his Heirs Male, which *Peter* (by Virtue of the Entail) is now Baronet, **Suff.**

BARONETS *Created by* KING *JAMES* II.

An. Dom. 1685 *&* *R. Jac.* II. i.

854. *Junij* 25 *John Sudbury* of *Eldon* Esq; (Extinct.) **Durh.**

855. *Dec.* 17 *Paul Jenkinson* of *Walton* Esq; **Derb.**

856. *Jan.* 11 *George Davies* Esq; his Majesties Consul and *Agent* at *Naples*.

857. *Febr.* 4 *Nicholas Sherburn* Son of *Richard Sherburne* of *Stonyhurst* Esq; **Lanc.**

858. *Febr.* 4 *Robert Guldeford* of *Hemsteed*-Place Esq; **Kent.**

An. Dom. 1686. *&* *R. Jac.* II. ij.

859. *Apr.* 15 *Charles Bloys* of *Grundesburgh* Esq; **Suff.**

860. *Maij* 6 *Will. Compton* of *Harpley* Esq; **Glouc.**

861. *Maij* 12 Sir *Job Charlton* of *Ludford* Kt. [Chief Justice of *Chester*, and One of the Justices of the Common Pleas, *temp. Car.* II.] **Heref.**

862. *Sept.* 9 *Cornelius Speelman* General to the States of the United *Netherlands*, with a Clause of Precedency to his Mother. **Holland.**

Anno R. Jac. II. iij.

863. *Martij* 17 *William Humble* of *Kensington* Esq; **Midd.**

864. *Martij* 19 *John Duck* of *Haswell* upon the *Hill* Esq; (Extinct.) **Durh.**

Anno Dom. 1687.

865. *Aug.* 1 *James Chapman Fuller* of the Inner *Temple* Esq; (likewise of *Battersey* in *Surr.* and of *Upwell* in *Insula Elienſis*,) **Midd.**

866. *Sept.* 13 *William Pynsens* of *Erchfont* Esq; **Wiltſ.**

867. *Oct.* 8 *William Stych* of *Newbury* (in the Parish of *Buryking*) with Remainder (for want of issue Male of his Body) to *Richard Stych* of the same Esq; and his Heirs Male, **Eſſex.**

Anno Dom. 1688. *&* *R. Jac.* II. iv.

868. *Martij* 31 Sir *Wilfred Lawson* of *Isell* Knight, **Cumbr.**

869. *Julij* 6 Sir *William Williams* (of the Isle of *Anglesey* and of *Grays-Inn*) Kt. his Majesties Solicitor General.

870. *Julij* 21 *Henry Ashurſt* of *Emmington* Esq; **Oxon.**

871. *Sept.* 7 Sir *Thomas Fitch* of *Eltham* Kt. **Kent.**

872. *Sept.* 20 *John Morden* of *Rickle Marsh* Esq; [One of the Commissioners for the Excise,] **Kent**

873. *Nov.* 15 *John Narborough* of *Knowleton* Esq; with Remainder (for default of issue Male of his Body) to *James Narborough* his Brother and his Heirs Male, **Kent.**

Baronets *Created by King* William III. *and Queen* Mary II.

An. Dom. 1689 *&* *R. &* *R. Will. &* *Mar.* i.

874. *Julij* 19 *Hender Molesworth* of (*Spring Garden*) in the Island of *Jamaica* Esq; (in the Parish of St *Catharines* afterwards Governor of *Jamaica*) with Remainder (for default of issue Male of his Body begotten) to Sir *John Molesworth* of *Pencarrow* in *Com. Cornub.* Kt. and his Heirs Male, which Sir *John* (by Virtue of the Entail) is now Baronet.

875. *Nov.* 30 *John Ramsden* of *Byrom* Esq; **Ebor.**

Anno R. & *R. Will. &* *Mar.* ij.

876. *Febr.* 13 *Will. Robinson* of *Newby* Esq; **Ebor.**

Anno Dom. 1691 *&* *R. &* *R. Will. &* *Mar.* iij.

877. *Dec.* 7 *James Edwards* of the City of *York* Esq; (Nephew and Heir to Sir *James Edwards*, Kt. sometime Lord Mayor of *London*.) **Ebor.**

878. *Jan.* 22 Sir *John Duddleston* of the City of *Briſtoll* Kt. **Glouc.**

Anno Dom. 1692 *&* *R. &* *R. Will. &* *Mar.* iv.

879. *Julij* 28 *John Wentworth* of *Elmsall* Esq; **Ebor.**

880. *Mar.* 2 *Edward Leighton* of *Wattelsbrough* Esq; **Salop.**

Anno Dom. 1693 *&* *R. &* *R. Will. &* *Mar.* v.

881. *Mar.* 2 *Henry-Dutton Colt* Serj. of St. *James* in the Fields within the Liberty of *Westminster*, Esq; with several Remainders *viz.* to *John Dutton Colt* of *Letton*, in *Com. Hereford* Esq; during his natural life, and with other special Entails, **Midd.**

Anno. Dom. 1694 *&* *R. &* *R. Will. &* *Mar.* vi.

882. *Apr.* 20 *John Smith* of *Isleworth* Esq; **Midd.**

883. *Dec.* 24 *John Thomas* of *Wenvoe* Esq; with Remainder (for lack of issue Male of his Body) to *Edmund Thomas* and *William Thomas* his Brothers successively and to their Heirs Male respectively, **Glamorg.**

The

The Degrees and Ranks of all Men *and* Women.

1. THE KING and QUEEN.
2. The Prince of *Wales*, and Princeſs of *Wales*.
3. Dukes and Princes of the Royal Blood of *England*, who are the Sons, Brothers, Unkles, and Nephews of a King of *England*, as by the Statute of 31 *Hen.* VIII. appears. Dutcheſſes and Princeſſes of the ſame Royal Blood.
4. Dukes and Dutcheſſes.
5. The Eldeſt Sons of Dukes of the Royal Blood, and their Ladies.
6. Marquiſſes, and Marchioneſſes.
7. Dukes Eldeſt Sons, and their Ladies.
8. Earls and Counteſſes.
9. Marquiſſes Eldeſt Sons, and their Ladies.
10. Dukes younger Sons of the Royal Blood, and their Ladies.
11. Dukes younger Sons, and their Ladies.
12. Viſcounts, and Viſcounteſſes.
13. The Eldeſt Sons of Earls, and their Ladies.
14. The younger Sons of Marquiſſes, and their Ladies.
15. Barons and Baroneſſes.
16. The Eldeſt Sons of Viſcounts, and their Ladies.
17. The younger Sons of Earls, and their Ladies.
18. The Eldeſt Sons of Barons, and their Ladies.
19. Privy Councellors and Judges.
20. The younger Sons of Viſcounts, and their Ladies.
21. The younger Sons of Barons, and their Ladies.
22. Baronets, and their Ladies.
23. Knights of the Bath, and their Ladies.
24. Knights Batchelors, and their Ladies.
25. Serjeants at Law, and Doctors.
26. Eſquires, and their Wives.
27. Gentlemen and Gentlewomen.
28. Citizens, Yeomen, Husbandmen, Labourers, and their Wives.

Advertiſement.

MOST of the foregoing Catalogue, *having been tranſmitted to the* Preſs *and Printed off in very great haſt ſome Months ago, by reaſon whereof, there are a few* Imperfections *therein* [*not more* (*perhaps*) *than might be expected in a Work of this Nature*] *which the* Reader *is hereby deſired to Pardon, and take Notice that the more material* Errors, Additions *and* Alterations, *may be Corrected, Supplied and Obſerv'd by the following* Appendix.

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

CATALOGUE

OF THE

NOBILITY:

Addenda & Corrigenda.

DUKES of *ENGLAND.*

Of the Blood *ROYAL.*

Duke of Glouceſter.

Line 15 *after* Highneſs *add* when Chriſten'd was then *l.* 16 *after the* 3d *add* and Elected into the moſt Noble Society of the Garter, at a Chapter of the moſt Noble Order, held at *Kenſington*, 6 *Jan.* 1695. in the Evening, by the Soveraign and eleven Knights Companions of the ſaid Order, and having been firſt Knighted by the Soveraign with the Sword of State, was afterwards Inveſted with the *Garter* and *George*, (the two principal Enſigns of the Order,) with the uſual Ceremonies: And Inſtalled at *Windſor* on *Friday* the 24th of *July* 1696, (his Birth day) by the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Devonſhire* and *Shrewsbury*, Commiſſionated by his Majeſty for that purpoſe, his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark* with the Dukes of *Southampton* and *Northumberland*, the Earls of *Rochester* and *Dorſet*, being preſent at the Solemnity.

Other *DUKES* and *DUTCHESSES.*

1. *Duke of* Norfolke.

Line 10 *after* Howards *add* Conſtable and Governor of his Majeſties Royal Caſtle and Honor of *Windſor*, Lord Warden of *Windſor Forreſt*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Surrey* and *Berks*, and of the City of *Norwich* and County of the ſame, as alſo *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid Counties of *Norfolk* and *Berks*, *l.* 19 *after* 12 Edwardi IV. *add*—which *John* Lord *Howard* having been Inſtalled Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter* in the time of that King: *and dele* He *l.* 22 *after* Norfolk *add*—[*Thomas* his Son being about that time alſo Created Earl of *Surrey*] moreover in order to the Solemnity of King *Richard's* Coronation on the 30th of the ſaid Month, he was Conſtituted Lord High Steward of *England* for that day, as alſo Lord Admiral of *England*, *Ireland* and *Aquitain* for life the 25th of *July* enſuing; but long enjoy'd not theſe great Honors, for being placed in the Front of the Kings Army at *Boſworth*-Field, where he Commanded the Archers, was (with his Royal Maſter) ſlain there 22 *Aug.* 1485. (3 *Ric.* III.) and ſoon after Attainted in the Parliament begun at *Weſtminſter* 7th *November* following 1 *Hen.* VII. together with the Earl of *Surrey* his Son beforemention'd, who tho' he had taken part with *Richard* the III. and fought valiantly on his behalf at the Battle of *Boſworth* aforeſaid, where he was made Priſoner, yet being afterwards receiv'd into Favour by King *Henry*, and choſen to be One of his moſt Honourable Privy Council, was in Parliament 4 *quaſtum Regis* reſtored again to his Title of Earl of *Surrey*, and employ'd in divers eminent Military Commands of the moſt important Truſt, in all which he moſt faithfully Serv'd his Majeſty, who laſtly [25 *Junij* (1501) 16 *Regni ſui*] conferr'd on him the Great Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*. King *Henry* the VIII. upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, continued him in the Privy Council, renew'd his Patent for the Treaſurerſhip and in the 2d year of his Reign conſtituted him Earl Marſhal of *England* for life; which Noble Earl *Thomas* being Lieutenant General from *Trent* Northward, obtain'd that Glorious Victory over the *Scots* at *Flodden*-Field, where King *James* the IV of *Scotland*, was ſlain by a Mortal Wound with an Arrow and another with a Bill, 9 *Sept.* (1513) 5 *Hen.* VIII. for which Memorable Service, he had thereupon a ſpecial Grant from his Majeſty to himſelf and the Heirs Male of his Body, of an Honourable Augmentation to his Arms, *Scil. In medio Bendæ Armorum prædicti Comitis proprij Nominis viz. Scuto de Howard, integram mediotatem ſuperioris partis Leonis rubei, Sagittâ ore confoſſi, depictis, telis Coloribus Ar-*

morum

morum Regni Scotiæ. And by Letters Patent bearing date 1 *Febr. prox. sequente* was promoted to the Dignity of Duke of *Norfolk*, [which Title *John* his Father, deriving his Descent (through the Heirs Female of *Mowbray* and *Segrave*) from *Thomas* of *Brotherton* Earl of *Norfolk*, and Earl Marshal of *England*, the 5th Son to King *Edward* I. did enjoy] the Ceremony of his Creation being perform'd at *Lambeth* the day following, which was the Festival of our Ladies Purification; and dying at *Framingham* Castle in *Norfolk* 21 *May* 1524. (16 *Hen.* VIII.) was succeeded by his eldest Son *Thomas*, who likewise having had his share in the Honor of that Signal Victory at *Flodden* before recited, (wherein He commanded the Vantguard) was in consideration of his great Services created Earl of *Surrey* for life, 1 *Febr.* (1513) 5 *Hen.* VIII. [the day of his Fathers advancement to the Dukedom of *Norfolk*] after which the very next year upon some Dispute in Parliament concerning his Place there, it was Declared, that he should sit according to his Creation, and not as a Dukes eldest Son, Saving to him out of Parliament his Precedence according to his Dignity and Honor, as also that if upon Search of Records, it should thereafter be found, That an Higher Place in Parliament did of right belong to him, it should be allowed; which *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marshal of *England*, Earl of *Surrey*, Lord *Mowbray*, *Howard*, *Segrave* & *Brewse* (of *Gower*,) &c. was Father to *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, whose Son *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, &c. Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and of the Order of St. *Michael*, having Married to his first Wife the Lady *Mary Fitz-Alan*, Daughter and One of the Heirs to *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, Lord *Fitz-Alan*, *Warren*, *Clun*, *Oswaldestre* and *Maltravers*, by her had issue *Philip*, called E. of *Arundel* as owner of the Castle, Honor and Seigniory of *Arundel* by Inheritance from his Mother, it having anciently (*i. e.* 11 *Hen.* VI.) been adjudg'd in Parliament to be a local Dignity, so that the Possessors thereof should enjoy that Title of Honor, which Earl *Philip* by that appellation had Summons to the Parliament begun at *Westminster* 16 *Jan.* (1580) 23 *Eliz.* and died a Prisoner in the *Tower* of *London*, leaving issue by *Ann* his Wife eldest Daughter to *Thomas* Lord *Dacres* (of *Gilsland*) and Lord *Greystock*, the Sister and Co-heir to *George* Lord *Dacres*, *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, and Earl Marshal of *England*, &c. Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, the Reviver of that Honourable Court [which had been anciently held by the Constable and Marshal jointly] commonly call'd the High Court of *Chivalry*, with much Honor to himself, and his Authority, and to the great Satisfaction of the Nobility and Gentry of this Realm; which most Noble Earl by reason of his special Services and great Merits, as also in respect of his lineal Descent from *Thomas* of *Brotherton* Earl of *Norfolk*, &c. beforemention'd, was by Letters Patent dated at *Oxford* 6 *Junij* (1644) 20 *Car.* 1. created also Earl of *Norfolk*, and died at *Padua* in *Italy* 4 *Octobr.* 1646. being by the Lady *Alathea Talbot* his Wife third Daughter and Co-heir (but at length Sole Heir) to *Gilbert* 7th Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord *Talbot*, *Furnival*, *Verdon*, *Lovetot*, and *Strange* (of *Blackmere*,) &c. Father to *Henry* Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, &c. who had issue 1 *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, &c. and 2 *Henry* Duke of *Norfolk* and Hereditary Earl Marshal of *England*, &c. Father to his Grace the present Duke.

2. *Duke of* Somerset.

Line 2 *after* Baron *add*—*Seymour*, *Beauchamp*, and *l.* 18 *after Hen. VIII. add*—He was created Earl of *Hertford* 18 *October* (1537) 29 *Hen.* VIII. *l.* 28 *after Somerset add*—which high Puissant and most Noble Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Somerset*, Earl of *Hertford*, Viscount *Beauchamp* and Baron *Seymour*, Uncle to King *Edward* the VI. Governor of his Royal Person, Protector of all his Dominions and Subjects, Lord Treasurer and Earl Marshal of *England*, was Beheaded on *Tower-Hill* 24 *Jan.* 1552. (6 *Edw.* VI.) for Fellony, by Virtue of a Statute then in Force, which made the Conspiring the death of a Privy Councellor Fellony without the Benefit of *Clergy*, his Death being generally lamented; *Edward* his Son (upon whom his chiefest Honors as also divers Lands of great extent were entail'd) being dispossess'd of all by the attainder of his Father in that Parliament of 5 and 6 *Edw.* VI. so continued until 1 *Elizab.* but then through the especial Grace and Favour of that Queen (being a Knight) he was by Letters Patent dated 13. *Januar.* (1558) 1 *ejusd. Reginæ*, promoted to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Beauchamp*, as likewise to the Dignity of Earl of *Hertford*, and was succeeded by Sir *William Seymour* Knight, his Grandson [the second Son to *Edward* Lord *Beauchamp* (his eldest Son) who with *Edward* eldest Son to the same *Edward*, both died in the life time of the said Earl *Edward*] which *William* Earl of *Hertford*, and Lord *Beauchamp* being advanced to an higher pitch of Honour, *viz.* Marquis of *Hertford*, by Patent bearing date 3. *Junij* (1640) 16 *Car.* 1. was thereupon constituted Governor to the Prince, and faithfully adhering to that King (in those Rebellious times) appointed Lieutenant General of all his Majesties Forces in the Counties of *Wilts*, *Southampton*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Devon* and *Cornwal*, He was moreover 3 *Junij* 1642. elected Chancellor of the Famous University of *Oxford*, and the same year made Groom of the Stole, and living to see the happy Restoration, was by a special Act in the Parliament begun at *Westminster* 25 *Apr.* (1661) 12. *Car.* 2. restored to the Title of Duke of *Somerset*, by the Repeal of that Act of 5 and 6. *Edw.* VI. for the Attainder of *Edward* Duke of *Somerset* his Great Grandfather beforemention'd, and died 24 *Octob.* that year; being succeeded by his 5th Son *John*, thereupon Duke of *Somerset*, Marquis and Earl of *Hertford*, Viscount *Beauchamp*, Baron *Seymour* and *Beauchamp*, who deceased in *Apr.* 1675. without issue, whereupon the Titles of Duke of *Somerset*, Earl of *Hertford*, Viscount *Beauchamp*, Baron *Seymour* and *Beauchamp*, devolv'd on *Francis* Lord *Seymour* of *Troubridge*, the Brother and Heir to *Charles* Lord *Seymour* of *Troubridge*, whose Father Sir *Francis Seymour* Knight [3d Son to

Ed-

Edward Lord *Beauchamp*, eldeſt Son to *Edward* Earl of *Hertford* beforemention'd] had been created a Baron of this Realm, by the Name of Lord *Seymour* of *Troubridge* aforeſaid, (in *Com. Wilts*) 19 *Febr.* (1640) 16 *Car.* 1 which *Francis* Duke of *Somerſet*, and Earl of *Hertford*, &c. died unmarried and was elder Brother to his Grace the preſent Duke.

5. *Duke of* Richmond.
Line 2 *for* Dranley *read* Darnley, *and for* Seterington *lege* Settrington.

8. *Duke of* Ormond.
Line 3 *for* Thurels *read* Thurles, *l.* 13 *after* in *add England*, and *l.* 24 *after* England *add* [2 *Novembr. Anno ſecundo Regni ſui.*]

9. *Duke of* Beaufort.
Line 4 *for* Gomer *read* Gower, *l.* 33 *after* Grandſon *add Edward*, *l.* 35 *after* Car 1. *add* as alſo Earl of *Glamorgan* by the ſame King.

13. *Duke of* Bolton.
Line 3 *for* a Regiment *read* two Regiments, *l.* 4 *for* Army *read* Service.

15. *Duke of* Shrewsbury.
Line 6 *after* Worceſter *add* and *l.* 7 *dele Montgomery, Denbigh, Flint, Carnarvan, Merioneth* and *Angleſey*, *l.* 8 of the *lege* as alſo of the

16. *Duke of* Leeds.
Line 30 *after* Father *add* Sir *Hewet Osborne* Kt.

17. *Duke of* Bedford.
Line the laſt but five after Body *add* to be, *l. laſt but two for* Cantuarienſis *lege* Cantuarienſi.

MARQUISSES.

1. *Marquis of* Halifax.
Sect. 2. *Line* 15 *for* 22 *May read* 29 *Junij*, *l.* 16 *for* 39th *lege* 21ſt, *l.* 18 *after* conferr'd *add* and the 39th from the firſt Creation.

2. *Marquis of* Powys.
l. 2 *after* Montgomery *add* of the Town of *Montgomery*.

3. *Marquis of* Normanby.
Line 2 & 3. *dele* One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, *Sect.* 2 *l.* 3 *for* Spittle-Steet *read* Spittle-Street.

EARLS.

6. *Earl of* Pembroke.
L. 9 *after* the ſame *add* as alſo *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid Counties of *Pembroke* and *Glamorgan*.

18. *Earl of* Bolenbroke.
Sect. 2 *Line* 1 *for* Lord of *read* Lords of *Fanmon* and of *l.* 15 *after* Sons *add* 1.

22. *Earl* Rivers.
Line 3 *for* Major *read* Lieutenant, *l.* 4 *after* of *add* Horſe in, *Sect.* 2 *l.* 21 *for* 22 *Maij read* 29. *Junij l.* 22 *for* the nineteenth in number of thoſe *read* the firſt of the 53, *l.* 23 *after* Created *add* & the nineteenth from the firſt Promotion.

23. *Earl of* Kingſton.
Line 12 *for* and *lege* as alſo.

25. *Earl of* Stamford.
Line 2 *after Harrington add* Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Devon* as alſo, *l.* 3 *after* the *add* ſaid County and.

26. *Earl of* Winchelſey.
L. 15 *for* 1616 *read* 1660. *l.* 28 *for* 23 *lege* 29.

28. *Earl of* Carnarvon.
Line 12 *for* 1651. *read* 1615.

31. *Earl of* Strafford.
Line 50 & 51 *dele* 22 *May*, and, *after* Jac. 1. *add* by Patent dated 29 *Junij*. *Note this Earl is ſince dead without iſſue, and all thoſe Honors he enjoy'd from his Father only were Extinct in him, excepting the Barony of* Raby, *which by Virtue of a Remainder devolv'd, on* Thomas Wentworth *Eſq; Grandſon to Sir* William Wentworth *Knight, ſecond Brother to* Thomas *the firſt Earl, nor is there now any Male Deſcendants remaining from Sir* George Wentworth *Knight the ſame Earls third Brother, on whom that Title was likewiſe entail'd.*

39. *Earl of* Bath.
Line 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. *dele* Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, and of the City of *Exeter* and County of the ſame, Captain and Governor of the Royal Citadel and Town of *Plimouth*, Captain and Keeper of the Iſle of St. *Nicholas*, near to the ſaid Town, Governor of *Pendennis* Caſtle, & *Scilly* Iſland, *Sect.* 2 *l.* 9 *for* Navil *read* Naval.

46. *Earl of* Lichfield.
Line 2 *for* Splesbury *read* Spelsbury, *l.* 6 *for Henry-Fracis lege Henry-Francis*, *l.* 20 *after* ſaid *add* Sir.

48. *Earl of* Feverſham.
Sect. 2 *L. penultima, for* accordingly *lege* according.

49. *Earl of* Macclesfield.
Line 4 *after* Lancaſter *add* and of the Counties of *Montgomery, Denbigh, Flint, Carnarvan, Merioneth* and *Angleſey*.

50. *Earl of* Radnor.
Line 3 *after* Baronet *add* Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Cornwal* and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County.

51. *Earl of* Yarmouth.
Line 16 *dele* &c.

53. *Earl of* Nottingham.
Line 2 & 3 *dele* One of the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, *Sect.* 2 *l.* 10 *for* advaned *read* advanced.

54. *Earl of* Rocheſter.
Line 3 *after* Lords of *add* his.

57. *Earl of* Holderneſs.
Line 14 *for* Perſons *read* Perſon.

60. *Earl of* Derwentwater.
Line 1. *for* Francis (*who is ſince dead*) *lege Edward l.* 3 *after* Heir *add* to *Francis* Earl of *Derwentwater*, &c. who was Son and Heir, *l.* 23 *after* Lord *add Francis* beforemention'd

63. *Earl of* Fauconberge.
Line 24 *dele* of.

66. *Earl of* Marlborough.
Sect. 2 *Line* 7 *dele* He.

68. *Earl of* Scarborough.
Line 8 *after Durham add* and County of *Northumberland*, *l.* 9 *after* the *add* ſaid

69. *Earl of* Warrington.
Line 5 *after* and *Inſert* (

72. *Earl of* Tankerville.
Muſt be 73 *and follow after the Earl of* Rochford, *Lin. ult. for* Maij *lege* Junij.

73. *Earl of* Rochford.
Should be 72 *and precede the Earl of* Tankerville.

VISCOUNTS.

4. *Viſcount* Tounſhend.
Line 8 *for* Baron *read* Lord.

5. *Viſcount* Weymouth.
Line 1 *for* Thimas *lege Thomas*, *l.* 5 *for* Worceſter *read Glouceſter*, *l.* 13 *for* Long-Seat *lege Long-Leat.*

6. *Viſcount* Hatton.
Line 3 *for* Nrrthampton *read Northampton*, *Sect.* 3 *l.* 4 *after* Car. *add* 2.

7. *Viſcount*

7. *Viscount* Longueville.
Line 11 *after* Ruthen *add* [. *l.* 14 *for* Edw. 6, *lege Edw.* 2, *and after* Grey *insert*]. *Sect.* 2. *l.* 6 *for* 18 Car. 1 *lege* 17 *Car.* 1.
To conclude the Viscounts *add.*

9. *John Lowther* Viscount *Lonsdale*, Baron *Lowther* of *Lowther* and Baronet (of *Scotland*) *Custos Rotulorum* for the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council; a Person of a most Ancient and Knightly Family in the County of *Westmerland*, who having soon after the late happy Revolution been made Vicechamberlain to the King, which (with his Majesties leave) he Resign'd about the 19th of *February* 1693 as also first Commissioner of the Treasury, was for his acceptable Services, worthily created Lord *Lowther* of *Lowther* beforemention'd (the Place of his Residence) and Viscount *Lonsdale*, both in *Com. Westmerland*, by Patent dated at *Westminster* 28 *May*, (1696) 8 *Will.* 3.

LORDS *SPIRITUAL.*

2. *Bishop of* Durham.
Line 1 *for* Nathaniel *read Nathanael.*

6. *Bishop of* Carlisle.
Line. 2 *after* York *add* by the Arch-Bp. of *York*, the Bp^s. of *Durham* and *Soder*, 29 *Jun.* 1684.

16. *Bishop of* Oxford.
Line 1 *for* Bishops *lege* Bishop.

17. *Bishop of* Norwich.
Line 6 *for* Bishops *read* Bishop.

23. *Bishop of* St. Asaph.
Line 3 *for* 1682 *lege* 1683.

BARONS.

4 *Lord* La-Warre.
Line 4 *for* Son *read* Brother, *l.* 2 *after* La-Warr *add* the Son and Heir of another (*Charles*) Baron *La-warre.*

6. *Lord* Morley *and* Monteagle.
Line 16 *after* to *add* the.

7. *Lord* Ferrers.
Line 14 *for* Baron *lege* Baronet.

8. *Lord* Fitz Walter.
Line 9 *after* Edw. 1 *add* which Barony of *Fitz Walter* aforemention'd was allow'd unto *Benjamin Maldemay* Esq; (Father of the present Noble Lord) by King *Charles* the 2d *An.* 1669 his elder Brother *Henry Mildmay* Esq; [Grandson and Heir to Sir *Henry Mildmay* of *Waltham*, and (after the death of his elder Brother Sir *Thomas Mildmay* Baronet without issue) of *Moussham* or *Moulsho*, in *Com. Essex* Kr.] having presently after the Restoration Claim'd the same, but died before any Determination therein, which Sir *Henry* the Grandfather had likewise laid Claim to the said Title shortly after the sitting of that unhappy long Parliament, which begun at *Westminster* 3 *Novembr.* 1640 (16 *Car.* 1) by reason of his Descent in Blood from *Elizabeth* Daughter and sole Heir to *Walter* Lord *Fitz Walter*, who died without issue Male 10 *Hen.* 6 *Scilt.* as (2d) Son and Heir to Sir *Thomas Mildmay* of *Mousso predict.* Kr. by the Lady *Frances Radcliff* his Wife, sole Daughter to *Henry* the second Earl of *Sussex*, Lord *Fitz Walter*, &c. and Sister of the half Blood, to *Thomas* and *Henry*, successively Earls of *Sussex*, &c. which last recited Earl *Henry* was Father to *Robert* Earl of *Sussex*, &c. who died without issue *Anno* 1629 and was succeeded in the Earldom of *Sussex*, by Sir *Edward Radcliff* Kt. (the last of the Family) 2d Son and Heir to Sir *Humphrey Radcliff* of *Elnestow*, in *Com. Bedford* Kr. a younger Son to *Robert* the first Earl of *Sussex*, &c. Son and Heir to *John Radcliff* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, the Son and Heir of Sir *John Radcliff* Kt. of the most Noble Order of the Garter, by the aforesaid *Elizabeth*, Heiress to *Walter* Lord *Fitz Walter.*

After the Lord Scrurton, *Num.* 10 *Insert.*

11. *Richard Verney*, Lord *Willughby* of *Broke* and Knight; descended by an Heir General from Sir *Robert Willughby* Kt. of the most Noble Order of the Garter (a younger Branch of the Family of *Eresby*) who was first Summon'd to Parliament by the Title of Lord *Broke* by Writ, dated 12 *Aug.* (1492) 7 *Hen.* VII. directed *Roberto Willughby de Broke Chevalier*, which Barony of *Broke* having been first Claim'd by this Noble Person in *November* 1694 (6 *Will. & Mar.*) and his Pretensions to that Title (upon a Reference from his Majesty) disallow'd by the House of Lords, He the first Session of the next Parliament again applied himself by Petition to the King, who was graciously pleas'd to refer the same to the House of Peers to Examin the Claim and Title therein mention'd, and to Certifie his Majesty how the same should appear to them, with their Opinion thereupon 4 *Jan.* 1695. Whereupon their Lordships after several Hearings, making a Report in his Favour, He had a Writ of Summons Inscribed, *Ricardo Verney de Willughby Chevalier*, and was admitted into the House accordingly the 28th of *February* ensuing 8 *ejusdem Regis.*

12. *Lord* Wharton.
Line 1 *for* Philip (*who is since dead and was Father to the present Noble Lord*) *read Thomas*, *l.* 2 *after* Helie *add* Comptroller of his Majesties Houshold, *Custos Rotulorum* for the County of *Bucks*, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, *l.* 11 *after* Solenmosse *add* or *Solome Mosse.*

28. *Lord* Maynard.
Line 14 *for* and *lege* was, *l.* 15 *dele* was.

30. *Lord* Howard *of* Escrick.
Line 2 *for* Grodfather *read* Grandfather, *l.* 3 *for* 29th *lege* 12th.

After the Lord Mohun *Num.* 31 *Insert:*

32. *Thomas Wentworth*, Baron of *Raby* and Baronet, eldest surviving Son (but 2d by birth) to Sir *William Wentworth* of *Asshby-Puerorum*, in *Com. Linc.* and of *Wakefield*, in *Com. Ebor.* Kr. the second Son and Heir to another Sir *William Wentworth* of *Asshby-Puerorum predict.* Kt. by *Elizabeth* his Wife youngest Daughter and Co-Heir of *Thomas Savile* of *Northgate-head* in *Wakefield Com. Ebor.* Esq; which Sir *William* was second Brother to Sir *Thomas Wentworth* Kt. and Baronet: Baron *Wentworth* of *Wentworth-Woodhouse*, Baron *Newmarth* and *Oversley* and Viscount *Wentworth*, Lord Depury of *Ireland*, President of the Kings Council in the *North*, and One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, who was honour'd with the Titles of Baron of *Raby* before recited (in the Bishoprick of *Durham*) and Earl of *Strafford* (in *Yorkshire*,) by Patent dated at *Westminster* 12 *Jan.* (1639) 15 *Car.* 1 with limi-

limitation of the Earldom to the Heirs Male of his Body, and an Entail of the Barony of *Raby* (for default of his own issue Male) on his younger Brothers Sir *William Wentworth* Kt. aforementioned, and Sir *George Wentworth* Kt. successively, and their Male Heirs for ever, the Ceremony of his Creation being perform'd publickly at *Whitehall*; which Noble Person was Son and Heir to Sir *William Wentworth* of *Wentworth-Woodhouse prædict.* in *Com. Ebor.* Baronet [the 22d (as to Precedence) of those on whom that Dignity had been conferr'd at the first Erection thereof (1611) 9 *Jac.* I. his Patent bearing date 29 *Junij* the same year] and Father to the late Earl *William*, upon whose death without issue the present Noble Lord succeeded him in the said Barony of *Raby*, by Virtue of the Remainder in the aforesaid Letters Patent, and was introduced into the House of Peers 25 *Novemb.* (1695) 7 *Will.* III.

36. *Lord* Carrington.
Sect. 2 *l.* 19. *for* Cannaught *lege Connaught.*

39. *Lord* Colepeper.
Line 3 *and* 4 *for* principle *read* principal.

40 *Lord* Clifford *of* Launsborough.
Line 13 *after* thereupon *add* by writ of Summons 20 *Novemb.* (1694) 6 *Will. & Mar.*

47. *Lord* Cornwallis.
Line 17 *for* 3 *lege* 13.

52. *Lady* Bellassyse.
Line 1 *for* Susan Bellassyse *read Susan Fortrey, and after* Osgodby *add* Wife to *James Fortrey* Esq;

53. *Lord* Osborne.
Line 1 *after* Kiveton *add* Viscount *Dumblain* of the Kingdom of *Scotland.*

54. *Lord* Carteret.
Line 12 *for* Charles the *II. read Charles* I. and II. sometime Sub-Treasurer of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, *l.* 14 *after* England *add* as also Treasurer of the Navy, *l.* 15 *after* Council *add* in both Realms, *l.* 16 *and* 17 *for* his Grandfather *lege* which last mention'd Sir *George l.* 18, 19, 20, 21, *dele* who was Vice-Chamberlain of King *Charles* the I. Houshold, One of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, and Treasurer of the Navy, *l.* 23 *after* the same King *subjoin Charles* I. should have been more highly dignifyed by King *Charles* II. in case his Death had not frustrated his Majesties Royal Intention, for which consideration his Grandson and Heir [Sir *Philip de Carteret* Kt. his eldest Son being Slain with the Earl of *Sandwich* (whose Daughter he had married,) at Sea against the *Dutch* 28 *May*, 1672. in his life time] reapt the benefit of his Majesties favour in that particular.

66. *Lord.* Capell.
Since dead without issue and the Honor is Extinct.

67. *Lord* Lempster.
Line 3 *for* Kt. *read* Baronet, *and for* the *lege* that, *l.* 4 *dele* of Baronet.

69. *Lord* Herbert *of* Cherbury.
Line 5 *for* Licest. *lege Leicestr.*
To Conclude the Barons *add.*

70. *John Thompson*, Lord *Haversham* of *Haversham* and Baronet. This Noble Person was Created Baron by Patent bearing date at *Westminster* 4 *May* (1696) 8 *Will.* III. having by King *Charles* the II. been promoted to the Dignity of Baronet on the 12th of *December*, (1673) 25 *Regni sui* he being then of *Haversham*, in *Com. Bucks*, as among the Baronets *Num.* 778. is declared.

After the Barons should have been Inserted A List of all the KNIGHTS of the most Noble Order of the GARTER; *which here ensueth.* Sciz.

A SCHEME *of the* STALLS *of the* SOVERAIGN *and* KNIGHTS COMPANIONS *of the most Noble Order of the* GARTER, *as they were Appointed to be Placed* [*by the* KINGS *Warrant, dated* 23 Mar. (1695) 8 Will. III.] *upon the* Installation *of his Illustrious Highness the* DUKE *of* GLOUCESTER, *in St.* Georges-Chappel *at* Windsor *on* Friday *the* 24th *of* July 1696, *and now stand accordingly.*

3. CHRISTIAN The 5th King of DENMARK &c.	1. The SOVERAIGN WILLIAM The 3d King of ENGLAND, &c.	2. CHARLES The 11th King of SWEDEN &c.	4. PRINCE GEORGE of DENMARK
5. *Frederick* the 3d Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, Prince Elector and Great Chamberlain of the Sacred *Roman* Empire.		6. *George-William* Duke of *Brunswick* and *Luneburg-Zell* Prince of the Sacred *Roman* Empire.	
7. Prince *William* (Duke of *Gloucester*) Son of the Princess *Ann* by Prince *George* of *Denmark.*		8. *Aubery* Earl of *Oxford.*	
9. *Henry* Duke of *Beaufort.*		10. *William* Duke of *Bedford.*	
11. *Charles* Duke of *Southampton.*		12. *John* Marquis of *Normanby.*	
13. *Thomas* Duke of *Leeds.*		14. *Charles* Duke of *Richmond.*	
15. *Charles* Duke of *Somerset.*		16. *George* Duke of *Northumberland.*	
17. *Henry* Duke of *Norfolke.*		18. *Henry* Earl of *Peterborow.*	
19. *Laurence* Earl of *Rochester.*		20. *Louis* Earl of *Feversham.*	
21. *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland.*		22. *James* Duke of *Ormond.*	
23. *William* Duke of *Devonshire.*		24. *Charles* Earl of *Dorset* and *Middlesex.*	
25. *Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury.*		26. Void.	

THE SOVERAIGNS Side. THE PRINCES Side.

Lords

An APPENDIX *to the* Catalogue *of* NOBILITY.

LORDS *JUSTICES of* England.

The same Persons as before, and their Excellencies Commission bears date 1 *Maij* (1696) 8. Will. III.

Privy *COUNCELLORS.*

After the Duke of Devonshire, *Num.* 7. *Insert.*

8. JAMES Duke of *Ormond*, (Sworn 9. *Apr.* 1696.)

12. *John* Marquiss of *Normanby*, } *Struck out* 12
20. *Daniel* Earl of *Nottingham*, } Mar. 1695.

36. *Henry* Lord *Capel*, L. Depury of *Ireland*, dead.

39. *Thomas Wharton* Esq; Comptroller of his Majesties Houshold, *now* Lord *Wharton*, *to be Inserted next after the* Bishop of *London*, *Num.* 32.

47. Sir *John Lowther* of *Lowther* Baronet of *Scotland*, *now* Viscount *Lonsdale*, *to be Inserted next after the Earl of* Ranelagh, *Num.* 30.

49. *Richard Hampden* Esq; *dead.*

Lords *Lieutenants* and *Custodes Rotulorum.*

ENGLAND.

COUNTIES.	LORDS LIEUTENANTS.	CUSTODES ROTULORUM.
Bucks.	*John* Earl of *Bridgewater.*	*Thomas* Lord *Wharton.*
Cornwall.	*Charles Bodvile* Earl of *Radnor.*	*Idem.*
Devonshire.	*Thomas* Earl of *Stamford.*	*Idem.*
Durham.	*Richard* Earl of *Scarborough.*	
Westmerland.	*Charles* Earl of *Carlisle.*	*John* Viscount *Lonsdale.*

WALES.

Anglesey. *Carnarvon.* *Denbigh.* *Flint.* *Merioneth.* *Montgomery.*	*Charles* Earl of *Macclesfield.*	The *Custodes Rotulorum* for these Counties are not alter'd.

JUDGES.

Sir *Edward Ward* Knight, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of *Exchequer.*

Sir *Samuel Eyre* Kt. } *Justices of the Court of*
Sir *Thomas Rokeby* Kt. } *Kings-Bench.*
Sir *John Turton* Kt. }

Sir *Edward Nevill* Kt. } *Justices of the Court of*
Sir *John Powell* Kt. *Sen.* } *Common-Pleas.*
Sir *John Powell* Kt. *Jun.* }

Sir *Nicholas Lechmere* Kt. } *Barons of the Court*
Sir *Littleton Powys* Kt. } *of Exchequer.*

Robert Wallop Esq; *Cursitor Baron.*

The Kings *Domestick* Servants *belonging to the* Law.

Sir *Thomas Trevor* Kt. *Attorney General.*

Sir *John Hawles* Kt. *Solicitor General.*

Precede all the Kings Serjeants *but the two* Eldest.

The Kings *Serjeants at* Law.

Sir *William Wogan* Kt.
Nathaniel Bond.
Sir *George Hitchins* Kt. late One of the Lords Commissioners of the *Great Seal.*

Sir *Ambrose Phipps* Kt.
Sir *Henry Gold* Kt.
Sir *Salathiel Lovell* Kt. Recorder of *London.*

The two Eldest Kings Serjeants *Precede the* Attorney *and* Sollicitor General, *and all the others take Place of the* Kings *Learned* Councill.

The Kings *Learned Council at* Law.

Sir *William Williams* Kt. and Bar. } are out.
and
Sir *William Whitlock* Knight. }

Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Knight *Attorney* } *General.*
and
John Hawles Esq; since Knighted *Sol.* }

Serjeants *at* Law *who have been* Judges, *but do not now Practise.*

Sir *Edward Herbert* Kt. late Lord Chief Justice of the Court of *Common Pleas.*

The Honourable *William Montague* late Lord Chief Baron of the Court of *Exchequer.*

Sir *Edward Atkins* Kt. late Lord Chief Baron of the Court of *Exchequer.*

Sir *Robert Atkins* Kt. one of the Hon. Order of the *Bath*, likewise late L. Chief Baron of the *Exchequer.*

Sir *Job Charlton* Kt. and Baronet, late One of Justices of the Court of *Common-Pleas.*

Sir *Richard Holloway* Kt. } *late Justices of the Court*
and } *of Kings-Bench.*
Sir *Thomas Powell* Kt. }

Other Serjeants *at* Law.

Sir *George Strode* Kt.
Thomas Rawlins.
Sir *Robert Sawyer* Kt.
Sir *Francis Pemberton* Kt. late Lord Chief Justice of the Court of *Kings-Bench.*
Edward England, late One of the Kings Serjeants.
Thomas Strode.

Sir *Creswell Levins* Kt. late One of the Justices of the Court of *Common-Pleas.*
Sir *Francis Withens* Kt. late One of the Justices of the Court of *Kings-Bench.*
Sir *Thomas Jenner* Kt. late One of the Justices of the Court of *Common Pleas.*
John Windham.

Edwin

An APPENDIX *to the* Catalogue *of the* NOBILITY.

Edwin Wyat.
Edward Birch.
Anthony Farrington.
John Fefferson (now a Judge in *Ireland.*)
Sir *Edward Lutwich* Kt. late One of the Juſtices of the Court of *Common-Pleas.*
Sir *Richard Heath* Kt. late One of the Barons of the Court of *Exchequer.*
Sir *Henry Selby* Kt. late One of the Kings Serjeants.
Sir *William Rawlinſon* Kt. late One of the Lords Commiſſioners of the *Great Seal.*
William Killingworth.
Thomas Geere.
Sir *Charles Ingleby* Kt. late One of the Barons of the Court of *Exchequer.*
William Le-Hunt.
Sir *John Rotherham* Kt. late One of the Barons of the Court of *Exchequer.*
Sir *Henry Chauncy* Kt.
Henry Trinder.
Francis Fuller.
John Thurbane.
William Powlet.
Henry Haſell.
John Blencow.
William Coward.
George Pricket.
Thomas Gooding.
Reginald Bretland.
John Darnell.
Joſeph Girdler.
Nathan Wright.
Charles Bonithon.

Note all Serjeants at Law *who have been* Judges *and do not Practiſe Precede the* Kings Serjeants, *But ſuch of them as Practiſe have Place only according to the Seniority of their Call to that* Honourable Degree.

BARONETS.

Num. 13 *for* Exinct *read* Extinct. Num. 15 *Line* 3 *after* num. 22 *add and in the Appendix, among the Earls at the ſame number.* Num. 17 *l.* 3 *for* Stafford *lege Straſford and after* num. 31 *add and in the Appendix among the* Barons *num.* 32. Num. 19 *l.* 2 *after num.* 26 *add and in the Appendix among the* Earls *at the ſame number.* Num. 29 *l.* 3 *after num.* 1 *add and in the Appendix among the* Marquiſſes *at the ſame number.* Num. 31 *for* Wilberhall *read Kimberley-hall.* Num. 36 *for* Ruſhon *lege Ruſhton.* Num. 57 *l.* 1, 2. *for* (Engliſh Baron, *viz.* Lord *Fitz Walter*, vide num. 8) *read* (Extinct, Vide Lord *Fitz-Walter*, num. 8 *and in the Appendix among the* Barons *at the ſame number,*) *l.* 5. *after* 1612 *dele* Nov. 25 *and then inſert the* Baronets *at* num. 73, 74, 75, 76. *thus, viz.*

Sept. 24.

58. Sir *Robert Napar, alias Sandy*, of *Lewton-How* Kt. (Vide, *John Napier Martij* 4. 1660.) **Bed.**
59. *Paul Banning* of *Bently-Parva* Eſq; (*Engliſh* Vif. *viz.* Viſcount *Banning* Extinct.) **Eſſex.**
60. Sir *Thomas Temple* of *Stow* Kt. **Buck.**
61. *Thomas Penyſton* of *Leigh* Eſq; **Sull.**

Then add,

November. 25.

62. Sir *John Portman* of *Orchard* Kt. (Extinct.) **Dom.**

and correct the 13 *following numbers* thus, *for* 59. *lege* 63. *for* 60, 64. *for* 61, 65. *for* 62, 66. *for* 63, 67. *for* 64, 68. *for* 65, 69. *for* 66, 70. *for* 67, 71. *for* 68, 72. *for* 69, 73. *for* 70, 74. *and line* 1, 2. *for* Georges *read* Gorges, *for* 71, *lege* 75. *and for* 72, 76. Num. 77. *Line* 3 *after* num. 28 *add and in the Appendix among the* Earls *at the ſame number.* Num. 79 *for* **Warſh.** *read* **Warth.** Num. 82 *for* Beynton *lege Boynton, and for* Bramſton *read Barmſton.* Num. 85 *l.* 2 *for* **Warſh.** *lege* **Warth.** Num. 88 *l.* 3 *for* Nov. 72 *read* num. 72. *and in the Appendix among the* Earls *at the ſame number.* Num. 93 *for* Llewney *lege Lleweny.* Num. 98 *l.* 3 *for* nov. 60 *read* num. 60. Num. 103 *l.* 2 *for* Barons *read* Baron. Num. 117 *l.* 1, 2. *for* Camden *read Campden.* Num. 121 *for* Elcton *lege Felton.* Num. 131 *for* Heydling *read Heyling.* Num. 136 *for* Nov. 1 *lege Nov.* 8. Num. 145 *for* Gerrard *read Garrard.* Num. 153 *l.* 2 *after* Kt. *add* (Extinct.) Num. 154 *l.* 2 *after* Kt. *add* (Extinct.) Num. 189 *l.* 2 *after* Eſq; *add* (Extinct.) Num. 210 *for* Stukely *lege Stewkley.* Num. 214 *l.* 1 *for* Llanberno *read Llanberno.* Num. 264 *l.* 2 *dele* Extinct. Num. 264 *l.* 2 *after* London *add Iriſh* Viſcount, *viz.* Viſcount *Downe, which Honor only is* Extinct. Num. 266. *l.* 11 *after* 29 *Junij* 1611 *add* the King ſignifying the Intention of his Royal Father (King *James* I.) to have Created him a Baronet at that time. Num. 278 *l.* 1 *for* Middle-Merthall *lege* Middle-Marſhall. Num. 279 *for* Whitemore *read Whitmore.* Num. 284 *for* Feilx hall *lege Felix-hall.* Num. 327 *l.* 1 *for* Meaux *read Meux.* Num. 344 *l.* 2 *after* Eſq; *add* (Extinct.) Num. 380 *before* Walter *prefix Aug.* 30 Num. 781 *l.* 2 *after* Eſq; *add* **Eben.** Num. 384 *l.* 2 *for* **Hertt** *lege* **Hertt.** Num. 398 *before* William *prefix July* 17. Num. 410 *for* Odſtoke. *read* Oldſtoke. Num. 414 *l.* 2 *after* **Linc.** *inſert* (Vide *Hugh Ackland Jun.* 21 1677. num. 810.) Num. 416 *l.* 5. *after* **Midd.** *inſert* (Vide *Eubely Edward Apr.* 22 1678. num. 811.) Num. 417 *for* Ereloween *lege Trelawney.* Num. 419 *l.* 3 *dele* (Vide Hugh Ackland Jun. 21. 1677.) *l.* 4 *dele* Vide Francis Edwards *Apr.* 22. 1678.) Num. 427 *l.* 4 *for* Car. II. iij. *read Car.* II. Num. 428. *l.* 8 *for* Car. II. v. *lege Car.* II. iv. Num. 435 *l.* 2 *for* London *read* Eſq; *and for* **Lond.** *lege* **Midd.** Num. 447. *dele* Sir *and for* Kt. *lege* Eſq; Num. 450 *for* Chapham *read Clapham.* Num. 479. *after* July 2 *add* Sir *and for* Eſq; *lege* Kt. Num. 490 *after* July 13 *dele* Sir *and for* Kt. *lege* Eſquire. Num. 495 *l.* 1 *after* July 18 *inſert* Sir. *l.* 2 *for* Eſq; *lege* Knight. Num. 501 *l.* 2 *for* **Sull.** *read* **Eſſex.** Num. 504 *for* Sampford *lege Soupford.* Num. 515 *for* Barſcote *read Barſcourt, and after* Eſq; *add* for life, and after his deceaſe to *John Newton* of *Hader*, in *Com Linc.* Eſq; and to the Heirs Male of his Body. Num. 525 *l.* 1 *after* Sept. 5 *add* Sir *l.* 2 *for* Eſq; *lege* Kt. Num. 527. *l.* 3 *dele* Extinct. Num. 535 *for* Oct. 19 *read. Oct.* 26. Num. 545 *for* Worth *lege* Wroth. Num. 571 *l.* 2. *after* **Ebor.** *inſert Anno Regis Car.* II. xiij Num. 581 *l.* 3 *for* alit *read alias Napar aliss.* Num. 589. *l.* 1 *after* Martij 16 *add* Sir *l.* 2 *for* Eſq; *lege* Kt. Num. 591 *l.* 1 *after* Martij 16 *inſert* Sir, *l.* 2 *for* Eſq; *read* Kt. Num. 592 *l.* 1 *after* **Berks.** *inſert Anno Dom.* 1661 Num. 593 *l.* 1 *for* Martij 20 *lege Martij* 24. Num. 602 *after* Apr. 26 *inſert* Sir *and for* Eſq; *read* Kt. Num. 604 *after* Maij 1 *inſert* Sir *and for* of Fowell Eſq; *lege* of *Fowells-Combe* Kt. Num. 609 *for* Maij 10 *read Maij* 14. Num. 611 *after* Maij 16 *inſert* Sir, *and for* Eſq; *lege* Kt. Num. 615 *for* Newton *read Napar.* Num. 626 *l.* 1 *after* Junij 18 *add* Sir *and l.* 2 *for* Eſq; *lege* Kt. Num. 628 *l.* 1 *after* Junij 18 *inſert* Sir *and after* Viner *add* Kt. Num. 631 *for* Junij *read Julij.* Num. 633 *for* July 16 *lege July* 17 *and for* Denhall *read Benhall.* Num. 652 *for* Jan. 24. *lege Jan.* 17. Num. 666 *after* Julij 1 *for* Robert Bernard, &c. *read* Sir *Robert Bernard* (of *Huntington*) Kt. Serjeant at Law, during life, and after his deceaſe to *John Bernard* Eſq; his then eldeſt Son and the Heirs Male of his Body, and for default of ſuch iſſue with Remainder to *William Bernard* his third Son, and *Thomas Bernard* his fourth Son ſucceſſively and their Male-Heirs, and for defect thereof an Entail upon the Right Heirs Male of the ſaid Sir *Robert* for ever. **Hunt.** Num. 668 *for* Hargrave *lege Heagrave.* Num. 669 *after* Blanchford *add* Eſq; Num. 673 *for* Gerard *r. Garrard.* Num. 691 *l.* 1, *dele* Sir *and for* Knight *lege* Eſq; *l.* 2. *for* **Midd.** *read* **Surr.** Num. 692 *dele* Sir *and for* Kt. *lege* Eſq; Num. 723 *l.* 2 *for* Mardon *read Marſton.* Num. 728 *after* May 10 *read John* Num. 732 *and* 733 *for* Junij *lege Julij.* Num. 761 *l.* 2 *for* **Lond.** *lege* **Midd.** Num. 764 *for St. Owen read St. Owen.* Num. 778 (Vide Lord *Haverſham* among the Barons *in the Appendix* num. 70.) Num. 794, 795 *Note theſe Numbers are Tranſpoſed, and that* Pennington *ought to Precede* Head. Num. 810 *l.* 3 *after* 24 Jun. 1644 *add* alledging a Patent to be then paſſed, but loſt, yet there is no Docquet of any ſuch Patent in the Signet Office. Num. 811 *l.* 6 *for* Created before, &c. *read* Created after the 7th of *Febr.* 1644. alledging a Patent to be then paſſed but loſt, yet there is no Docquet of any ſuch Patent in the Signet Office. Num. 833 *l.* 2 *for* Eſq; *lege* Baronet. Num. 814 *after* Eſq; *add* (Extinct.) Num. 827 *after l.* 2 *inſert An. Regis Car.* II. xxxi]. Num. 833 *l.* 7 *after* Baron Jeffreys *for* num. 60. *read* num. 61. Num. 841 *for* Junij 22 *lege Junij* 29.

To Conclude the Baronets *add.*

Anno 1696 *& 8. Willielmi Tertij* viij.

884. *Apr.* 13 *Richard Blechham of London* Eſq; (an Eminent *Turkey Merchant.*) **Lond.**
885. *Maij* 2. *Thomas Wheate of Glympton* Eſq; **Oxon.**
886. *Maij* 28. *Oliver Aſhcombe of Lifford* Eſq; **Berks.**

A CHRONICLE OF THE Kings of ENGLAND; FROM THE Time of the ROMANS Government, Unto the DEATH of King CHARLES I.

Of the first known times of this Island.

ALTHOUGH we begin the *Æra* of our Computation from *William*, called the Conqueror, as though he was the first of our Kings of *England*; yet before him were many other excellent Kings; and their Acts perhaps as worthy to be known, if they could be known. But seeing After-Ages can know nothing of former times, but what is recorded by writing; it hath happened, partly by the devastation of Libraries, and partly by the scarcity of Copies before Printing came up; that of many Authors, scarce so much is left us, as their very names: And besides, it hath followed, that as the first Writers were Poets, so the first Writings have been fictions. And nothing is delivered to posterity of the most ancient times, but very Fables; such as the Story of *Albina*, of whom they say, this Island was called *Albion*; (though others say, *Ab albis rupibus*, of the white Cliffs) that she should be the eldest of the two and thirty Daughters of *Diocletian*, King of *Syria*, (such as never was) who being married to two and thirty Kings, in one night killed all their Husbands: for which Fact, they were put in a Ship, themselves alone without a Pilot, so to try their adventure, and by chance arrived in this Island, of whom Giants were begotten. And if you like not of this, then have you the story of *Albion*, the Son of *Neptune*, of whom the Island took his name. But when these are exploded, there follows another with great Attestation, and yet as very a Fable as these; namely, the story of the *Trojan Brute*, (of whom the Island they say, was called *Britain*: though many other causes are given of the name:) as likewise the story of *Brute*'s Cousin *Corinæus*, of whom they say, the Country of *Cornwal* had its name, to whom it was given for overcoming the Giant *Gogmagog*: and that *Brute* having three Sons, *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*, he gave at his death to his eldest Son *Locrine*, all the Land on this side *Humber*, and called it *Loegria*; To his second Son *Albanact*, all the Land beyond *Humber*, of whom it was called *Albania*, (now *Scotland*:) and to his youngest Son *Camber*, all the Land beyond the River of *Severn*, of whom it was called *Cambria* (now *Wales*) with other such stuff which may please Children, but not riper Judgments; and were first broached by *Geoffery*, Arch-Deacon of *Monmouth*: for which all the Writers of his time cried shame upon him, and yet can scarce keep many at this day from giving credit to his Fictions. This *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* (afterward made, by the favour of King *Stephen*, Bishop of *Asaph*) lights upon a Book written in Welch, and brought out of *Wales* by *Walter* Arch-Deacon of *Exeter*, of the *British* Affairs, and translated by *Geoffery*, in which, though there were many notable passages that might give much light to our History; yet so many commentitious Fables were inserted, that they rendred even what truths he writ suspected.

And when we are once gotten out of Fables, and come to some truth; yet that truth is delivered in such slender draughts, and such broken pieces, that very small benefit can be gotten by the knowing of it; and was not till the time of *Julius Cæsar*, a thousand years after

Why England called Albion.

Brute's story fabulous.

Matth. West.

Geoffery of Monmouth a fabulous Writer.

the Fable of *Brute*: at which time, the Island was yet but in manner of a Village, being without Walls, as having no shipping, (which are indeed the true Walls of an Island) but only certain small Vessels, made of Boards and Wicker. And as they had no Ships for defence without; so had they neither any Forts for defence within: Scarce any Houses but such as were made of stakes and boughs of Trees fastned together. Neither was it yet come to be a Kingdom, but was governed by a number of petty Rulers; so as *Kent* only had in it (as *Cæsar* calleth them) four Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*: which division, as it made the *Britains* the more easy to be conquered, so it made the *Romans* the longer in conquering. For if they had been one united body, one or two Battels might have made a Conquest of the whole; whereas being thus divided, there was need to be as many Battels as there were divisions: So as it was many years before the *Romans* could conquer the whole Island; even from the time of *Julius Cæsar*, to the time of the Emperor *Domitian*: not much less than two hundred years. It is true, after *Cæsars* first coming, the Island grew sensible of this defect of their division, and thereupon by consent of a great part made choice of *Cassibelan*, King of the *Trinovants*, who had his Seat at *Verulam*, to be General of their Wars; which made indeed some little stop to the *Romans* proceedings: But after the loss of a Battel or two, they fell again into a relapse of their former defect, and thought it better to secure every own his own, by his own means, than by a general power to hazard all at once; whereby it came afterward to be true, *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.* Yet before the Country could be wholly conquered, at first by reason of the Nations valour, seeking to keep themselves free; and afterward by reason of the Insolency of the Garrison Soldiers, that sought to make them Slaves, many great oppositions were made, amongst which, the most memorable was that of *Voadicia*, a certain Queen of the Country, who having been by the *Roman* Soldiers her self abused, and her daughters ravished, used means to levy an Army of Sixscore thousand men, whom she led her self into the Field, and set upon the *Romans* in their Chief Towns, which were *London*, *Verulam*, and *Camalodunum* (now *Malden* in *Essex*) of whom she slew above Seventy thousand: But then in a second Battel, had Fourscore thousand of her own Army slain; after which Defeat, for avoiding of Slavery, she poisoned her self.

How long the *Romans* were in conquering *England.*

Julius Cæsar invading *England*, *Cassibelan* resists him.

Voadicia discomfiteth the *Romans*; and after is discomfited her self.

This Island for a long time was so much esteemed of the *Romans*, that their Emperors sometimes came hither in person; as first the Emperor *Adrian* in the Year 124, who re-edified that great Wall between *England* and *Scotland*, first made by *Agricola*, *Nero*'s General in *Britain*, and Father-in-law to *Tacitus* the famous Historian. *Adrian* having set the Country in order, returned. The same Wall was again repaired by *Severus* the Emperor, in the year 212. who came over into *Britain* to repress the Incursions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whom

The Emperor *Adrian* comes into *England.*

The Emperor *Severus* comes into *England.*

in a Battel near *York*, he was wounded, and thereof died; or as others say, he died of age and sickness. Afterward in the year 305. *Constantius* the Emperor came into *Britain*, and ended his life at *York*, making that City famous for the Death and Burial of two great Emperors; and yet more famous for the honour done to *Constantine* the *Great*, Son of *Constantius*, who in that City was first saluted Emperor. But notwithstanding the great estimation the *Romans* a long time made of this Island; yet at last, after five hundred years they had kept it in subjection, they voluntarily left it: The charge of keeping it, being greater than the benefit; for to keep it in subjection, they maintained no fewer than Fourscore thousand Soldiers in pay. And when Wars grew amongst themselves at home, they could no longer spare so many abroad, but recalled them home: But then, though they left *Britain*, yet they left not the *Britains*, but carried them, at least, a great part of them away with them; of whom the most were slain in their Service, and the rest Planted in that part of *France*, which of them was afterward, and is to this day, called *Britain*. And now one would think, the Island should be in good case, being freed from them that kept them in subjection: But it proved to be in worse case being at liberty, than it was before in servitude; for being deprived of their ablest men, and at the same time, their King *Lucius* happening to die without Issue, they were left as a few loose sticks, without the bond of a Governor; which the *Picts* and *Scots* observing, thought now was the time to make the Country their own; and thereupon made Invasions upon it with all their Forces. Whereupon the *Britains* having none left of their Native Kings to succeed; and knowing they could ill manage the Body of an Army without a Head, they make choice of *Vortigern* Earl of *Cornwal*, one extracted from the *British* Line, to be their King: And he, whether so advised by his Cabbinet Counsellor, the Prophetical *Merlin*, or as finding his own strength too weak to make Resistance, implores first aid of the *Romans*; and they making Answer, They had business enough to do of their own, and leaving them to themselves, he then fled to the *Saxons* for aid, a warlike people of *Germany*, and who had greater swarms than their Hives could well hold.

The Emperor *Constantius* comes into *England.*

The *Romans* leave *England*, and why.

Vortigern is chosen King.

He calls in the *Saxons.*

And here we may plainly see how dangerous a thing it it for a Nation to call in Strangers to their aid, and especially in any great number; for though they come at first but Mercenaries, yet once admitted, and finding their own strength, they soon grow Masters, as here it proved with the *Saxons.*

The *Saxons* were Infidels, and brought in with them diversity of Idols, after whose names they gave appellations to the several days of the Week. Adoring the *Sun*, they named the first day *Sunday*, or *Sunsday.* The second *Moonday*, from an Idol which ridiculously represented the *Moon.* Another god they had called *Tuisco*, and to him they appointed the third day, naming it *Tuesday.* The tradition is, That this *Tuisco* was the Son of *Ashke-*

Aſhkenaz, Grandchild to *Japhet*, and that he conducted their Forefathers out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, from the unfiniſh'd Tower of *Babel*. The next Idol which they adored for a God, was *Woden*, repreſenting an Armed man, and they named the fourth day from him *Wodenſday*, or *Wedneſday*, they honoured him as the God of Battel: He had been a Famous and Victorious Prince amongſt them, and of him lineally deſcended *Hengiſtus* and *Horſa*, their firſt Leaders into this Iſland. Not only our *Saxons*, but all the Septentrional Nations Adored and Sacrificed to *Thor*, a Statue reſembling a Crown'd King, his Head encompaſſed with Twelve bright Golden Stars, of whom they denominated the fifth Day *Thurſday*. *Friday* took the name of *Friga*, an Idol repreſenting both Sexes, with a Bow in one Hand, and a Sword in the other: And though the Statue expreſt an *Hermophrodite*, yet ſhe was generally reputed a Goddeſs. Then they had a God called *Seater*, and to him they Conſecrated *Saterday*; this Idol was like an Old Man, with a long Beard and Hair, Bare-headed and Bare-footed. Such was the Religion of the *Saxons*; which giveth us occaſion before we treat further of their coming in, to ſay ſomething of the State of the Chriſtian Church in this Iſland. Firſt then, it is Recorded, That in the year 63, what time *Arviragus* reign'd here, *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* (who buried the Body of Chriſt) came into this Iſland, and laid the Foundation of the Chriſtian Faith in the Weſtern parts, at a place called then *Thurdet*, now *Glaſtenbury*, and that there came with him *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*: and more than this, that *Simon Zelotes*, one of the Apoſtles, ſuffered Martyrdom here in *Britain*: and more than this, that both St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* came into this Iſland, and preached the Goſpel; all which, and more to this purpoſe, is Recorded by Authors of good account: Though it be hard in believing, *That Perſons, and ſpecially Women, of ſo great Age as theſe muſt needs be at this time, ſhould take ſo long a Journey.* But howſoever it was, certain it is, That the Doctrine of Chriſtianity was about this time planted in this Iſland, though it made afterward but ſmall progreſs, and that with ſome Perſecution; as in which time St. *Alban* ſuffered Martyrdom at *Verulam*, and at *Litchfield* ſhortly after no fewer than a thouſand. After this, in the year 180, what time *Lucius* was King of this Iſland, *Eluetherius*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent *Faganus* and *Damianus* to him; upon whoſe Preaching, the Temples of the Heatheniſh *Flamins* and *Arch-Flamins* (one and thirty in number) were converted to ſo many Biſhops Sees; whereof *London*, *York*, and *Caerleyn* (now St. *David*'s) were made the Metropolitans of the Province. And there is a Table remaining at this Day, in the Pariſh Church of St. *Peter*, or *Cornhill*, *London*, which recordeth, That the Foundation thereof was laid by this King *Lucius*, and that this Church was the Cathedral to that Archbiſhop's See. In the year 359, a Council was holden at *Ariminum* in *Italy*, where ſix hundred Weſtern Biſhops were Aſſembled, whereof three went out of *Britain*; and though they were Orthodoxal, and with that Synod determined to give their Voices againſt the *Arian* Hereſy, yet by reaſon all theſe Weſtern Fathers were ignorant in the *Greek* Language, they were circumvented by the *Arian* Biſhops, and unanimouſly they would have Chriſt, but not *Homouſion*. After this, about the year 420, roſe up in this Iſland one *Pelagius* a Monk, brought up in the Monaſtery of *Bangor* in *Wales*, who ſpread the Poyſon of his Hereſy firſt in this his Native Countrey, and afterward all the World over. And theſe had been the Chief Paſſages in Matters Eccleſiaſtical within this Iſland, when the *Saxons* were called in, about the year 450.

Joſeph of Arimathea plants the Goſpel at Glaſtenbury.

Pelagius the Heretick riſeth up.

And now under the Conduct of two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, came over Nine thouſand *Saxons*, with their Wives and Children, to aſſiſt the *Britains* againſt the *Scots*, and were appointed the Iſle of *Thanet* to inhabit. With which aſſiſtance the *Britains* gave their Enemies Battel, and overcame them; ſo as they accounted the *Saxons* as Angels ſent from Heaven; and then allowed them *Kent* alſo for their inhabiting. Not long after *Hengiſt* obtained of King *Vortigern* the Property of ſo much Ground as he could encloſe with a Bull's Hide; which cutting into Thongs, he there built the Caſtle, *ficti de nomine*, called *Thong*-Caſtle. And now having built it, he invites *Vortigern* to a Feaſt, who there fell in Love with *Rowena*, the Daughter, or rather the Niece of *Hengiſt*; for when *Hengiſt* firſt arrived in *Britain* he was but 30 years of Age: Howſoever, *Vortigern* marrying this fair Lady, put *Hengiſt* into ſuch a height of boldneſs, that he began to aſpire, ſending for greater Forces to come over to him; as meaning to tranſplant himſelf hither, and to make this Iſland his Inheritance: Which the *Britiſh* Lords perceiving, and not able to wean the King from his new Wife, and her Father *Hengiſt*, they depoſe him; and in his place ſet up his Son *Vortimer*, a true Lover of his Countrey; who preſently in a pitch'd Battel near unto *Aylesford* in *Kent*, ſet upon the *Saxons*; where *Catigern* the Brother of *Vortimer*, and *Horſa*, or *Hengiſt*, in ſingle Fight hand to hand ſlew each other. In which place, *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected, the Stones whereof at this Day are ſtanding in a great Plain in the Pariſh of *Aylesford*; which inſtead of *Catigern*, is corruptly called *Kits-Cotyhouſe*. Another the like Monument was erected for *Horſa*, though now defaced; remembred only by the Town where it ſtood, called *Horſtead*. Three other Battels after this were fought between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*; one upon *Craford*, another at *Weppedſfleete*, the third upon *Colmore*; in which laſt, the *Britains* got ſo great a Victory, that the *Saxons* were clean driven out of *Kent*, and *Thanet* alſo not ſuffered to reſt: ſo as ſhortly after, *Hengiſt* with his *Saxons* departed the Kingdom, as being now out of hope to make his Fortune in this Iſland. But while *Vortimer* was thus intentive for his Countrey's Liberty, *Rowena* the former King's Wife, being Daughter to *Hengiſt*, was as intentive to bring it into Servitude; which knowing ſhe could not do as long as

Hengiſt and Horſa Saxons, come into England.

Thong-Caſtle why ſo called.

Vortigern Marries Rowena the daughter of Hengiſt.

Vortigern is depoſed and his Son Vortimer ſet up.

Catigern and Horſa fight a ſingle Combat.

The Saxons forced to flee England.

St. *Alban* ſuffers Martyrdom at *Verulam*.

The Heatheniſh Temples converted into Biſhops Sees at the preaching of *Faganus* and *Damianus*.

Vortimer lived; she used means by Poyson, to take away his Life, after he had been King the space of four years, and then by the Witchcraft of fair words, so enchanted the *British* Nobility, that her Husband *Vortigern* was again established in the Kingdom; which was no sooner done, but *Hengist* (relying upon his Son *Vortigern*'s love) with a mighty Army attempts to return again into the Island; when being resisted, he makes a shew as if he desired nothing but to fetch away his Daughter *Rowena*, and to have a friendly conference for continuance of Amity; which motion seeming reasonable, a place and time of Conference was appointed; the time, upon the first of *May*; the place, upon the Plain of *Ambrii*, now called *Salisbury*, whither the plain-meaning *Britains* came unarm'd, according to agreement; but the fraudulent *Saxons* under their long Cassocks had short Skeynes hidden, with which, upon a Watch-word given, they set upon the *Britains*, and of their unarm'd Nobility slew three, some say five hundred, and took the King himself Prisoner, whom they would not release, till they were put in possession of these Four Counties, *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*: Whereupon *Vortigern*, whether fearing a second Deposing, or whether so advised by his Cabinet-Council, or the Prophetical *Merlin*, betook himself into *Wales*, and there built him a strong Castle for his Safe-guard; while the *Saxons* coming daily in great swarms into the Land, had at this time over-run all, if *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a *Roman* born, but affected to the *British* Nation, had not landed at *Totnes* in *Devonshire*, to whom resorted great Troops of *Britains*. His first Expedition was against *Vortigern*, (as the first Cause of the *Britains* misery) whose Castle he besieged; and whether by Wild-fire, or by fire from Heaven, both he and his Castle, and all that were in it, were burnt to ashes. To this *Ambrosius* is ascribed the admirable Monument in *Wiltshire*, now called *Stonehenge*, in the place where the *Britains* had been treacherously slaughter'd and interr'd; and of whom the Town of *Ambersbury* bears its name. After this he set upon the *Saxons*, and in many Battels discomfited them; till at last falling sick in the City of *Winchester*, a *Saxon*, in shew a *Britain*, and in Habit a Physician, was sent unto him, who instead of Physick, ministred Poyson, whereof he died in the year 497, after he had reign'd Two and thirty years.

Vortigern is again received.

The *Saxons* return, and at a meeting fraudulently kill divers of the *English* Nobility.

Aurelius Ambrosius burns *Vortigern* and his Castle which he had built by the advice of *Merlin*.

Is poysoned.

After *Ambrosius*, succeeded *Uter* (some say his Brother, or others a *Britain*) called *Pendragon*, of his Royal Banner born ever before him; wherein was pourtrayed a Dragon with a Golden Head, as in our *English* Camps it is at this day born for the Imperial Standard. And he also in many Battels discomfited the *Saxons*, till after eighteen years Reign he came to his end by Treachery; dying by Poyson put into a Well, whereof he usually drank, in the year 515.

Uter Pendragon, why so called.

Is poysoned.

After him succeeded his Son *Arthur*, begotten of the fair Lady *Igren*, Wife of the Duke of *Cornwal*, to whose Bed the Art of *Merlin* brought him in the likeness of her Husband; and he in Twelve set Battels discomfited the *Saxons*; but in one most memorable, in which girding himself with his Sword called *Callibourn*, he slew upon his Enemies, and with his own hand slew Eight hundred of them; which is but one of his Wonderful Deeds, whereof there are so many reported, that he might well be reckoned amongst the Fabulous, if there were not enough true to give them Credit. Amongst other his Acts, he instituted the Order of Knights of the Round Table, to the end there might be no question about Precedence, and to teach Heroical minds not to stand upon Place, but Merit. But this great Prince, for all his great Valour, was at last in Battel wounded, whereof he died in the year 522, after he had Reigned Six and twenty years.

Arthur the Son of *Uter Pendragon*, kills eight hundred *Saxons* with his own Hands.

He Institutes the Order of the Round Table.

Is wounded and dies.

After King *Arthur*, succeeded his Cousin *Constantine*, and after his Three years Reign, *Aurelius Conanus* the Nephew of King *Arthur*; whose Reign is so uncertain, that some say he Reigned only two, some three years, some again thirty, and some three and thirty. After *Conanus*, succeeded *Vortiporius*, who after many Victories against the *Saxons*, and Four years Reign, died. After whom succeeded *Malgo Conanus*, and reigned six years. After him *Careticus*, who setting upon the *Saxons*, and beaten, fled into the Town of *Chichester*, whereupon the *Saxons* catching certain Sparrows, and fastening fire to their feet, let them fly into the Town, where lighting upon Straw, and other matter apt to take fire, the whole City in short space was burnt; and thereupon *Careticus* flying, secured himself among the Mountains of *Wales*, where he died, after he had unprosperously Reigned three years; and from that time forth the *Britains* lost their whole Kingdom in the East part of the Island, and were confined in the West by the Rivers *Severn* and *Dee*. After *Careticus*, succeeded *Cadwan*, who reigned Two and twenty years. After him his Son *Cadwallo*, who reigned Eight and forty years, and then died; whose Body was buried in St. *Martin*'s Church near *Ludgate*, and his Image of Brass placed upon the same Gate, for a Terror to the *Saxons*. In his time the Doctrine of *Mahomet* began to spread it self all the Eastern World over. After *Cadwallo*, succeeded his Son *Cadwalladar*; in whose time so great a Famine, and afterward Mortality happened, continuing Eleven years, that the Land became in a manner desolate; insomuch, that the King and many of his Lords were driven to forsake their Native Countrey, and *Cadwalladar* himself went to his Cousin *Alan*, King of little *Britain* in *France*. At which time the *Saxons* taking advantage of his absence, came over in swarms, and dispossessed the forlorn *Britains* of all they had, and divided the Land amongst themselves. Whereupon *Cadwalladar*, obtaining assistance from his Cousin *Alan*, was coming over to restrain their Insolencies; when making Prayers to God for good Success, an Angel appeared to him, or at the least to his seeming he heard a Voice that forbad him the Enterprize, declaring that it was not God's Will the *Britains* should rule this Land any longer; and therefore bad him bye him to *Rome*, and receive of Pope

Chichester burnt by chance.

Cadwallo's Image placed upon *Ludgate*.

The *Saxons* get possession of the whole Island.

Cadwalladar the last King of the *Britains* leaveth his Kingdom, and is shorn a Monk at *Rome*.

Pope *Sergius* the Habit of Religion, wherein he ſhould dye, and reſt in Peace; which accordingly he did: And in him ended the Blood of the *Britiſh* Kings, in the year 689. So as *Britain* now was no longer *Britain*, but a Colony of the *Saxons*.

And now 'tis time to ſpeak of the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*, ſo much ſpoken of by all Writers, and to ſhew by what degrees the *Britains* loſt, and the *Saxons* got the whole poſſeſſion of this Iſland: For this Heptarchy or Diviſion of this Iſland into Seven Kingdoms, came not in all at once, nor yet in an equal partition, but ſome good diſtance of time one after another, and as the Invader had ſtrength to expel the Natives.

The Firſt Kingdom being of KENT.

THE Firſt Kingdom of the *Saxons* began by *Hengiſt*, in the year 455, containing all *Kent*, and continued 372 years, during the Reigns of Seventeen Kings, of whom as many as performed any memorable Act, ſhall be remembred; and for the reſt, it will be no loſs to paſs them over in ſilence. Of theſe ſeventeen Kings, *Ethelbert* being the Fifth, was the firſt *Saxon* Chriſtian King of this Iſland, converted by *Auſtin* the Monk, whom Pope *Gregory* ſent hither to that purpoſe, with forty others, in the year 596; to whom the King *Ethelbert* gave his Chief City of *Canterbury*, and his own Royal Palace there, made ſince the Cathedral of that See; withdrawing himſelf to *Reculver* in the Iſle of *Thanet*, where he erected a Palace for himſelf and his Succeſſors. He gave him alſo an old Temple, ſtanding without the Eaſt Wall of the City, which he honoured with the name of St. *Pancras*, and then added a Monaſtery to it, and dedicated it to St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, appointing it to be the place of the *Kentiſh* Kings Sepulchres. But in regard of *Auſtin* the Procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul*, were ſoon forgotten; and it was, and is to this day called St. *Auſtins*; which Abby St. *Auſtin* enriched with divers Reliques, which he brought with him from *Rome*; amongſt which was a part of Chriſt's Seamleſs Coat, and of *Aaron*'s Rod. This King after his own Converſion, converted alſo *Sebert* King of the Eaſt-*Angles*, and aſſiſted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, *London*; as alſo the Church of St. *Peter* on the Weſt of *London*, then called *Thorny*; and himſelf at *Rocheſter* built the Cathedral Church there, which he dedicated to the Apoſtle St. *Andrew*; and dying when he had reigned Six and fifty years, was buried at *Canterbury*. And thus by his firſt *Saxon* Kingdom, was all *Kent* lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion; and this was the firſt impairing, and this happened in the Reign of *Ambroſius* before ſpoken of. The Sixth King of *Kent* was *Ethelbald*, who at firſt an Apoſtata, was afterwards converted, and built a Chappel within the Monaſtery of *St. Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*. The Seventh King was *Ercombert*, a virtuous and religious Prince, who firſt commanded the obſerving of *Lent*; and in his days the Archbiſhop *Honorius* divided *Kent* into Pariſhes. The eighth King was *Egbert*, who obtained the Kingdom by murthering his Nephews: whoſe Siſter the Lady *Dopnena*, founded the Abby of *Minſter* in *Kent*. The Eleventh King was *Withred*, who founded the Church of St. *Martins* in the Town of *Dover*, and ſtored it with 22 Canons, which he took out of a Church which had been before erected in the Caſtle by *Edbald* the Son of *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſten'd King of the *Saxons*. The laſt was *Baldred*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the Weſt-*Saxons*, left *Kent* a Province to that Kingdom, in the year 827.

Ethelbert the firſt *Saxon* Chriſtian King.

St. *Auſtin's* in *Canterbury*, why ſo called.

Paul's and *Weſtminſter* builded.

Lent firſt obſerved. *Kent* divided into Pariſhes.

The Second Kingdom being of the South SAXONS.

THE Second Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the South *Saxons*, and began by *Ella*, in the year 488, containing *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, and continued 113 years, during the Reign of Five Kings only, of whom *Ciſſa* being the Second, founded the City of *Chicheſter*, and reigned, as ſome ſay, threeſcore and ſixteen years. And then *Berthan* being the laſt King, was overcome by *Ina* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, and his Countrey became a Province of that Kingdom, in the year 601. And thus, as *Kent* before, ſo now *Suſſex* and *Surrey* were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion: And this was a ſecond impairing, which alſo happened in the Reign of the *Britiſh* King *Ambroſius*.

Chicheſter founded.

The Third Kingdom being of the Weſt SAXONS.

THE Third Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the Weſt *Saxons*, and began by *Cerdic*, in the year 519, containing *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, and continued 561 years, during the Reigns of nineteen Kings, of whom this *Cerdic* was the firſt; in whoſe time *Porth*, a *Saxon*, Landed in the Weſt, at a place from him called afterward *Portſmouth*, and aided *Cerdic* in his Conqueſt. And this happened in the Reign of King *Arthur*: And as *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Surrey* before, ſo now theſe ſeven other Shires were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion; and this was a Third impairing. The ſixth King of the Weſt *Saxons* was *Kinglis*, who was the firſt Chriſtian King of this Kingdom, converted by *Berinus* an *Italian* Divine, to whom he gave the City of *Dorcheſter*, near to *Oxford*; who therein erected his Epiſcopal See. The ſeventh King was *Kenwald*, who at firſt an Apoſtata, was afterward converted, and founded the Cathedral of *Wincheſter*, and the Abby of *Malmſbury*; whoſe Wife *Segburg* alſo built a Houſe of Devotion in the Iſle of *Sheppy*, wherein her ſelf became a Nun, and was afterward Elected Abbeſs of *Ely*. The Eleventh King was *Ina*, who ordained many good Laws, which are yet extant in the *Saxon* Tongue, and are tranſlated into *Latin* by the Learned Maſter *William Lambert*. This King built a Colledge at *Wells*, bearing the name of St. *Andrews*, which afterward King *Kenulf* made an Epiſcopal

Portſmouth why ſo called.

Dorcheſter an Epiſcopal See.

Wincheſter Cathedral builded.

King *Ina* and his Laws.

Wells an Epiſcopal See.

Episcopal See. He also, in most stately manner new built the Abby of *Glastenbury*; and out of his Devotion to the See of *Rome*, he enjoined every one of His Subjects that was possessed in his House of any one kind of Goods, to the value of Nineteen Pence, to pay yearly upon *Lammas-day*, one Penny to the Pope; which at first was contributed under the name of the King's Alms, but afterward was paid by the name of *Peter*-Pence. At last he went to *Rome*, and there took upon him the Habit of Religion, and therein Died. His Wife also became a veiled Nun, and afterwards was made Abbess of *Barkin*, near *London*. The thirteenth King was *Cutbred*, who first permitted the Bodies of the dead to be buried within the Walls of their Cities, which before were used to be buried in the Fields. The fourteenth was *Sigebert*, who for his cruelty and exactions, was by his Subjects forced to flee into the Woods to hide himself, where by a Swine-herd he was slain. The fifteenth was *Kenwolph*, who founded the Cathedral Church of St. *Andrews* at *Wells*, and was afterwards slain by *Kynegard*, whom he had banished. The sixteenth King was *Birthrick*, whose Queen *Ethelburg* having prepared a Poyson for another, the King chanced to taste it, and thereof died. In fear of which chance the Queen fled into *France*; where *Charles* the then King, for her excellent Beauty, offered her the choice of himself or his Son in Marriage: But she out of her Lustful humour chusing the Son, was thereupon debarr'd of both, and thrust into a Monastery, where committing Adultery, she was driven from thence, and ended her life in great misery. For her sake the West *Saxons* ordained a Law, that no King's Wife should hereafter have the Title or Majesty of a Queen, which for many years after was severely executed. It is memorable which is recorded of a King in these parts, named *Wazmund*, and was the Founder of *Warwick* Town: that he had a Son named *Offa*, tall of Stature, and of a good constitution of body, but blind till he was seven years old, and then saw; and dumb till he was thirty years old, and then spake.

Peter-pence when first ordained.

Burials within Cities when first Ordained.

King *Sigebert* slain by a swine-herd.

Queen *Ethelburg* thrust into a Monastery, and why.

A Law that no King's Wife should have the Title of a Queen.

Offa Blind and Dumb till a certain Age.

The Fourth Kingdom of the East SAXONS.

THE Fourth Kingdom of the Heptarchy was of the East *Saxons*, and began by *Erchenwyn*, in the year 527, containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281 years, during the Reigns of fourteen Kings; of whom the third was *Sebert*, who first built the Cathedral of St. *Paul*, *London*, which had formerly been the Temple of *Diana*: He likewise founded the Church of St. *Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thorney*, where sometime stood the Temple of *Apollo*, which being overthrown by an Earthquake, King *Lucius* new built for the Service of God; and that again being decayed, this King restored to a greater Beauty, and with his Queen *Athelgarda* was there buried. The ninth King was *Sebba*, who after thirty years peaceable Reign relinquished the Crown, and took upon him a Religious Habit in the Church of St. *Paul*, *London*, where dying, his Body was entomb'd in a Coffin of Grey Marble; the Cover coped, and as yet standeth in the North-Wall of the Chancel of the same Church. The twelfth was *Offa*, famous for the Beauty of his countenance, who both enlarged with Buildings, and enriched with Lands the Church of *Westminster*, and after eight years Reign went to *Rome*, and was there shorn a Monk, and in that habit died.

Paul's and *Westminster* founded.

King *Sebba* Buried in *Paul's* Church.

The fourteenth was *Sutbred*, whom *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons* subdued, and made his Kingdom a Province to his own. And thus besides the former Shires, these two also were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion; and this was a fourth impairing.

The Fifth Kingdom being of NORTHUMBERLAND.

THE Fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland*, (so called because it lay North from the River *Humber*) and began by *Ella* and *Ida*, in the year 547; containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370 years, during the Reigns of Three and twenty Kings; of whom nothing is recorded of the two first, but that they builded the Castle of *Bamburg*. The seventh King was *Ethelfryd*, who at *Caerlegion* (now *Westchester*) made a slaughter of Twelve hundred Christian Monks, and was himself afterward slain by *Redwald* King of the East *Angles*. The thirteenth King was *Osred*, whose Wife *Cutburga*, out of a loathing weariness of Wedlock, sued out a Divorce from her Husband, and built a Nunnery at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where in a Religious Habit she ended her life. The sixteenth King was *Cednulph*, who after eight years Reign, left his Royal Robes, and put on the Habit of a Monk, in the Isle of *Lindesfarn*, or *Holy Island*. Unto this King, the Venerable *Bede*, a *Saxon* and a Priest in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paul*, at *Werimouth* near to *Durham*, dedicated his Work of the *English* History, which he continued from the first entrance of the *Saxons* in this Island, to the year 731; containing after his own account 285 years. The seventeenth King was *Egbert*, who after twenty years Reign forsook the world also, and shore himself a Monk; whose Brother being Archbishop of *York*, erected a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite number of Learned Books. The last King of *Northumberland* was *Oswald*, after whose death this Kingdom yielded to the Protection of *Egbert*, King of the West *Saxons*, who was now in the year 926, become Absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the erection of the fifth Kingdom, were the six *Northern* Shires lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion; and this was a fifth impairing.

King *Ethelfryd* kills twelve hundred Christian Monks at *Westchester* anciently called *Caerlegion*.

Queen *Cutburga* loathing the Acts of Marriage becomes a Nun.

Bede dedicateth his History to King *Cednulph*.

A Library erected at *York*.

Egbert becomes absolute Monarch of all *England*.

The Sixth Kingdom being of MERCIA.

THE Sixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, and began in *Crida*, in the year 522, containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *War-*

Warwickſhire, *Leiceſter*, *Northampton*, *Derby*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, and *Hartfordſhire*, and continued 220 years, during the Reigns of Twenty Kings, eight of whom in a continued ſucceſſion kept the Imperial Crown of the Heptarchy; for though others Reigned as Kings in their own Territories, yet among them ever one was the ſupreme head of the reſt, and was called King of *Englelond*, till *Egbert* the Weſt *Saxon* brought them all into one. The fifth of theſe Kings of *Mercia* was *Penda*, who was the firſt Chriſtian King of the *Mercians*, and laid the Foundation of the Fair Church at *Medeſhamſtead*, now called *Peterborough*. The Seventh King was *Ethelred*, who Reigned Thirty years, and then gave over the Crown, and became a Monk in the Monaſtery of *Bradney* in *Lincolnſhire*, where in the year 716 he died. The Eight King was *Kenred*, who after four years Reign went to *Rome*, where he took upon him the Habit of a Monk, and after other four years died. The Tenth King *Ethelbald*, who at firſt was given to much laſciviouſneſs of life; but being reprehended for it by *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, was ſo far converted, that he founded the Monaſtery of *Crowland*, driving in mighty piles of Oak into the Mariſh ground, where he laid a great and goodly Building of Stone; and after two and forty years Reign, was ſlain in a Battel by *Cuthred* King of the Weſt *Saxons*. The eleventh King was *Offa*, who greatly enlarged his Dominions, Reigned nine and thirty years, and founded the Monaſtery of St. *Albans*. The thirteenth King was *Kenwolph*, who Reigned two and twenty years, and founded the Monaſtery of *Winchcomb*, in the County of *Glouceſter*, where his body was interred. The eighteenth King was *Withlafe*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, held his Country afterward as his Subſtitute and Tributary, acknowledging *Egbert* as now the ſole Monarch of this Iſland. And by erection of this *Mercian* Kingdom, were ſeventeen Shires more lopped off from the *Britains* Dominions, and was a ſixth, and a great impairing; ſo as now they were driven into a narrow room.

Peterborough anciently called *Medeſhamſtead*.

The Monaſtery of *Crowland* founded.

The Monaſtery of St. *Albans* founded.

The Monaſtery of *Winchcomb* founded.

The Seventh Kingdom being of the Eaſt SAXONS.

THE Seventh Kingdom was of the Eaſt *Angles*, and began by *Offa* in the year 575. containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the Iſle of *Ely*, and continued 353. years during the Reign of Fifteen Kings, of whom the fifth was *Sigebert*, who firſt brought the light of the Goſpel into his Dominions. and built a School for Education of Youth, whether at *Oxford*, or *Cambridge*, is left a *Quære*; and after three years Reign ſhore himſelf a Monk in the Abby of *Cumbreburg*, which himſelf had built: But being afterward violently drawn from thence by his Subjects the Eaſt *Angles* to reſiſt the *Mercian* King *Penda*, and refuſing to uſe any other weapon but only a white wand, was in a Battel by him ſlain. The ſeventh King was *Anna*, who after Thirteen years Reign, was alſo ſlain by *Penda* the *Mercian* King. This King *Anna* was memorable chiefly for the holineſs of his Children, of whom his Son *Erkenwald* was Biſhop of *London*, and built the Abby of *Barking*, near *London*. His Eldeſt Daughter, *Etheldred*, was twice married, and yet continued a Virgin ſtill, and at laſt became a Nun, and is remembred to poſterity by the name of St. *Audrie*. His ſecond Daughter named *Sexburgh*, his third named *Ethelburg*, his fourth (a natural daughter) named *Withburg*, all entred into Monaſteries, and are Canonized all for Saints. The fourteenth King was *Ethelbert*, a Learned and Religious Prince, who being invited by *Offa* the *Mercian* King to marry *Elfred* his daughter, came for that purpoſe to *Offa*'s Court, then ſeated at *Sutton Walleys*, in the County of *Hereford*, and there by him was cruelly murthered: In whoſe memorial notwithſtanding, he afterward built a fair Church at *Hereford*, the Cathedral of that See, as though he could expiate a Murther of the Living, by a Monument to the dead, and were not rather a Monument of his own Impiety. The fifteenth King was *Edmund*, who aſſaulted by the *Danes* for his Poſſeſſions, was more aſſaulted for his Profeſſion; for continuing conſtant in his Chriſtian Faith, thoſe Pagans firſt beat him with bats, then ſcourged him with whips, and laſtly bound him to a ſtake, and with their arrows ſhot him to death, whoſe body was buried at the Town where *Sigebert* the Eaſt *Anglian* King, one of his Predeceſſors, had built a Church, and where afterward (in honour of him) was built another moſt ſpacious, of a wonderful frame of Timber, and the name of the Town upon the occaſion of his burial there called to this day St. *Edmundsbury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Daniſh* King burnt to aſhes: But when his Son *Canutus* had gotten poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Crown, terrified with a Viſion of the ſeeming St. *Edmund*, in a religious devotion to expiate his Father's Sacriledge, he built it anew moſt ſumptuouſly, and offered his own Crown upon the Martyrs Tomb. After the death of this *Edmund*, the Eaſt *Angles* Country was poſſeſt by the *Danes*, and ſo continued the ſpace of fifty years, until that *Edmund*, ſurnamed the Elder, expelled thoſe *Danes*, and made that Kingdom a Province to the Weſt *Saxons*.

Oxford or *Cambridge* founded.

The Abby of *Barking* built.

Etheldred twice married, and yet a Virgin ſtill.

Ethelbert treacherouſly murthered by King *Offa*.

The Cathedral of *Hereford* built.

St. *Edmundsbury* founded.

By that which hath been ſaid, it plainly appears, by what degrees the *Britains* loſt, and the *Saxons* got the whole poſſeſſion of this Iſland. For after that *Vortigern*, in the year 455. had called in the *Saxons*, every *Britain* King that ſucceeded him, loſt ſome part or other of it to the *Saxons*, till at laſt in the year 689. *Cadwallader* the laſt *Britain* King loſt all; and then the *Saxon* Kings ſtriving amongſt themſelves for Soveraignty, they ſtill gained one upon another, till at laſt in the year 818. *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons* reduced them all under his Subjection, and then cauſed all the South of the Iſland to be called *England*, according to the *Angles* of whom himſelf came: After whom they were no longer properly called *Saxon* Kings, but Kings of *England*;

When firſt called *England*.

land, and ſo continued till the *Danes* in the year 1017. made an interruption; of whoſe ſucceſſion now comes the time to ſpeak.

Of the Saxons that Reigned ſole Kings of this Iſland, and may properly be called Engliſh *Kings.*

EGBERT the Eighteenth King of the Weſt *Saxons*, is now become the firſt of the Kings of *England*, in whoſe time the *Danes* began firſt to infeſt the Land; as thinking they might do as much againſt the *Saxons*, as the *Saxons* had done againſt the *Britains*; but though they made divers Invaſions, and did great ſpoil, yet they were ſtill repelled. This King Reigned ſix and thirty years, and dying in the year 836. was buried at *Wincheſter*. Of his Iſſue, his Daughter *Edith* was made Governeſs of a Monaſtery of Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her Brother had given her, called *Polleſworth*, ſituate in *Arden*, in the North part of the Country of *Warwick*, where ſhe died and was buried, and the Place in memory of her called St. *Ediths* of *Polleſworth*.

The *Danes* begin to infeſt *England*.

St. *Ediths* of *Polleſworth*, why ſo called.

To *Egbert* ſucceeded his Son *Ethelwolph*, who in his youth was ſo addicted to a Religious life, that he was firſt made Deacon, and after Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but his Father dying, he was intreated by his People to take upon him the Crown, and by Pope *Gregory* the fourth was to that end abſolved of his Vow. His Reign was infeſted with many and great invaſions of the *Danes*, to whom notwithſtanding he gave incredible overthrows. In the time of his Reign, remembring his former Religious Profeſſion, he ordained, That Riches and Lands due to the Holy Church, ſhould be free from all Tribute or Regal Services, and in great devotion went himſelf to *Rome*, where he lived a year: Confirmed the grant of *Peter*-pence, and agreed beſides to pay yearly to *Rome* three hundred marks. Returning home through *France*, and being a Widower, he there married *Judith*, the beautiful daughter of *Charles* the Bald, then Emperor; in honour of whom in his own Court, he ever placed her in a Chair of Eſtate, with all other Majeſtical complements of a Queen, contrary to the Law of the Weſt *Saxons* formerly made; which ſo much diſpleaſed his Lords, that for it they were ready to depoſe him: But howſoever he lived not long after, having reigned one and twenty years. His youngeſt Son *Neote* was much addicted to Learning, and was one of the Divinity Readers in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and founded a Monaſtery in *Cornwal*, which of him was called *Neoteſtock*; and being dead his body was interred in the County of *Huntington*, at a place then called *Arnulphsbury*, and afterward, in regard of his interment, St. *Neotes*, and now St. *Nedes*. This King was famous for having four Sons, all of them were Kings of this Land ſucceſſively.

Church-lands free from Tribute.

Peter-pence confirmed.

St. *Nedes* in *Huntingtonſhire*, why ſo called.

Firſt after him Reigned his eldeſt Son *Ethelbald*, in the year 857. who to his eternal ſhame, took to Wife *Judith* his Father's Widow, reigned about two years, and dying, was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorſetſhire*, at that time the Epiſcopal See. From this *Judith*, Married afterward to the Earl of *Flanders*, after divers deſcents, came *Maude* the Wife of *William* the Conqueror, from whom are deſcended all our Kings ever ſince.

K. *Ethelbald* marries his Fathers widow.

Next to the eldeſt, reigned his ſecond Son *Ethelbert*; all whoſe Reign, which was only five years, was perpetually diſquieted with Invaſions of the *Danes*, which yet were at laſt repelled. He died in the year 866. and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorſetſhire*.

The *Danes* invade *England* again.

Next to the ſecond, Reigned his third Son *Ethelred*, whoſe Reign was more diſquieted with the *Danes* than any other before: For they invading the Land, under the leading of *Hungar*, and *Hubba*, ſpoiled all the Country as they went, not ſparing Religious places; amongſt other, the goodly Monaſteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, they laid level with the ground: The Monks and Nuns they Murthered or Raviſhed: At which time a rare Example of Chaſtity and Fortitude was ſeen in the Nuns of *Coldingham*: For to avoid the barbarous Pollutions of theſe Pagans, they deformed themſelves by cutting off their upper Lips and Noſes: Nine Battels in one year this King fought with the *Danes*, in moſt of them victorious; but at laſt received a wound whereof he died, and was buried in the Church at *Wimborn* in *Dorſetſhire*.

Monaſteries demoliſhed by the *Danes*.

The Nuns of *Coldingham* their Chaſtity.

Next to the third, Reigned his fourth Son *Alfred*, in whoſe time came over greater ſwarms of *Danes* than ever before, and had now got footing in the North, the Weſt, and South parts of this Iſland, leaving this King nothing of all his great Monarchy, but only *Somerſet*, *Hampton*, and *Wiltſhire*; and not theſe neither altogether free; ſo that he was forced ſometimes to fly into the Fens and Mariſh grounds to ſecure himſelf; where he lived by Fiſhing and Fowling, and hunting of wild Beaſts, till at laſt learning policy from adverſity, and gathering courage from miſery, he ventured in the habit of a common Minſtrel to enter the *Danes* Camp; where having viewed the manner of their encamping, and obſerved their ſecurity, he returned back, ſhewing his Lords in what condition he found them. Whereupon ſetting upon them at unawares, he not only made of them a great ſlaughter, but brought upon them a greater terror; for preſently upon this the *Danes* ſue for peace, and deliver Hoſtages for performance of theſe conditions: That their King ſhould receive Baptiſm, and their great Army depart quietly out of the Land. But though upon this agreement they departed for the preſent into *France*, yet the year following they returned with greater Forces, forraging all parts of the Country in moſt cruel manner, though ſtill encountred by this Valorous Prince, till he ended his life in the year 901. after he had Reigned nine and twenty years. The Virtues of this King, if they were not incredible, they were at leaſt admirable, whereof theſe may be inſtances. The day and night containing four and twenty hours

K. *Alfreds* Policy againſt the *Danes*.

K. *Alfreds* Virtues.

hours, he deſigned equally three ſpecial uſes, obſerving them by the burning of a Taper ſet in his Chappel (there being at that time no other way of diſtinguiſhing them). Eight hours he ſpent in Contemplation, Reading, and Prayers: Eight in proviſion for himſelf, his health and recreation, and the other eight in the affairs of the Commonwealth and State. His Kingdom likewiſe he divided into Shires, Hundreds and Tithings: Ordaining that no man might remove out of his Hundred without ſecurity: By which courſe he ſo ſuppreſſed Thieves and Robbers, which had formerly encreaſed by the long Wars, that it is ſaid a boy or a girl might openly carry a bag of Gold or Silver, and carry it ſafely all the Countrey over: Beſides his great piety, he was alſo learned, and as far as it might be a commendation in a Prince, a skilful Muſician, and excellent Poet. All former Laws he cauſed to be ſurveyed, and made choice of the beſt, which he tranſlated into the *Engliſh* tongue; as alſo the Paſtoral of St. *Gregory*, the Hiſtory of *Bede*, and *Boetius* his Conſolation of Philoſophy; the *Pſalms* of *David* likewiſe he began to tranſlate, but died before he could finiſh it. And ſo great a love he had to learning, that he made a Law, that all Freemen of the Kingdom poſſeſſing two Hides of Land, ſhould bring up their Sons in Learning, till they were fifteen years of age at leaſt, that ſo they might be trained to know God, to be men of underſtanding, and to live happily. His Buildings were many, both for God's ſervice, and other publick uſe: As at *Edlenſey* a Monaſtery, at *Winchester* a new Minſter, and at *Shaftesbury* a houſe of Nuns; whereof he made his Daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbeſs; but his foundation of the Univerſity of *Oxford* exceeded all the reſt: Which he began in the year 895, and to furniſh it with able Scholars, drew thither out of *France*, *Grimbaldus* and *Scotus*, and out of *Wales Aſſer* (who wrote his life) whoſe Lectures he honoured often with his own preſence: And for a ſtock of Frugality, he made a Survey of the Kingdom, and had all the particulars of his Eſtate Regiſtred in a Book, which he kept in his Treaſury at *Winchester*. He Reigned ſeven and twenty years, and dying was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Peter* at *Winchester*, though removed afterwards into the Church of the new Monaſtery, without the North-Gate of the City called *Hyda*. His wife *Elſewith* founded a Monaſtery of Nuns at *Winchester*, and was there buried. Their Second daughter *Ethelgeda*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity; and by her Fathers appointment was made a Nun of *Shaftesbury*, in the County of *Dorſet*, in the Monaſtery founded there by him, who is alſo accounted the founder of the Town it ſelf.

He divides the Kingdom into Shires.

His love to learning.

Oxford founded.

Shaftesbury by whom founded.

King *Alfred* being deceaſed, his Son *Edward* (called *Edward* the Elder) ſucceeded: Not ſo Learned as his Father; but in Valour his equal, and ſuperior in Fortune; For firſt he overcame his Couſin *Ethelwald*, who aſpir'd to the Crown; then the *Danes*, whoſe chief Leader he ſlew in Battel; laſtly the *Welch*, but theſe laſt more by humility, ſhewed to their Prince *Leolyn*, than by force of Arms. But yet he muſt not have all the glory of his time: Some muſt be imparted to his ſiſter *Elfleda*; who being Married to *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, had by him a Daughter, but with ſo grievous pains in her Travel, that ever after ſhe refuſed the Nuptial bed of her Husband, ſaying, it was a fooliſh pleaſure that brought with it ſo exceſſive pains: And thereupon after her Husbands death, made choice to follow the Wars; aſſiſting her Brother both againſt the *Welch*, and againſt the *Danes*, whom ſhe brought to be at her diſpoſing. Dying, ſhe was buried at *Gloceſter*, in the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*, which her Husband and her ſelf had built. King *Edward* himſelf, after four and twenty years Reign, deceaſed at *Foringdon* in *Barkſhire*, in the year 924. and was buried in the new Monaſtery of *Winchester*, which his Father and himſelf wholly finiſhed: Having had by his three Wives, ſix Sons and nine Daughters, of whom his Eldeſt Son *Athelſtan* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, whom his Grandfather King *Alfred* had with his own hands Knighted in an extraordinary manner; putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. His Second Son *Elfred* he ſo loved, that he cauſed him to be Crowned King with himſelf, which yet he enjoyed but a ſhort time, being taken away by death. His third Son *Elfeward*, preſently upon his Fathers death died himſelf alſo. His fourth Son *Edwyn*, was by his Brother *Athelſtan*, out of jealouſie of State, put into a little Pinnace, without either Tackle or Oars, accompanied only with one Page; with grief whereof, the young Prince leaped into the Sea, and drowned himſelf. His fifth and his ſixth Sons, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, came in ſucceſſion to be Kings of *England*. Of his Daughters, the Eldeſt *Editha*, was Married to *Sitbricke* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*; and he deceaſing, ſhe entred into a Monaſtery which ſhe began at *Tamworth* in *Warwickſhire*, and there died. His ſecond Daughter *Elfleda* took upon her the Vow of Virginity, in the Monaſtery of *Ramſey*, in the County of *Southampton*, where ſhe died and was interred. His third Daughter *Engina*, was firſt Married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*; and after his deceaſe, to *Herbert* Earl of *Vermandois*. His fourth Daughter *Ethelheld*, became a Nun in the Monaſtery of *Wilton*, which was ſometime the head Town, giving name to the whole County of *Wiltſhire*, and anciently called *Edandon*. That we may ſee in theſe firſt times of Religion, when there was leaſt knowledge, there was moſt devotion. His fifth Daughter *Edhold*, was Married to *Hugh*, ſurnamed the Great Earl of *Paris*, and Conſtable of *France*. And *Edgith* his ſixth Daughter to *Otho*, the Emperor of the Weſt, ſurnamed the Great. His ſeventh Daughter *Elgiva* was Married to a Duke of *Italy*. His Eight *Edgiva* to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitan* in *France*.

Elfleda forſaketh the marriage bed to follow the Wars.

Knighting in an extraordinary manner.

Wilton the head Town of *Wiltſhire*.

After the death of King *Edward*, his Eldeſt Son *Athelſtan* ſucceeded, and was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey*, by *Athelmus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 924. The beginning of whoſe Reign was moleſted with the Treaſon of one *Elfred* a Nobleman; who being apprehended and ſent to *Rome* to purge himſelf, and there denying the act upon his Oath, fell ſuddenly down, and within three days died, to the eternal terror of all perjured perſons. Preſently upon this,

Perjury puniſhed by the Divine hand.

other diſaſter befel King *Athelſtan* for having cauſed his Brother *Edwyn*'s death, (as before is ſhewed) chiefly procured by his Cup-bearers ſuggeſtions; it happened not long after, that his Cup-bearer in his Service at a Feſtival, ſtumbling with one foot, and recovering himſelf with the other, and ſaying merrily, *See how one Brother helps another*; his words put the King in remembrance of his Brother, whoſe death he had cauſed, and with remorſe thereof not only cauſed his Cup-bearer to be put to death, but did alſo ſeven years penance; and built the two Monaſteries of *Middleton* and *Michelneſs*, in the County of *Dorſet*, in expiation of his offence. This King ordained many good Laws, and thoſe to bind as well the Clergy as the Laity; amongſt which, one was the attachment of Felons that ſtole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old. Felons puniſhed. Of this King there is one Act related that may ſeem ridiculous; another that may ſeem miraculous: For what more ridiculous than that going to viſit the Tomb of St. *John* of *Beverly*, and having nothing elſe of worth to offer, he offered his Knife in Devotion to the Saint! Yet the miraculous is more apparent; For going to encounter the *Danes*, and praying to God for good ſucceſs, he prayed withal that God would ſhew ſome ſign of his rightful cauſe; and thereupon ſtriking with his Sword, he ſtruck it an ell deep into a hard Stone, which ſtood ſo cloven a long time after: But whether this be true or no, this certainly is true, that he obtained many great Victories againſt the *Danes*, againſt the *Scots*, againſt the *Iriſh*, and againſt the *Welch*, whoſe Princes he brought to be his tributaries, entring Covenant at *Hereford* to pay him yearly twenty pound weight of Gold, three hundred of Silver, and five and twenty hundred head of Cattel; beſides a certain number of Hawks and Hounds. Laſtly, he joined *Northumberland* to the reſt of his Monarchy, and enlarged his dominions beyond any of his Predeceſſors: Which made all neighbouring Princes to ſeek his friendſhip, and to gratify him with rare preſents, as *Hugh* King of *France* ſent him the Sword of *Conſtantine* the Great, in the Hilt whereof was one of the Nails which faſtned Chriſt to his Croſs: He ſent him alſo the Spear of *Charles* the Great, reputed to be the ſame that pierced Chriſt's ſide; as alſo part of the Croſs whereon Chriſt ſuffered, and a piece of the Thorny Crown put upon his Head. Likewiſe *Otho* the Emperor, who had Married his Siſter, ſent him a Veſſel of precious Stones, artificially made, wherein were ſeen Landskips with Vines, Corn and Men, all of them ſeeming ſo artificially to move as they were growing and alive. Likewiſe the King of *Norway* ſent him a goodly Ship with a gilt Stern, purple Sails, and the Deck garniſhed all with Gold. Of theſe accounted holy Reliques, K. *Athelſtan* gave part to the Abby of Saint *Swithin* in *Winchester*, and the reſt to the Monaſtery of *Malmeſbury*, whereof *Adelm* was the Founder, and his Tutelar Saint. He new built the Monaſteries of *Winton*, *Michelneſs*, and *Middleton*; Founded Saint *Germans* in *Cornwal*, Saint *Petrocus* at *Bodmyn*, and the Priory of *Pilton*; new walled and beautified the City of *Exeter*, and enriched

A miracle of King *Athelſtan*.

King *Athelſtan* makes *Wales* tributary.

Holy Reliques ſent to King *Athelſtan*.

either with Jewels or Lands every ſpecial Abby of the Land. But the chiefeſt of his works for the ſervice of God and good of his Subjects, was the tranſlation of the Bible into the *Saxon* Tongue, which was then the Mother Tongue of the Land. The Bible tranſlated into the *Saxons* Tongue. He reigned fifteen years, died at *Gloceſter*, and was buried at *Malmeſbury* in the year 940. having never been married.

After the death of *Athelſtan*, his Brother *Edmund*, the fifth Son of his Father, ſucceeded, and was Crowned at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*: but no ſooner was the Crown ſet upon his head, but the *Danes* were upon his back, and in *Northumberland* made inſurrections; whom yet he not only repreſſed in that part, but took from them the Towns of *Lincoln*, *Leiceſter*, *Darby*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*; compelling them withal to receive Baptiſm, and to become his Subjects, ſo as the Country was wholly his as far as *Humber*. *Cumberland* alſo, which had been an entire Kingdom of it ſelf, and was now aided by *Leolyn* King of *Southwales*, he utterly waſted, and gave it *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* to hold of him by Fealty. After his returning home, he ſet himſelf to ordain Laws for the good of his People, which Maſter *Lambert* hath ſince tranſlated into Latin. But after all his noble Acts both in War and Peace, he came at laſt to a lamentable end; for at his Mannor of *Pucklekerks* in the County of *Gloceſter*, interpoſing himſelf to part a Fray between two of his Servants, he was thruſt through the body, and ſo wounded that he died; or as the *Saxon* Annals relate, was ſlain by one *Leof* a noted Thief, whom meeting at a Feaſt among his Nobles after he had baniſh'd him the Court, he fell upon in great rage: He was buried at *Glaſtenbury* after he had Reigned five years and ſeven months; leaving behind him two young Sons, *Edwyn* and *Edgar*.

K. *Edmund* compels the *Danes* to receive Baptiſm.

His good Laws.

His unfortunate end.

King *Edmund* dying, his brother *Edred* in the minority of his Nephews was Crowned at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the year 946. Not as Protector, (it ſeems that kind of Authority was not yet come in uſe) but as King himſelf, though with purpoſe to reſign when the right Heir ſhould come of age; which at this time needed not; for while the right Heir was ſcarce yet fourteen years old, he reſigned to him the Kingdom, by reſigning his Life to Nature after he had twice repreſſed the rebelling *Northumbrians*, and twice forgiven their Rebelling, which yet was not a ſimple Rebellion; for they had ſent for *Anlafe* the *Dane* out of *Ireland*, and made him their King: which place for four years he held; and then weary of his Government, they thruſt him out, and took one *Henricus* to be their King, whom not long after they put down alſo; and then partly allured by the lenity of King *Edred*, and partly forced by his Arms, they ſubmit themſelves to him, and ask forgiveneſs, to whom he, as a merciful Prince, grants an Act of Oblivion, and received them again into protection. This Prince was ſo devout and humble, that he ſubmitted his body to be chaſtiſed at the will of *Dunſtan* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, and committed all his Treaſure and Jewels to his cuſtody. The ſtately Abby of *Mich* at *Abington* near *Oxford*, built by King *Ina*, but deſtroyed by the *Danes*, he newly re-edified, endowing it with

K. *Edred*'s devotion.

Revenues

Revenues and Lands, the Charters whereof he confirmed with Seals of Gold. He ordained Saint *Germans* in *Cornwal*, to be a Biſhops See, which there continued, till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Epiſcopal See of *Kyrton* in *Devonſhire*; both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward* the Confeſſor tranſlated to the City of *Exeter*. He left behind him two Sons, *Elfred*, and *Bertferd*, and was buried in the old Minſter, without the City of *Wincheſter*, whoſe bones with other Kings are to this day preſerved in a gilt Coffer, fixed upon the Wall, in the South-ſide of the Quire.

Exeter made the Epiſcopal See

After *Edred*, not any of his Sons, but his Nephew *Edwyn*, the Eldeſt Son of King *Edmund*, ſucceeded, and was anointed and Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 955. This Prince, though ſcarce fourteen years old, and in age but a child, yet was able to commit ſin as a man; for upon the very day of his Coronation, and in ſight of his Lords, as they ſate in Council, he ſhamefully abuſed a Lady of great Eſtate, and his near Kinſwoman; and to mend the matter, ſhortly after ſlew her Husband, the more freely to enjoy his inceſtuous pleaſure. And whether for this infamous fact, or for thruſting the Monks out of the Monaſteries of *Malmesbury*, and *Glaſtenbury*, and placing Married Prieſts in their room, as alſo for baniſhing *Dunſtan* the holy Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* out of the Realm, a great part of his Subjects hearts was ſo turned againſt him, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted, and ſwore Fealty to his younger Brother *Edgar*; with grief whereof, after four years Reign, he ended his life, and was buried in the Church of the new Abby of *Hide*, at *Wincheſter*.

K. Edwins ſhameful fact at his Coronation.

After *Edwyn*, ſucceeded his younger Brother *Edgar*, at the age of ſixteen years; but his Coronation, when and where, and by whom, is ſo uncertain, that ſome ſay he was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the firſt year of his Reign; others ſay not till the twelfth, and *William* of *Malmesbury* not till the thirtieth. Another Chronicle ſaith, in his Eleventh year; and that in the City of *Bathe*, by the hands of *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This King by reaſon of the tranquility of his Reign, was ſurnamed the *Peaceable*; for as he was ſomething inclined to the *Danes*, ſo the *Danes* never offered to ſtir in all his time; and as for the *Saxons*, they acknowledged him their ſole Soveraign, without diviſion of Provinces or Titles. His Acts were ſome Virtuous, ſome Politick, ſome Juſt, ſome Pious; and yet all theſe not without ſome mixture of Vice. To repreſs drunkenneſs, which the *Danes* had brought in, he made a Law, ordaining a ſize, by certain pins in the pot, with penalty to any that ſhould preſume to drink deeper than the mark. It was a politick device which he uſed for the deſtruction of Wolves that in his days did great annoyance to the Land: For the tribute impoſed on the *Princes* of *Wales*, by King *Athelſtan*, he wholly remitted, appointing in lieu thereof a certain number of Wolves yearly to be paid; whereof the Prince of *North-Wales*, for his part was to pay three hundred; which continued for three years ſpace; And in the fourth year, there was not a Wolf to be found; and ſo the tribute ceaſed. He had in his Navy-Royal three thouſand and ſix hundred Ships, which he divided into three parts, appointing every one of them to a ſeveral Quarter, to ſcour the Seas, and to ſecure the Coaſts from Pirates: and leſt his Officers might be careleſs, or corrupted, he would himſelf in perſon ſail about all the Coaſts of his Kingdom every Summer. It was a notable Act of Juſtice, that in all his Circuits and Progreſſes through the Country, he would take ſpecial account of the demeanor of his Lords; and ſpecially of his Judges; whom he ſeverely puniſhed, if he found them Delinquents. Wars he had none in all his Reign, only towards his end the *Welchmen* moved ſome Rebellion; againſt whom he went with a mighty Army, and chaſtiſed the Authors: But when his Soldiers had gotten great ſpoils, and made prey upon the innocent Country people, he commanded them to reſtore it all back again; which, if it made ſome few *Engliſh* angry, it made the whole Country of the *Welch* well pleaſed, and ſound forth his praiſes. His pious Acts were, that he built and prepared ſeven and forty Monaſteries, and meant to have made them up fifty, but was prevented by Death. But now his mixture of Vice marred all; eſpecially being a Vice oppoſite to all thoſe Virtues, which was Laſciviouſneſs. For firſt, he deflowred a Sacred Nun, called *Wolfchilde*; on whom yet he begot a Saint, the chaſt *Edyth*. After her another Virgin, called *Ethelfleda*; for her excellent beauty ſurnamed the White, on whom he begot his Eldeſt Son *Edward*; for which fact he did ſeven years penance enjoined him by the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*. After this he chanced to hear of a Virgin, Daughter to a Weſtern Duke, exceedingly praiſed for her beauty; and coming to *Andover*, commanded her to his Bed. But the Mother, tender of her Daughters honour, brought in the dark her Maid to him; who in the morning making haſt to riſe, and the King not ſuffering her to depart, ſhe told him what great work ſhe had to do, and how ſhe ſhould incur her Ladies diſpleaſure if it were not done; by which words the King perceiving the deceit, turned it to a jeſt: But ſo well liked her company, that he kept himſelf true to her ever after, till he Married. But now his Marriage it ſelf happened by a greater vice than any of theſe; for hearing of the admirable beauty of *Elfrida*, the only Daughter of *Ordangus*, Duke of *Devonſhire*, Founder of *Taveſtock* Abby in that Country, he ſent his great Favorite Earl *Ethelwold*, (who could well judge of beauty) to try the truth thereof; with Commiſſion, that if he found her ſuch as fame reported, he ſhould ſeize her for him, and he would make her his Queen. The young Earl upon ſight of the Lady, was ſo ſurprized with her love, that he began to woo for himſelf, and got her Fathers good will, ſo as the King would give his conſent. Hereupon the Earl poſted to the King, relating to him that the Maid was fair indeed, but nothing anſwerable to the Fame that went of her; yet deſired the King that he might Marry her, as being her Father's Heir, thereby to raiſe his Fortunes. The King conſented, and

King *Edgars* Navy-Royal of 3600. Ships.

Soldiers made to reſtore their Booties.

King *Edgar* builds ſeven and forty Monaſteries.

King *Edgars* laſciviouſneſs.

A treacherous Favorite.

King *Edgar* called the *Peaceable*.

A Law to repreſs drunkenneſs.

How Wolves came to be deſtroyed in *England*.

the Marriage was ſolemnized ſoon after, the fame of her beauty began to ſpread more than before; ſo as the King much doubting that he had been abuſed, meant to try the truth himſelf, and thereupon taking occaſion of hunting in the Dukes Park, came to his houſe; whoſe coming *Ethelwold* ſuſpecting, acquainted his Wife with the wrong he had done both her, and the King; and therefore to prevent the Kings diſpleaſure, intreated her by all the perſuaſions he could uſe, to cloath her ſelf in ſuch attire, as might be leaſt fit to ſet her forth: But ſhe conſidering that now was the time to make the moſt of her beauty, and longing to be a Queen, would not be acceſſary to her own wrong, but decked her ſelf in her richeſt Ornaments, which ſo improved her beauty, that the King at the firſt ſight was ſtruck with admiration, and meant to be revenged of his perfidious Favourite; yet diſſembling his paſſion, till he could take him at advantage, he then with a Javelin ran him through; and having thereby made fair *Elfrid* a Widow, took her to be his Wife. This King founded the Monaſtery of *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*, Reigned ſixteen years, lived ſeven and thirty, and with great Funeral pomp was buried in the Abby of *Glaſtenbury*. He had Children by his firſt Wife *Ethelſleda*, one Son named *Edward*, and by his ſecond Wife *Elfrid*, two Sons, one named *Edmund*, who died young, the other *Ethelred*. He had alſo one natural Daughter named *Edgyth*, by a Lady named *Wolfchilde*, the Daughter of *Wolholme*, the Son of *Birding*, the Son of *Neſting*; which two latter bear in their names the memory of their Fortunes; the laſt of them being found in an Eagles neſt by King *Alfred* as he was a hunting. This *Edgyth* built the Monaſtery and Church of Saint *Dennis* at *Wilton*, and was there buried.

Ramſey Monaſtery in *Hampſhire* founded.

A child found in an Eagles neſt: and thereof called *Neſting*.

After the death of King *Edgar* ſucceeds his Son *Edward*, but not without ſome oppoſition; for Queen *Elfrid* combined with divers of the Lords to make her Son *Ethelred* King, ſaying, that Prince *Edward* was illegitimate; on the other ſide, the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, and the Monks ſtood for *Edward*, abetting his Title as being lawfully born; but while the Council was aſſembled to argue their Rights, the Archbiſhop came in with his Banner and Croſs, and not ſtaying for debating *de Jure*, *de facto* preſented Prince *Edward* for their lawful King; and the Aſſembly conſiſting moſt of Clergy-men, drew the approbation of the reſt; and thereupon Prince *Edward* was admitted, being but twelve years of age, and was Crowned King at *Kingſton* upon *Thames* by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, in the year 975. In the beginning of his Reign, it fell into debate whether married Prieſts were to be allowed to live in Monaſteries upon the Revenues of the Church. The *Mercian* Duke *Alferus*, favouring the cauſe of the married Prieſts, deſtroyed the Monaſteries in his Province, caſt out the Monks, and reſtored again the ancient Revenues to the Prieſts and their Wives. On the other ſide, *Edelwyn* Duke of the Eaſt *Angles*, and *Brynoth* Earl of *Suſſex*, who ſtood for the Monks, caſt married Prieſts out of their Provinces. The matter being debated in a Council at *Weſtminſter*, the Monks cauſe was like to have the foil, till he had referred to the Rood, placed on the Refectory Wall where the Council ſate: For to this great Oracle Saint *Dunſtan* deſired them devoutly to pray, and to give diligent ear for an anſwer; when ſuddenly a voice was heard to ſay, *God forbid it ſhould be ſo*, *God forbid it ſhould be ſo*. This was thought Authority ſufficient to ſuppreſs the Prieſts, till they perſuaded the people, that this was but a cunning practice of the Monks, in placing behind the wall a man of their own, who through a Trunk uttered theſe words in the mouth of the Rood. Whereupon another Aſſembly was appointed at *Cleve* in *Wiltſhire*, whither repaired the Prelates, with moſt of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. The Synod being ſet, and the matter at the height of diſcuſſing, it happened that the joiſts of the Room where the Synod was held, ſuddenly brake, and the floor with all the people thereon fell down, whereof many were hurt, and ſome ſlain; only the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, then Preſident, and mouth for the Monks, remained unhurt; which whether it were done by practice, or were miraculous, it ſerved the Monks turn for juſtifying their cauſe, and married Prieſts were thereupon diſcarded. It were infinite, and indeed ridiculous, to ſpeak of all the Miracles reported to be done by this Saint *Dunſtan*, which may be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle.

Married Prieſts excluded from living in Monaſteries, by what verdict.

But now a moſt lamentable diſaſter comes to be remembred: For King *Edward*, hunting one time in the Iſland of *Purbeck*, not far from *Corfe Caſtle*; where his Mother-in-Law Queen *Elfrid*, with his Brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then reſiding, he out of his love to both, would needs himſelf alone go viſit them; where the cruel woman, out of ambition to bring her own Son to the Crown, cauſed one to run him into the back with a Knife, as he was drinking a Cup of Wine on Horſeback at his departing, who feeling himſelf hurt, ſet Spurs to his Horſe, thinking thereby to get to his company; but the wound being mortal, and he fainting through loſs of much blood, fell from his Horſe; but one foot being intangled in the Stirrup, he was thereby ruſully dragged up and down, through Woods and Lands; and laſtly left dead at *Corfes* Gate; for which untimely death, he was ever after called by the name of *Edward* the Martyr. He Reigned only three years and ſix months, and was buried firſt at *Wincheſter*, without all Funeral pomp; but after three years, by Duke *Alferus* removed, and with great ſolemnity interred in the Minſter of *Shaftsbury*. Queen *Elfrid*, to expiate this her bloody fact, built the two Monaſteries of *Almeſbury*, and *Worwel*, in the Counties of *Wiltſhire*, and *Southampton*, in which latter with great repentance ſhe lived till her death.

K. *Edward*'s lamentable end by the wickedneſs of his Mother-in-Law, and called the Martyr.

After the death of *Edward* the Martyr, dying at the age of ſixteen years, his half Brother *Ethelred*, at the age of twelve years, in the year 979. was Crowned King at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames* by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though much againſt his will; which King by reaſon of his backwardneſs in Action, was commonly called the Unready. At the Coronation of this Prince St. *Dunſtan* in a Prophetick ſpirit

K. *Ethelred* called the Unready.

ſpirit denounced on him and the Kingdom, the wrath and indignation of Almighty God in theſe words following; Becauſe (ſaith he) thou haſt aſpired to the Crown by the death of thy Brother whom thy Mother hath murthered; therefore hear the word of the Lord: *The Sword ſhall not depart from thy houſe, but furiouſly rage all the days of thy life, killing of thy ſeed, till ſuch time as thy Kingdom ſhall be given to a people whoſe cuſtoms and language the Nation thou now governeſt, know not. Neither ſhall thy ſin, the ſin of thy Mother, and the ſin of thoſe men who were partakers of her Counſels, and Executors of her wicked deſigns, be expiated, but by a long, and moſt ſevere vengeance.* Which prediction of the Holy Archbiſhop was ſeconded by Prodigies, and by the diſaſterous calamities which fell on him and his houſe, and the whole confirmed for truth. Beſides this, moſt remarkable are the propheſies of a holy man in the time of this King *Ethelred*. Before whoſe time, for two and twenty years paſt the *Danes* had lived as quiet intimates with the *Engliſh*: But whether weary of ſo long doing nothing, or finding now opportunity of doing ſomething, in the ſecond year of this King, they began to ſtir, and inviting from home, Forces who in ſeven Ships arrived upon the Coaſt of *Kent*, they ſpoiled all the Country, ſpecially the Iſle of *Thanet*, and continued this courſe of forraging the Kingdom, ſometimes in one part, and ſometimes in another, for eleven years together: Till at laſt, in the year 991. The King by advice of his Lords; of whom *Siricius* the now Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was chief, was contented to pay them ten thouſand pounds, upon condition they ſhould quietly depart the Realm. This ſerved the turn for the preſent, but was ſo far from ſatisfying them, that it did but give them the greater appetite; for the year following they came again, and that with a greater fleet than before, againſt whom the King prepared a competent Navy, and committed it to *Elfrick*, Earl of *Mercia*; but he proving treacherous (as indeed all other for the moſt part did whom the King imployed againſt the *Danes*, as with whom they were allianced in blood) the *Danes* ſo prevailed, that for the next compoſition they had ſixteen thouſand pounds given them, and a year after twenty thouſand; and ſo every year more and more, till it came at laſt to forty thouſand: By which means, the Land was emptied of all coin, and the *Engliſh* were brought ſo low, that they were fain to Till, and Ear the Ground, whilſt the *Danes* ſate idle, and eat the fruit of their labours, abuſing the Wives and Daughters of their Hoſts, where they lay, and yet in every place for very fear, were called *Lord Danes*; (which afterward became a word of deriſion when one would ſignify a lazy Lubbard). In this diſtreſſed ſtate, the King at laſt bethought himſelf of a courſe: He ſent forth a ſecret Commiſſion into every City within his Dominions, That at an appointed time they ſhould maſſacre all the *Danes* that were amongſt them: The day was the thirteenth of *November*, being the Feſtival of St. *Bricius*, in the year 1002. His command was accordingly performed, and with ſuch rigor, that in *Oxford* the *Danes* for refuge took into the Church of St. *Frideſwide*, as into a Sanctuary, when the *Engliſh* neither regarding place nor perſon, ſet the Church on fire, wherein many of the *Danes* were burnt, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. And who would not now think, but that *England* by this Fact had clean ſhaked off the *Daniſh* yoke for ever? Yet it proved clean otherwiſe: For the news of this maſſacre, adding a new edge of revenge, to the old edge of ambition, made the *Danes* ſharper ſet againſt the *Engliſh* than ever they had been before; ſo as the year following, their King *Sweyne*, with a mighty Navy entered the Country, raiſed and levelled with the ground the City of *Exeter*, all along from the Eaſt Gate to the Weſt: Againſt whom the King levied an Army, and made General over it the Earl *Edrick*, his great Favourite, whom he had created Duke of *Mercia*, and given him his Daughter *Edgith* in Marriage; yet all this great favour could not keep him from being treacherous; for being ſent Ambaſſador to the *Danes*, to mediate for peace, he revealed to them the weakneſs of the Land, and treacherouſly diſſuaded them from conſenting to any Truce. Upon this King *Ethelred* gave order, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land ſhould build a Ship, and every eight Hides find a compleat Armor furniſhed; yet all this great preparation came to nothing, but only to make a ſhow. After this, the King ſeeing no end of their Invaſions, nor promiſe kept upon any compoſition; (for three *Daniſh* Princes, with a great Fleet were now newly arrived) he intended to adventure once for all, and to commit his cauſe to God, by the fortune of a Battel. To which end he ſecretly gathered a mighty power, and coming unlooked for, when the Enemy was unprepared, he had certainly given an end to the Quarrel, if the wicked *Edrick* had not diſſuaded them from fighting, and put him into a cauſleſs fear, by forged tales. After this the *Danes* forraged many Countries, burnt *Oxford*, *Thetford*, and *Cambridge*; and laſtly, entered *Wiltſhire*, which was the ſeventh ſhire in number they had laid waſte like a Wilderneſs. The year after they make a new Expedition, and beſiege *Canterbury*; which by treaſon of a Church-man they won, took *Alphegus* the Archbiſhop, and ſlew nine hundred Monks, and men of Religion, beſides many Citizens, without all mercy; for they Tithed the people, ſlaying all by nines, and only reſerving the tenth to live; ſo that of all the Monks in the Town there were but four ſaved, and of the Lay-people, four thouſand eight hundred; by which account Maſter *Lambert* collecteth, that there died in this Maſſacre three and forty thouſand, and two hundred perſons. The Archbiſhop *Alphegus*, for that he refuſed to charge his Tenant with three thouſand pounds to pay for his Ranſom, they moſt cruelly ſtoned to death at *Greenwich*. *Turkillus* the leader of theſe Murtherers, took into his poſſeſſion all *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, over whom he tirannized in moſt ſavage manner; the reſt compounding with the *Engliſh* for eight thouſand pounds, quietly for a while ſojourned among them. The year following came King *Sweyne* again, and with a great Navy arrived in the mouth of *Humber*, and landed at *Gainsborough*, to whom the *Northum-*

The *Danes* having been long quiet, begin now to ſtir.

The *Danes* prevail, and are called *Lord-Danes*.

The *Danes* maſſacred.

In revenge whereof K. *Sweyne* the next year invades the Kingdom, and by the treachery of *Edrick*.

thumbrians, and the people of *Lindſey* yielded themſelves; ſo that now over all the North, from *Watling-ſtreet*, he Reigned Sole King, and exacted pledges of them for their further obedience. From the North he paſſed into the South, ſubduing all before him till he came to *London*, where he was ſo valiantly encountred by the *Londoners*, that he was glad to retire, in which retiring notwithſtanding he entred *Bathe*, where *Ethelmore* Earl of *Devonſhire*, with his Weſtern people, ſubmitted himſelf to him. Yet after this, between him and the *Engliſh* was ſtruck a fierce Battel, which had been with good ſucceſs, if the treachery of ſome in turning to the *Danes* had not hindred it. After this the *Danes* proceeded on victoriouſly, and had gotten moſt part of the Land, and even *London* alſo by ſubmiſſion: Whereupon the unfortunate King *Ethelred*, ſending his Wife *Emma*, with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, to her Brother Duke of *Normandy*, himſelf alſo the Winter following paſſed thither, leaving the *Danes* Lording it in his Realm. *Sweyne* now as an abſolute King extorted from the *Engliſh* both Victuals and Pay for his Soldiers; and demanding ſuch a Compoſition for preſerving of St. *Edmunds* Monaſtery in *Suffolk*, as the Inhabitants were not able, and therefore refuſed to pay: He thereupon threatned ſpoil, both to the Place, and to the Martyrs bones that were there interred; when ſuddenly in the midſt of his jollity (ſaith *Hovedon*) he cried out, that he was ſtruck by Saint *Edmund* with a Sword, being then in the midſt of his Lords, and no man ſeeing from whoſe hand it came; and ſo with great horror and torment, three days after, upon the third of *February*, he ended his life at *Thetford*, or (as others ſay) at *Gainsborough*. And now who would not think but this was a fair opportunity offered to the *Engliſh*, to free themſelves wholly from the *Daniſh* yoke? but when all was done, either croſſed by treachery, or fruſtrated by misfortune, nothing proſpered. It is true, upon this occaſion of *Sweyne's* death, King *Ethelred* returned out of *Normandy*; but at his coming *Canutus* the Son of *Sweyne*, had gotten the people of *Lindſey* to be at his devotion, and to find him both Horſe and Men, againſt their own King; ſo as *Ethelred* was now to encounter as well with his own Subjects as *Danes*, which he did ſo valiantly, that he made *Canutus* glad to return into *Denmark*, as utterly hopeleſs of any good to be done in *England*. And now one would certainly think the *Danes* had been removed Root and Branch out of *England*, and never like to trouble the Land any more; and indeed there was all the appearance of probability for it that could be. But it is a true ſaying, *That which will be, ſhall be, let all be done that can be.* For now *Turkil* the *Dane*, who had before revolted to King *Ethelred*, growing ſenſible of his fault, which was this, or no way to be redeemed; and tender of his Country-mens caſe, which was now or never to be helpt; with nine of his Ships ſailed into *Denmark*; and firſt excuſing himſelf to *Canutus* for his former defection, as though he had done it of purpoſe, to learn all advantages againſt the *Engliſh*, which now he could diſcover to him: He ſo prevailed with *Canutus* once again to try his fortune, that with a Navy of two hundred Ships he ſet ſail for *England*, and landed at *Sandwich*, where he gave the *Engliſh* a great overthrow, and paſſed victoriouſly through the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, and *Wilts*. When (*Ethelred* lying dangerouſly ſick at *Coſſam*) the managing of the War was committed to Prince *Edmund* his Son, who preparing to give the *Danes* Battel, had ſuddenly notice given him, that his Brother-in-Law *Edrick* meant to betray him into his Enemies hands, which made him ſuſpend his proceeding: And *Edrick* perceiving his deſign to be diſcovered, caſt off the Maſque, and with forty of the Kings Ships fled openly to the Enemy: And thereupon all the Weſt Countries ſubmitted themſelves unto *Canutus*. By this time King *Ethelred* having recovered his ſickneſs, prepared to go on with the Battel which his Son *Edmund* had intended; but his Forces being aſſembled, he likewiſe had ſuddenly notice given him, that his Subjects meant to betray him to the *Danes*. Hereupon he withdrew himſelf to *London*, as the place in which he moſt confided; where falling into a relapſe of his former ſickneſs, he ended his unfortunate days in the year 1016. when he had Reigned 37. years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, whoſe bones as yet remain in the North Wall of the Chancel, in a Cheſt of grey Marble, adjoining to that of *Sebba*, King of the Eaſt *Saxons*. He had by his two Wives eight Sons, and four Daughters; of whom his youngeſt named *Goda*, was Married to one *Walter de Maigne*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, by whom ſhe had a Son named *Rodolph*, which *Rodolph* had a Son named *Harold*, created afterward by King *William* the Conqueror Baron of *Sudley* in the County of *Gloceſter*, and Anceſtor to the Barons of that place ſucceeding, and of the Lord *Chandois* of *Sudley*, now being.

Ethelred being dead, his Third Son *Edmund*, called *Ironſide* (of his ability in enduring labour) but the Eldeſt living at his Fathers death, ſucceeded, and was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by *Levingus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1016. A great part of the *Engliſh* both feared and favoured, and indeed out of fear favoured *Canutus*; eſpecially the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, and ſware Fealty to him: But the *Londoners* ſtood firm to Prince *Edmund*, and were the principal Authors of his Election. *Canutus* before the death of King *Ethelred*, had beſieged the City, and now with a large Trench encompaſſed it: But the new King *Edmund* coming on, raiſed the ſiege, and made *Canutus* fly to the Iſle of *Sheppey*; where having ſtaid the Winter, the Spring following he aſſailed the Weſt of *England*, and at *Penham* in *Dorſetſhire* a Battel was fought, and the *Danes* diſcomfited. After this, in *Worceſterſhire*, at a place called *Sheroſtan*, another Battel was fought, where the *Danes* were like again to be diſcomfited: But the traiterous *Edrick* perceiving it, he cut off the Head of a Soldier like unto King *Edmund* both in Hair and Countenance, and ſhaking his bloody Sword, with the gaſping head, crying to the Army of the *Engliſh*, *Fly ye wretches, fly, and get away, for your King is ſlain; behold,*

K. *Sweyne* is ſtricken by the Divine Hand, for offering violence to St. *Edmund*, the Martyrs bones.

Canutus in deſpair returns into *Denmark*.

Is perſuaded by *Turkil* the *Dane* to return into *England*.

Edrick continues treacherous ſtill.

The Lord *Chandois* of *Sudely* from whom deſcended.

Edmund Iron-ſide Crowned King.

Drives *Canutus* from the ſiege of *London*.

Edrick treacherous ſtill.

behold, here is his head; but King *Edward* having notice of his treacherous ſtratagem, haſted to ſhew himſelf where he might beſt be ſeen; whoſe ſight ſo encouraged his men, that they had gotten that day a final victory, if night had not prevented them. Duke *Edrick* excuſes his Fact, as being miſtaken in the countenance of the Man, and deſirous to ſave the blood of the *Engliſh*; upon which falſe colour he was received into favour again. After this, *Canutus* ſecretly in the night brake up his Camp, and marched towards *London*, which in a ſort was ſtill beſieged by the *Daniſh* Ships: But King *Edmund* hearing of his departure, followed him, and with ſmall ado removed the Siege, and in triumphant manner entred the City. After this, near unto *Otford* in *Kent* was another great Battel fought, in which *Canutus* loſt four thouſand five hundred men, and King *Edmund* only ſix hundred; the reſt of the *Danes* ſaving themſelves by flight: Whom if King *Edmund* had purſued, it is thought that day had ended the Wars between theſe two Nations for ever. But the ever-traiterous *Edrick*, kept King *Edmund* from purſuing them, by telling him of Ambuſhes and other dangers: So as *Canutus* had leiſure to paſs over into *Eſſex*; but thither alſo King *Edmund* followed him; where at *Aſhdon*, three miles from *Saffron-Walden*, another Battel was fought, in which the *Danes* being at the point to be overthrown, the traiterous *Edrick* with all his Forces revolted to their ſide; by which treachery the *Engliſh* loſt the day. There died of King *Edmund*'s Nobility, Duke *Alfred*, Duke *Godwyn*, Duke *Athelwald*, Duke *Athelwyn*, Earl *Urchil*, *Colmuch* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Wolſey* Abbot of *Ramſey*, with many others. The remembrance of which Battel is retained to this day, by certain ſmall hills there remaining, whence have been digged the bones of men, armour, and horſe-bridles. After this at *Dereberſt*, near to the River *Severn*, another Battel was ready to be fought; when ſuddenly a certain Captain ſteps forth, and for ſaving of blood, uſed great perſuaſions, that either they ſhould try the Battel by ſingle Combat, or elſe divide the Kingdom betwixt them: Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entring into a ſmall Iſland called *Alney*, adjoining to the City of *Gloceſter*, in compleat Armour aſſailed each other, at firſt on Horſeback, and after on Foot: When *Canutus* having received a dangerous wound, and finding himſelf overmatched in ſtrength, deſired a Compromiſe, and with a loud voice uſed theſe words, What neceſſity ſhould move us, moſt valiant Prince, for obtaining of a Title, to endanger our lives? Were it not better to lay malice aſide, and condeſcend to a loving agreement? Let us therefore become ſworn Brothers, and divide the Kingdom between us. This motion was by King *Edmund* accepted; and thus was the Kingdom divided between theſe two Princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part which lies upon the Coaſt of *France*, and *Canutus* the reſt. But now Duke *Edrick* hath his laſt and greateſt act of treachery to play; for King *Edmund* being retired to a place for natures neceſſity, he thruſt from under the draught a ſharp Spear into his Body, and then cutting off his head preſented it to *Canutus* with theſe fawning words, *All hail, thou ſole Monarch now of* England; *for here behold the head of thy Co-partner, which for thy ſake I have adventured to cut off. Canutus*, though ambitious enough of ſovereignty, yet abaſhed at ſo diſloyal a fact, replied and vowed, That in reward of that ſervice, his own head ſhould be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom: Which ſoon after he performed; for by his command the falſe *Edrick*'s head was cut off, and placed upon the higheſt Gate of *London*. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* and *Huntington*, relate this murther to have been acted by *Edrick*'s own Son at the commandment of his Father: *William Malmesbury* writes, that the King was killed by two Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, hired by the ſame diſloyal *Edrick*; notwithſtanding *Roger Hoveden* reports that he died a natural death at *London*. The death of this King in this manner, ſome ſay was acted at *Oxford*; others, that he died of a natural ſickneſs in *London*; but howſoever he came to his death, his Reign was but only ſeven months, and his body was buried at *Glaſtenbury*, near to his Grandfather King *Edgar*. This King *Edmund* had by his Wife *Algyth* two Sons; the Eldeſt named *Edward*, ſurnamed the Out-law, becauſe he lived out of *England*, in *Hungary*, as a baniſhed man for fear of King *Canutus*: But when his Uncle King *Edward* the Confeſſor had obtained the Crown, he was recalled, and honorably entertained till he died. He married *Agatha*, Siſter to Queen *Sophia*, Wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and Daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the Second; by whom he had *Edgar*, ſurnamed *Atheling*, the right Heir of the *Engliſh* Crown, though he never enjoyed it. The ſecond Son of *Ironſide* was called after his Fathers name *Edmund*. King *Edmund* had alſo two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*, of whom the younger became a Veiled Nun at *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*; the Elder *Margaret*, after ſole Heir to the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third King of *Scotland*, from which Princely bed in a lineal Deſcent, our High and Mighty Monarch King *James* the firſt, doth in his moſt Royal Perſon unite the *Britains*, *Saxons*, *Norman*, and *Scotiſh* Imperial Crowns in one.

Edgar Atheling, his Father.

K. *James* deſcended from *Margaret* daughter of King *Edmund Ironſide*.

King *Edmund* and *Canutus* try the matter by a ſingle combat.

They divide the Kingdom between them.

Edrick treicherous ſtill, murthers K. *Edmund*.

Of the firſt DANISH *King in* England.

Canutus poſſeſt of the whole Kingdom.

CAnutus being poſſeſt of half the Kingdom by compoſition with King *Edward*, now after his death ſeized upon the whole, and to prevent all further queſtion, he called a Council of the *Engliſh* Nobility, wherein it was propounded, whether in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claim of Title to the Crown had been reſerved for King *Edmund*'s Brethren or Sons; to which (not daring to ſay otherwiſe) they abſolutely anſwered no, and thereupon took all of them the Oath of Allegiance to *Canutus*. Being thus cleared of all his oppoſites, he prepared with great ſolemnity for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Levingus* ſurnamed *Elſtane* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1017. being the firſt *Dane* that Reigned Monarch of *England*. But *Canutus* not thinking himſelf ſufficiently

ficiently ſafe, as long as any that might pretend were in the peoples eye, cauſed firſt *Edwin* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and Brother of *Edmund*, to abjure the Realm, who was yet afterward recalled, and treacherouſly murthered by his own men, and his body buried at *Tavеſtock* in *Devonſhire*. Next were the two Sons of *Edmund Ironſide*, *Edward*, and *Edmund*, whom to the end people might not ſee him ſhed the blood of Innocents, he ſent to his half Brother King of *Sueden* to be made away; but the King of *Sueden* more compaſſionate and noble than this jealous and cruel *Dane*, ſent the young *Princes* into *Hungary*, to *Salomon* (the King thereof) in whoſe Court they were brought up and preferred, as we have before mentioned. Then remained *Edward* and *Alfred*, the Sons of King *Ethelred*, and them their Mother Queen *Emma*, had ſent away before to her Brother the Duke of *Normandy*, there to be in ſafety; ſo as none of the Royal Blood was now left in the Land, to give to *Canutus* any fear of competition. After this he took to Wife the Virtuous Lady *Emma*, the Relict of King *Ethelred*, by which match he procured to himſelf three great benefits: One, that he won the love of the people by marrying a Lady whom they ſo intirely loved; another, that he got the Alliance of the Duke of *Normandy*, a neighbouring Prince of great power; the third, that by marrying the Mother, he ſecured himſelf againſt the Sons: As likewiſe Queen *Emma* was not unwillingly perſuaded to the match, upon agreement to make her Iſſue, if he had any by her, to inherit the Crown of *England*. And to win the love of the people more, he cauſed great numbers of his *Danes* who peſtered the Country, to return home, beſtowing amongſt them for their ſatisfaction, fourſcore and two thouſand pounds. And to win the love of the people yet more, he now ſet himſelf to the making of good Laws, in a grand Convention of his Nobles which he held at *Oxford*; whereof, for a Pattern of thoſe times, ſome that concern Religion, may not unfitly be here related. Firſt, for the celebration of Divine Service, it was ordained, that all Ceremonies tending to the encreaſe of Reverence and Devotion ſhould be uſed as need required. Secondly, that upon the Sabbath-day, all Publick Fairs, Markets, Synods, Huntings, and all ſecular actions ſhould be forborn, unleſs ſome urgent neceſſity ſhould require it. Thirdly, that every Chriſtian ſhould thrice in the year receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper. Fourthly, that if a Miniſter of an Altar killed a man, or committed any notorious crime, he ſhould be deprived both of his Order and Dignity. Fifthly, that a married woman convict of Adultery ſhould have her noſe and ears cut off. Sixthly, That a widow marrying within a twelve-month after Her Husbands deceaſe, ſhould loſe her Jointure. Theſe and many other good Laws were made, whereby the Kingdom remained, during all his time, in a moſt peaceable ſtate and government. In the third year of his Reign he heard how the *Vandals* taking advantage of his abſence, had entred *Denmark*, and annoyed his Subjects; whereupon with a great Army of *Engliſh* he paſſed over the Seas, and gave them Battel, but with ill ſucceſs the firſt day; when preparing for the next days Battel, the Earl *Godwyn*, who was the General of the *Engliſh*, ſecretly in the dead of the night ſet upon the *Vandals* Camp, and with a great ſlaughter of their Soldiers, made their two Princes, *Ulfus* and *Aulave*, to fly the Field. In the morning it was told *Canutus* that the *Engliſh* were fled, for that their ſtation was left, and not a man of them to be found; which did not a little trouble his Patience: But he going in perſon to ſee the truth, found the great overthrow the *Engliſh* had given, for which ſervice ever after he held the *Engliſh*, and eſpecially the *Earl Godwyn*, in great eſtimation. After this, returning home, he made a proſperous expedition againſt *Malcolme* King of *Scots*; and at laſt, in the fifteenth year of his Reign, wearied with the honourable troubles of the world, and out of devotion, he took a Journey to *Rome*, to viſit the Sepulcher of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, from whence he writ to the Biſhops and Nobility of *England*, that they ſhould carefully adminiſter Juſtice, and never ſeek to advance his profit by any undue ways, or with the detriment of any man. At his return from *Rome*, he built in *Eſſex* the Church of *Aſhdon*, where he got the Victory againſt King *Edmund*; in *Norfolk*, the Abby of St. *Benets*, which Saint he greatly reverenced; and in *Suffolk* the Monaſtery of Saint *Edmund*, which Saint he deadly feared. To the Church of *Wincheſter* he gave many rich Jewels, whereof one was a Croſs, valued to be worth as much as the whole revenue of *England* amounted to in one year. To *Coventry* he gave the arm of the great St. *Auſtin* which he bought at *Pavia* in his return from *Rome*, for which he paid an hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold. One ſtrange act is recorded, which he did for convincing his fawning flatterers, who uſed to tell him that his powers were more than humane; For being one time at *Southampton*, he commanded that his Chair of State ſhould be ſet on ſhore when the Sea began to flow, and then ſitting down there in the preſence of his many attendants, he ſpake thus to that Element: I charge thee that thou preſume not to enter my Land, nor wet theſe Robes of thy Lord that are about me. But the Sea giving no heed to his command, but keeping on his uſual courſe of Tide, firſt wet his skirts, and after his thighs, whereupon ſuddenly ariſing, he thus ſpake in the hearing of them all: Let all the Worlds Inhabitants know, that vain and weak is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy of the name of King, but he that keeps both Heaven and Earth and Sea in obedience. After which time he would never ſuffer the Crown to be ſet upon his head: But preſently Crowned therewith the Picture of Chriſt on the Croſs at *Wincheſter*; from which example aroſe perhaps the Cuſtom, to hang up the Armour of worthy men in Churches, as Offerings conſecrated to him who is the Lord of Battel. When he had Reigned nineteen years, he deceaſed at *Shaftesbury* in the County of *Dorſet*, the twelfth of *November*, in the year 1035. and was buried in the Church of the old Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*; which being after new built, his bones with many other *Engliſh Saxon* Kings were taken up, and are preſerved in

He marries Queen *Emma*.

He makes good Laws.

The Sabbath to be ſtrictly obſerved.

The Communion to be received thrice a year.

A married woman convict of adultery to have her noſe and ears cut off.

He takes a Journey to *Rome*.

He builds divers Monaſteries.

A Jewel as much worth as the revenues of *England*.

His Act for convincing his flatterers.

Hanging up armour of the worthy men in Churches from whence it began.

in gilt Coffers, fixed upon the Walls of the Quire in that Cathedral Church. He had by his two Wives, three Sons, *Sweyne* and *Harold* by his first Wife *Alfgive*, and *Hardicknute* by his second Wife Queen *Emma*; and two Daughters, of whom the Eldest called *Guimbilda*, was married to the *Roman* Emperor *Henry* the Third, who being accused of Adultery, and none found to defend her cause, at last an *English* Page, a very Boy and Dwarf, who for the littleness of his stature, was generally, and jestingly surnamed *Mimecan*, adventured to maintain her Innocency against a mighty Giant-like Combatant; who in fight, at one blow, cutting the sinews of his adversaries Leg, with another he felled him to the ground, and then with his Sword, taking his head from his shoulders, redeemed both the Empereſſes life and honour. But the Empereſs after this hard usage forsook her Husband's Bed, and took upon her the Veil of a Nun, in the Town of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where she devoutly spent the rest of her life.

Guimbilda's Innocency defended by a Page.

Of the Second Danish *King in* England.

KING *Canutus* dying, left his Kingdom of *Norway* to his eldest Son *Sweyne*, and his Kingdom of *England* to his youngest Son *Hardiknute*, whom he had by his Wife *Emma*; but he being at the time of his Fathers death in *Denmark*, *Harold* his elder Brother by a former Wife, taking advantage of his absence, lays claim to the Crown. For determining of which Right, the Lords assembled at *Oxford*, where Queen *Emma* pleaded for her Son *Hardiknute*, urging the Covenant of *Canutus* at their Marriage, and at his last will at his death; as also Earl *Godwyn* of *Kent* did the like, being left Guardian of her Children, and keeper of his last Will. But *Harold*'s presence, together with the favour of the *Londoners*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, so wrought with the Lords, that the absent *Hardiknute* was neglected, and *Harold* was proclaimed and crowned King at *Oxford*, by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1036.

Harold succeeded his Father *Canutus*.

Harold having now attained the Crown, was not so jealous of his Brother *Hardiknute*, as of his Mother-in-law Queen *Emma*, and her Sons by King *Ethelred*, who were beyond Sea; and therefore how to secure himself against these was his first care: For effecting whereof he framed a Letter, as written by Queen *Emma* to her two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred*; instigating them to attempt the Crown usurped by *Harold* against their Right: To which Letter coming first to the hands of *Alfred*, he suspecting no fraud, returned answer, That he would shortly come over and follow her counsel. And thereupon with a small Fleet, and some few Soldiers lent him by *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, he took the Sea for *England*, where coming to shore, Earl *Godwyn* met him, and bound himself by Oath to be his guide to his Mother Queen *Emma*; but being wrought firm for *Harold*, he led him and his company a contrary way, and lodged them at *Guilford*, making known to King *Harold* what he had done, who presently committed them all to slaughter, sparing only

His Plot to intercept Competitors.

every Tenth man, for service of sale. Prince *Alfred* himself he sent Prisoner to the *Isle of Ely*, where having his Eyes inhumanely put out, in grief and torment he ended his life. Some add a more horrible kind of cruelty, as that his Belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawn out and fastned to a stake, his body pricked with Needles, or Poignards, and forced about till all his entrails were extracted. This done, then he set upon Queen *Emma*, confiscating her Goods, and banished her the Realm. And now further to secure himself, he kept the Seas with Sixteen *Danish* Ships, to the maintenance whereof he charged the *English* with great payments, by which, if he procured the safety of his person, he certainly procured the hatred of his Subjects. This King for his Swiftness in Running was called *Harefoot*; but though by his Swiftness he out-run his Brother for the Kingdom, yet could not he run so fast, but that death quickly overtook him: For having reigned only four years and some months, he died at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Westminster*, having never had Wife or Children.

His cruelty against his Brother-in-law *Alfred*.

Called *Harefoot* for his Swift Running.

Of the Third and last DANISH *King in* England.

KING *Harold* being dead, the Lords to make amends for their former neglect, sent now for *Hardiknute*, and offered him their Allegiance; who accepteth their offer, and thereupon taking Sea, arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*, the sixth day after he had set sail out of *Denmark*; and with great pomp conveyed to *London*, was there crowned King by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the year 1040. His first act was to be revenged of the deceased Brother *Harold*, whose Body he caused to be digged up, and thrown into the *Thames*, where it remained till a Fisherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of St. *Clement* without *Temple-Bar*, commonly called St. *Clement Danes*, because it was the burying-place of the *Danes*, as some write. But towards his Mother and half Brother Prince *Edward*, he shewed true natural affection, inviting them both to return into *England*, where he received them with all the Honour, that from a Son or Brother could be expected.

Hardiknute succeedeth *Harold*.

St. *Clement Danes* why so called.

But now as the King *Harold*, for his Swiftness in Running was surnamed *Harefoot*; so this King for his intemperance in diet, might have been surnamed Swinesmouth, or *Bocca di Porco*; for his Tables were spread every day four times, and furnished with all kinds of curious dishes, as delighting in nothing but gormandizing and swilling; and as for managing the State he committed it wholly to his Mother Queen *Emma*, and to the politick Earl of *Kent*, *Godwyn*; who finding this weakness in the King, began to think himself of aspiring; and to make the better way for it, he sought by all means to alien the Subjects hearts from the Prince; amongst other courses he caused to lay heavy Taxes upon them, only for Shipmony to pay his *Danes*, amounting to two and

His intemperance in Diet.

He imposeth Shipmony upon his Subjects.

thirty thouſand pounds: which was ſo offenſive to the people, that the Citizens of *Worceſter* ſlew two of his Officers, *Thurſtan* and *Feudax*, that came to collect it. But this King had ſoon the reward of his Intemperance; for in a ſolemn Aſſembly and Banquet at *Lambeth*, revelling and carowſing, he ſuddenly fell down without ſpeech or breath, after he had reigned only two years, and was buried at *Winchester*. His death was ſo welcome to his Subjects, that the day of his death is to this day commonly celebrated with open paſtimes in the ſtreet, and is called *Hocks-tide*, ſignifying ſcorn or contempt which fell upon the *Danes* by his death. For with him ended the Reign of the *Danes* in *England*, after they had miſerably afflicted the Kingdom for the ſpace of Two hundred and forty years; though in Regal Government but only ſix and twenty.

He dies ſuddenly.

A day called *Hocks-tide*, and why.

Of ENGLISH *Kings again; and firſt of* EDWARD *the Confeſſor.*

Edward the Confeſſor ſucceedeth *Hardiknute.*

KING *Hardiknute* dying without Iſſue, as having never been married, and the *Daniſh* line clean extinguiſhed, *Edward* for his Pietty called the *Confeſſor*, half Brother to the deceaſed *Hardiknute*, and Son to King *Ethelred* by his Wife Queen *Emma*, was by a general conſent admitted King of *England*, and was Crowned at *Winchester* by *Edſyne* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on *Eaſter-Day* in the year 1042. being then of the age of forty years. He was born at *Iſlip* near to *Oxford*, and after his Fathers death, for ſafety ſent into *France*, to the Duke of *Normandy* his Mother's Brother, from whence he now came to take upon him the Crown of *England*. His Acts for gaining the peoples love, were firſt, the remitting the yearly Tribute of Forty thouſand pounds, gathered by the name of *Dane-gilt*, which had been impoſed by his Father, and for forty years together paid out of all mens Lands, but only the Clergy; and then from the divers Laws of the *Mercians*, *Weſt-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he ſelected the beſt, and made of them one body certain, and written in *Latin*, being in a ſort the Fountain of thoſe which at this day we term the Common Laws, though the forms of pleading and proceſs therein, were afterwards brought in by the Conqueror. The Reign of this King was very peaceable, only in the ſixth year the *Daniſh* Pirates entred the port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-coaſts of *Eſſex* they ſpoiled, and then in *Flanders* made Merchandize of their prey. As likewiſe the *Iriſh*, with thirty Ships entred *Severn*, and with the aſſiſtance of *Griffith* King of *South-wales*, burnt or ſlew all in their way, till at laſt *Reeſe* the Brother of *Griffith* was ſlain at *Bulendeu*, and his head preſented to King *Edward* at *Gloceſter*. His Domeſtical troubles were only by Earl *Godwyn* and his Sons, who yet after many conteſtations and affronts were reconciled, and *Godwyn* received again into as great favour as before. But although King *Edward* forgave his Treaſon, yet the Divine Providence did not; for ſoon after as he ſate at Table with the King on *Eaſter-Monday*, he was ſuddenly ſtrucken with death, and on *Thurſday* following died, and was buried at *Winchester*. Some make his death more exemplar, as that juſtifying himſelf for Prince *Alfrid*'s death, he ſhould pray to God, That if he were any way guilty of it, he might never ſwallow down one morſel of Bread; and thereupon by the juſt Judgment of God was choaked by the firſt morſel he offered to eat.

He remits *Dane-gilt.*

He ordained the Common Laws.

Earl *Godwyn* puniſhed by the Divine hand.

In this Kings time ſuch abundance of Snow fell in *January*, continuing till the middle of *March* following, that almoſt all Cattel and Fowl periſhed, and therewith an exceſſive dearth followed.

Extremity of Snow.

Two Acts are related of this King, that ſeem nothing correſpondent to the general opinion had of his Virtue, one concerning his Mother, the other touching his Wife; that concerning his Mother Queen *Emma*, was this, That becauſe after King *Ethelred*'s death, ſhe married the *Daniſh* King *Canutus*, and ſeemed to favour her Iſſue by him, more than her Iſſue by King *Ethelred*, therefore he diſpoſſeſt her of all her Goods, and committed her to cuſtody in the Abby of *Worwel*; and more than this, ſo far hearkened to an aſperſion caſt upon her of unchaſt familiarity with *Alwyne* Biſhop of *Winchester*, that for her Purgation, ſhe was fain to paſs the trial of Fire Ordeal, which was in this manner; nine Plow-ſhares red hot were laid in unequal diſtance, which ſhe muſt paſs barefoot and blind-fold; and if ſhe paſſed them unhurt, then ſhe was judged Innocent; if otherwiſe, Guilty. And this trial ſhe paſſed and came off fairly, to the great aſtoniſhment of all beholders. The other touching his Wife was this; he had married *Editha* the Beautiful, and indeed Virtuous Daughter of Earl *Godwyn*; and becauſe he had taken diſpleaſure againſt the Father, he would ſhew no kindneſs to the Daughter; he had made her his Wife, but converſed not with her as a Wife, only at board, but not at bed; or if at bed, no otherwiſe than *David* with *Abiſhag*, and yet was content to hear her accuſed of Incontinency, whereof if ſhe were guilty, he could not be innocent. So as, what the Virtues were, for which after his death he ſhould be reputed a Saint, doth not eaſily appear. It ſeems he was chaſt, but not without injury to his Wife; Pious, but not without ungratefulneſs to his Mother: Juſt in his preſent Government, but not without neglect of poſterity; for through his want of Providence in that Point he left the Crown to ſo doubtful Succeſſion, that ſoon after his deceaſe it was tranſlated out of *Engliſh* into *French*, and the Kingdom made ſervile to a fourth Foreign Nation. One ability he had which raiſed him above the pitch of Ordinary Kings, and yet at this day is ordinary with Kings, That by his only touching and laying his hand upon it, he cured a Diſeaſe, which from his curing is called *the Kings-Evil*. His Mother Queen *Emma*, in memory of the nine Plow-ſhares ſhe had paſſed in her Trial, gave nine Mannors to the Minſter of *Winchester*; and himſelf remembring the wrong he had done her, beſtowed on the ſame place, the Iſland of *Portland* in *Dorſetſhire*, being about ſeven miles in compaſs. He made

Queen *Emma* paſſeth the Trial of Fire Ordeal. *Ma. Weſt.*

The firſt King that cured the *Kings-Evil.*

made alſo of a little Monaſtery in the Weſt of *London*, by the River of *Thames*, a moſt beautiful Church, (called of the place *Weſtminſter*) where he provided for his own Sepulcher; and another dedicated to St. *Margaret*, ſtanding without the Abby. This of *Weſtminſter* he endowed with many rich Revenues, and confirmed his Charters under his Broad Seal, being the firſt of the Kings of *England*, who uſed that large and ſtately Impreſſion in their Charters and Patents. He founded alſo the Colledge of St. *Mary Ottery* in *Devonſhire*, and gave unto it the Village of *Ottery*, and removed the Biſhops See from *Cridington* to *Exeter*, as a place of far more dignity: and when he had reigned the ſpace of three and twenty years and ſix months, he ended his life the fourth of *January*, in that room of his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, which is now called the *Painted Chamber* in the year 1066. and was buried in the Church at *Weſtminſter* which he had builded.

He builds *Weſtminſter.*

He firſt uſed the Broad Seal.

He died in the *Painted Chamber* at *Weſtminſter.*

Of HAROLD *the ſecond* Engliſh *King after the* Danes.

KING *Edward* the *Confeſſor* being himſelf without Iſſue, had in his life-time ſent into *Hungary* for his Nephew *Edward*, called the *Out-law*, the Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, with a purpoſe to deſign him his Succeſſor in the Crown, but he dying ſoon after his coming into *England*, King *Edward* then gave his Son *Edgar* the name of *Atheling*; as to ſay, Prince *Edgar* meaning to deſign him for his Succeſſor; but being prevented by death before the Succeſſor was fully eſtabliſhed, and *Edgar Atheling* though he had right, yet being young, and not of power to make good his right, *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwyn* ſteps into the Throne, and never ſtanding upon Ceremonies, ſet himſelf the Crown upon his own head, wherein, though as a violater of Holy Rites, he offended the Clergy, yet not any either of Clergy or Laity durſt oppoſe him, as being at that time the moſt Martial man in the Kingdom; and ſuch a one as the ſtate of the Realm ſtood at that time in need of; and beſides his own worthineſs had the aſſiſtance of *Edwin* and *Marcher*, the two great Earls of *Yorkſhire* and *Cheſhire*, whoſe ſiſter *Algyth* he had married. It is true withal, That King *Edward* had appointed the Crown after his own deceaſe, ſometimes to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, ſometimes to *Edgar Atheling*, and ſometimes to this *Harold*, ſo as he was Crowned by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York* as not coming in by intruſion or wrong, but by the appointment of King *Edward*; though that appointment of King *Edward* was rather to make him Regent during the minority of *Edgar*, than to make him abſolute King: but howſoever being once in the Throne, he was then able to make his own Title, and to make Prince *Edgar* ſome amends, he created him Earl of *Oxford*, which was indeed to uſe him like a Child, take away a Jewel, and pleaſe him with an Apple. Yet *Harold* having once gotten into the Throne, he carried himſelf with great Valour and Juſtice for the time he ſate in it, which was but very ſhort (only nine months) as being indeed but tottering from the very beginning, and that chiefly by means of his own Brother *Touſtayne*, who by diverting his Forces to ſuppreſs a Rebellion, made him of leſs force to reſiſt an Invaſion. But now that we have ſhewed how *Harold* entred the Throne, we muſt forbear to ſhew how he was caſt out, till we come to him that caſt him out; who becauſe he was not only of another Family, but of another Nation, we muſt neceſſarily take the beginning from a deeper root; and indeed, ſeeing in him we ſhall join our Iſland to the Continent which is a larger world, our Kings hereafter will afford a larger Extent for matter of Diſcourſe, than heretofore they have done.

Harold ſucceeds *Edward* the Confeſſor: ſetting the Crown upon his own head.

Edgar Atheling made Earl of *Oxford.*

THE LIFE OF King William the First, CALLED THE CONQUEROR.

His Parentage and Deſcent.

The Race of the Dukes of *Normandy.*

THERE were Six Dukes of *Normandy* in *France*, in a direct line ſucceeding from Father to Son. The firſt was *Rollo*, who of a private man in *Denmark*, coming forth with the exuberancy of his Nation, wreſted by force of Arms from *Charles* the *Simple*, King of *France*, to be made Duke of *Normandy*. The ſecond was *William* his Son, called *Long-Eſpee*, or *Long-Sword*. The third was *Richard* his Son, called the *Hardy*, who had *Richard*, and a Daughter called *Emma*, married to *Ethelred* King of *England*, Father of *Edward* the Confeſſor. The fourth was *Richard* the ſecond his Son, called the *Good*. The fifth was *Richard* the Third, his Son, who by a firſt Wife had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*; and by a ſecond two other Sons, *William* Earl of *Arques*, and *Mauger* Archbiſhop of *Roan*. So as *Richard* his eldeſt Son by his firſt Wife, ſucceeded him by the name of *Richard* the Fourth, and dying without Iſſue, the Dukedom deſcended to *Robert* his ſecond Son by his firſt Wife: Which *Robert* was Father to our *William* the Conqueror, of whom it is thus recorded; That riding one time abroad, he happen'd to paſs by a company of Country Maids that were a dancing, where ſtaying a while to look upon them, he was ſo taken with the handſomeneſs and graceful carriage of one of them, whoſe name was *Arlotte*, a Skinners Daughter (from whence as ſome think our word Harlot comes) that affection commanding him, and authority her, he cauſed her that night to be brought to his Bed, where being together, what was done or ſaid between them, is no matter for Hiſtory to record, tho ſome Hiſtorians have recorded both; making her not ſo modeſt as was fit for a Maid: only ten months after it appeared, that at this time our Duke *William* was begotten; who proving a man of extraordinary ſpirit, we may attribute it to the heat of affection in which he was begotten. Neither did there want before, and at his birth, fore-running tokens which preſaged his future greatneſs; for his Mother *Arlotte* being great with him, had a Dream like that of *Mandane* the Mother of *Cyrus*, the firſt *Perſian* Monarch; namely, That her Bowels were extended and dilated over all *Normandy* and *England*. Alſo as ſoon as he was born, being laid on the Chamber-floor, with both his hands he took up ruſhes, and ſhutting his little fiſts held them very faſt; which gave occaſion to the Goſſiping Wives to congratulate *Arlotte* in the birth of ſuch a boy, and the Midwife cry'd out, the child would prove a King.

His ſucceeding in the Dukedom, notwithſtanding his Baſtardy.

Baſtardy no bar to Succeſſion.

IT appears by many Examples, that Baſtardy in thoſe days was no bar to ſucceſſion, till a Law was afterward made to make it a bar. It brought ſome diſgrace, where the Mother was mean, but no impediment where the Father was Noble; and even his Baſtardy ſeemed to have ſome allay, if it be true (as ſome write) that his Father took the ſaid *Arlotte* afterward to be his Wife: and yet perhaps he had not the Dukedom ſo much by ſucceſſion as by gift. For when he was about nine years old, his Father calling his Nobility together, cauſed them to ſwear Allegiance to this baſe Son of his, and to take him for their Liege Lord after his deceaſe. Neither was this in thoſe days unfrequent, for Princes to confer their Principalities after their own deceaſes upon whom they pleaſed, counting it as lawful to appoint Succeſſors after them, as Subſtitutes under them; even in our time and Kingdom the Duke of *Northumberland* prevailed with K. *Edward* the Sixth to exclude his two Siſters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to appoint the Lady *Jane Grey*, daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to ſucceed him.

Princes to appoint their Succeſſors.

His Education and Tuition in his Minority.

HIS Father having declared and appointed him to be his Succeſſor, went ſoon after (whether out of devotion, or to do Penance for procuring his Brothers death, whereof he was ſuſpected) into the Holy Land, in which Journey he died, having left the Tuition of his young Son to his two Brother's, and the Guardianſhip to the King of *France*, in whoſe Court for a time he was brought up. A ſtrange confidence to commit the tuition of a Son that was baſe, to pretenders that were legitimate, and to a King of *France*, who aimed at nothing more

more than to re-annex this Dukedom to his Crown. But it seems his confidence was grounded upon the proximity of blood in his Brothers, and upon the merits of his own service formerly done to the King of *France*; which though it proved well enough with him, yet is not to be taken into example to follow.

His troubles in his Minority.

FIRST *Roger de Tresney*, who derived his Pedigree from *Rollo*, and had won much Honour by his valour in the Wars, (notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance he had formerly taken) takes exception to his Bastardy, and invites Complices to assist him in recovering the Dukedom to a legitimate Race: A fair pretext, if the Fate of Duke *William* had not been against it; who though he were himself but young, and could not do much in his own person, yet the Divine Providence raised him up Friends that supplied him with Assistance, and particularly *Roger de Beaumont*, by whose valour this *Roger de Tresney* with his two Brothers was defeated and slain. After *Roger de Tresney*, *William de Arques* his Uncle lays claim to the Dutchy, and assisted by the King of *France* comes to a Battel, but by the valour of Count *Gifford*, the Dukes General, was likewise defeated; and these were troubles before he arrived to seventeen years of age. After this, one *Guy* Earl of *Burgoigne*, Grandchild to *Richard* the Second Duke of *Normandy*, grew sensible of his right to the Dukedom, and joining with Viscount *Neele*, and the Earl of *Besin*, two powerful *Normans*, conspired Duke *William*'s death, and had effected it, if a certain Fool about him had not stolen away in the night to the place where the Duke was, and never left knocking and crying at the Gate till he was admitted to his presence, willing him to fly for his life instantly; or he would be murthered. The Duke considering that being related by a Fool, it was like to be the more palpable, and that there might be danger in staying, none in going, rode instantly away all alone toward *Falaise* his principal Castle, but missing his way, he happened to pass where a Gentleman was standing at his door, of whom he asked the way, and was by him, as knowing him, directed; which he had no sooner done, but the Conspirators came presently, inquiring if such a one had not passed that way; which the Gentleman affirmed, and undertook to be their Guide to overtake him; but leading them of purpose a contrary way, the Duke by this means came safely to *Falaise*, and from thence Journeys to the King of *France*, complaining of his injuries, and imploring his aid, as one that was his homager, and committed to his care by his servant his Father. The King of *France* moved with his distress, and remembrance of his Fathers merits, though he wished he was less than he was: yet he so aided him, that he made him greater than he was; for himself in person, suffered much in the Battel, procured him the Victory. By which we may see that Folly and Fortune, and even Enemies themselves are all assistants to the Destinies; or to say better indeed, to the Divine Providence. Many other

A Fool saves Duke *William*'s life.

affronts were offered him, some by meaner Princes, some afterward by the King of *France* himself, who was now grown jealous of his Greatness; all which he encountred with such dexterity, that made his Bastardy, as it were become legitimate, and Virtue her self grow proud of his person.

His Carriage afterwards in Peace.

BY this time he was come to the age of two and twenty years; and whereas all this while he had shewed himself a valiant General in War, he now began to shew himself a Provident Governor in Peace, composing and ordering his state: wherein he so carried himself, that as his Subjects did both fear and love him, so his neighbouring Princes did both fear and hate him; or if not hate him, at least emulate him.

His Incitements for Invading of England.

DUKE *William* had incitements to Invade *England*, and some shew of a Title. To understand this more fully, we will reflect upon some passages transacted betwixt the two former Kings, *Edward* the Confessor, and *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwyn*. And this recapitulation will give some light, and is very pertinent to our intended purpose.

Earl *Godwyn* falling out with King *Edward*, the business was carried with such heat on both sides, that the Earl and all his Allies were in a manner banished the Realm. *Godwyn* makes his refuge to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Harold* his Son into *Ireland*. *Emma* the Kings Mother deceasing, they both return with a great Navy and strong Army. The Nobility fearing a Civil War, labour for a Reconciliation betwixt the King and the Exiles; but *Edward* jealous of *Godwyn*'s arts and treachery, would by no means hearken unto it. At last upon conditions they are restored to the Kings favour and their Country: Hostages are delivered, *Walnoth* the Son of *Godwyn*, and *Harun* his Grandchild, whom the King for more security sends into *Normandy*, there to be detained by Duke *William* his Kinsman. After the death of *Godwyn*, *Harold* succeeds him Earl of *Kent*, who craves leave of the King to go to *Normandy*, and bring back his Brother and Kinsman. The King in this manner answers him, *Harold*, you may do your pleasure, and I may permit, though I will not consent; for I do foresee, that if you undertake this Journey, it will prove to the ruine of the Kingdom, and your own confusion. *Harold* notwithstanding obstinate in his resolution, after a tempestuous Voyage arrives in *France*, where he is taken Prisoner by the Lord of *Ponthieu*, and at the command and threats of Duke *William* dismist; and though first rob'd of his Treasures and choicest things he transported, at last sent into *Normandy*; where telling the cause of his Journey, he was honourably entertained, and fairly promised, unless himself were the obstacle, all things should succeed as he wished. After some time the Duke taking his opportunity entred into private discourse with him, and told him, That King

Edward

Edward being brought up in his youth together with him, had faithfully promised him, that if ever he came to be King of *England*, he would make him his Heir, and settle the Kingdom on him. Wherefore *Harold* (quoth the Duke) if you will assist me in gaining that Crown, when I come over into *England*, you shall have your Brother and Nephew; and to make our tye of Friendship the stronger, you shall promise to take one of my Daughters for Wife, and send your Sister hither, whom I will bestow on one of my chief Lords: you shall also promise me to secure the Castle of *Dover* for my service; and I promise you that when I am King of *England*, I will deny you nothing which in reason you shall demand. *Harold* having heard the Duke, was much perplexed: but seeing himself in such straits, That he must either venture on a promise, or hazard an Imprisonment, condescends to all the Duke demanded; and for more security, with a solemn Oath confirms his agreement: and returning into *England*, acquaints *Edward* with all these passages, who replied, Did not I know *William*'s disposition, and foretell thee how much mischief this journey would bring upon *England*? Duke *William* having the Word of *Edward*, and the Oath of *Harold*, had sufficient obligations to expect the Kingdom: but hearing of the death of *Edward*, and that *Harold* was Crowned King, he thought himself not more forgotten by *Edward*, than wronged by *Harold*; and therefore sent a Messenger to put him in mind of King *Edward*'s promise, and his own Oath. *Harold* returns answer, That he could not send his Sister over because she was dead; but if *William* would have her Carkass, he should. Secondly, That he could neither promise, nor dispose of a Kingdom which was none of his own. Lastly, he should be injurious to his own Nobility, if he should without their consent and advice take a stranger for Wife. *William* having heard his answer, was as yet patient; and again sending to *Harold* mildly, demands of him at last to take his Daughter for his Wife and Queen; otherwise by force of Arms he would recover that Kingdom, which was his own by the promise of King *Edward*. To this *Harold* peremptorily replies, that as he feared not the one, so by no means would he do the other. Duke *William* thus slighted by *Harold*, endeavours to make him honest by force, and assured himself he should find him a weak Enemy, who had proved so perjured a Friend. These were the Incitements which caused *William* in his declining age to undertake this Expedition; But who can think himself too old for a Kingdom, when *Galba* above 73 years of age, buckled on an Armour on his unwieldly limbs for the attaining of a *Roman* Empire?

The Reasons that facilitated his Conquest of England.

DUKE *William* incensed with *Harold*'s answers, acquaints the Nobility with his purpose, who with some ado consented to aid him, as likewise many other great Lords of *France*, but specially *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, whose daughter he had Married; and who being at that time Guardian of the young King of *France*, procured aid from him also; and to make the Enterprise the more successful, Pope *Alexander* the second sent him a Banner, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the hairs of St. *Peter*. So as the preparation of the Duke both by Sea and Land was very great, having three hundred Sail of Ships, and as some write, 890. and as one *Norman*, above a thousand, and as *Gemeticensis* three thousand; and though *Harold* had likewise provided a Warlike Fleet to encounter him, yet it was at that time unfortunately diverted another way. For *Toustayne* his Brother being then in Rebellion in the North, and *Harold Hartfager* King of *Norway* at the same time invading those parts, and perhaps upon a bruit, That the Dukes Fleet was not yet ready to come forth, removed both his Fleet and Army thither; where though he got the Victory at *Stamford*, with the death both of his Brother *Toustayne*, and of the King of *Norway*: yet it made way for the Duke to land quietly, and he entred the Kingdom as easily as one may enter a House when the doors are all left open. By this means King *Harold*'s Shipping (the best Wall of defence to an Island) was utterly frustrate; and as for his Land Forces, they were by his Battel at *Stamford*, exceedingly both weakened and impaired: yet hearing that Duke *William* was Landed at *Pemsey*, not far from *Hastings* in *Sussex*, he repaired thither with all speed, and gathering together his broken Forces, and increasing them by all the means he could, made himself ready to give the Duke Battel. Duke *William* in the mean time, as soon as he had landed his men, sent his Ships presently away, that there might be no thinking of any thing, but either Death or Victory. And then going himself on Land, it is said his foot slipped, and he fell down; which some that stood by, taking it for an ill sign, No (saith he) I have by this taken Possession of this Land. And indeed presages are but as *Augurium ejus qui præsagit*, as in this Duke's fall it afterwards fell out. The like confidence of spirit shewed he not long after, when the Armies were ready to join; for he that put on the Dukes Armour, whether out of haste, or out of perturbation of mind, putting the fore-part behind, and the back-part before, the Duke seeing it, merrily said, I see now by this Inversion of my Armour, that my Dukedom will be turned into a Kingdom: taking that for a good *Omen*, which some other of weaker spirits would have taken for a bad. Many ways of composition between Duke *William* and King *Harold* were propounded, yet *Harold* would hearken to none, as nothing doubting of success, and perhaps thinking it a disgrace to capitulate for that which was now his own: and when one of his Brothers called *Gyrth*, being less interessed, and therefore clearer sighted, intreated him to consider what a fearful thing it was to break an Oath which he so solemnly had sworn, *Harold* seemed to conceive, that nothing which he did, being a private man, could be of force to bind him now being a Prince: and so on the Fourteenth day of *October*, being Saturday, in the year 1066. (which day he liked the better, because it was his Birth-day, hoping that the day of his Birth

Duke *William*'s number of Ships to Invade *England*.

K. *Harold* prepares to resist Duke *William*.

Duke *William* at his landing takes a fall.

An. Dom. 1066.

Birth would not ſo much degenerate to prove the day of his death, though this alſo even bred no good blood to the action; for the Soldiers of *Harold*, thinking thereby to honour their Kings Birth-day, ſpent the night before in revelling and drinking, where the Soldiers of the Duke out of conſideration of their next days work, ſpent the night in quietneſs and devotion) they joined Battel, (the *Kentiſh-men* being placed in the fore-front, as by an ancient cuſtom is their due, and King *Harold* with his *Londoners*, leading the main Battel) where though their Armies were not much unequal in number, (for they were each of them near about Threeſcore thouſand men) yet there was great odds in the expertneſs of their Soldiers, and more in the advantage of their weapons; for the Duke had with him all the Flower of *France* and *Flanders*, whereas King *Harold* had loſt his beſt men in his late Battel: And for advantage of Weapons, the *Normans* had long Bows and Arrows, which among the *Engliſh* at that time were not at all in uſe. What marvail that the *Normans* got the Victory, though King *Harold* loſing his life, yet loſt no reputation; and though the *Engliſh* Soldiers ſhewed no leſs valour in being conquered, than the *Normans* did in conquering? One circumſtance may not be omitted, That King *Harold* as an expert General, had ordered his men in ſo firm a Body, that no force of the *Normans* could diſorder their Ranks, till Duke *William* uſed a Stratagem, commanding his men to retire, and to counterfeit flight; by which he drew the *Engliſh* on upon a hollow ground covered with earth: whereinto many of them fell and periſhed, and beſides into an ambuſh of his Horſemen, which unexpectedly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Withal, there ſeems one great error to have been committed (at leaſt, if it were an error, and not rather a neceſſity) that there was not a ſupplemental Army provided, (as his Brother *Gryth* would have had it) which might have come on if the firſt had failed; and would have been of great advantage againſt a wearied Army. But when *Sic viſum eſt ſuperis*, all human force is weak, and cannot withſtand, all human Providence is unprovided, and cannot prevent. It is true, Duke *William* that day fought ſo valiantly, that he had three Horſes killed under him; but King *Harold* ſhewed no leſs valour in killing many *Normans* with his own hands: ſo as the fight continued doubtful a long time; till at laſt, King *Harold* being ſtruck into the Brains with an Arrow, fell down dead: upon whoſe falling, a baſe *Norman* Soldier cut off one of his Thighs, while he was yet breathing: which Duke *William* hearing, was ſo much offended, that he cauſed the Soldier to be diſarmed, and with ſhame caſhiered. The body of King *Harold* his Mother *Thyra* offered a great ſum to have it delivered to her; but the Duke out of the nobleneſs of his mind, would take no mony; but delivered it freely, and then it was buried in *Waltham* Abby; which himſelf had begun to build, at leaſt to repair. But here *Gyraldus Cambrenſis* tells a ſtrange ſtory, That *Harold* was not ſlain in the Battel, but only wounded and loſt his left eye, and then eſcaped by flight to *Cheſter*, where he afterwards led a holy Anchorets life, in the Cell of St. *James*'s, faſt by St. *John*'s Church.

Kentiſh-men are to be placed in the fore-front of the Battel.

Duke William uſeth a Stratagem.

K. Harold is ſlain.

How Duke William *proceeded after his Victory at* Haſtings.

AS his Valour won him the Victory, ſo his Victory won him a Crown; that now of an old Duke, he was ſuddenly become a young King: and indeed, nothing ſo much renews life, and makes the years in a manner young again, as addition of honour, eſpecially when it is the fruit of merit. Firſt therefore, having given publick Thanks to God for his happy ſucceſs, he led his Army towards *London*, not the direct way (perhaps doubting of ſome new Encounter) but coaſting about through part of *Kent*, through *Suſſex*, *Surry*, *Hampſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, where at *Wallingford* he paſſed over the *Thames*; and then through *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, and *Hertfordſhire*, until he came to *Barkhamſtead*, where there came unto him *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Wilfere* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and many other Prelates accompanied with *Edgar Atheling*, with Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers, and men of the greateſt ſway in the Kingdom, and many others of the Nobility. It is true, upon the defeat at *Haſtings*, Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar* had a purpoſe to ſet up *Edgar Atheling*, as next Heir of the Royal Blood, and Grandchild to *Edmund Ironſide*, and ſo beloved of the people, that he was called their Darling: but conſidering his young years, and other inabilities, but eſpecially finding the minds of the Biſhops, (who at that time bare all the ſway) to be otherwiſe inclined, they deſiſted from that courſe; and thus the Duke without any oppoſition coming to *London*, was received by Biſhops, and Lords and all, with great joy, though ſmall gladneſs: and if he had not their hearts, yet he had their knees; for in moſt humble manner they ſubmitted themſelves to him, acknowledging him for their Sovereign Lord; and upon *Chriſtmaſs* day after, he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, not being admitted to do that office, for ſome defect in his Inveſtiture; and perhaps for ſome aſperſion in his manners.

1067.

Duke William is Crowned King of England.

How he rewarded his Followers.

THOUGH he hath had the name of Conqueror, yet he uſed not the Kingdom as gotten by Conqueſt; for he took no mans living from him, nor diſpoſſeſt any of their goods, but ſuch only whoſe demerit made them unworthy to hold them; as appears by his act to one *Warren* a *Norman*, to whom he had given the Caſtle of *Sharnborne* in *Norfolk*. For when *Sharnborne*, who was owner of it, acquainted the King, That the Caſtle was his, and that he had never born Arms againſt him, he preſently commanded *Warren* to deliver it quietly up unto him. Only vacances of offices, and filling up the places of thoſe who were ſlain or fled, were the preſent means he made uſe of, for preferring his followers. One ſpecial preferment we cannot omit, That whereas on *Herlowyn*, a Nobleman in *Normandy*, had married

He uſeth his Conqueſt moderately.

married his Mother *Arlotte*, and had by her a Son named *Hugh Lupus*; he gave to the said *Hugh* the Earldom of *Chester*, to hold of him as freely by his Sword, as himself held *England* by his Crown; by vertue of which Grant the said *Hugh* ordained under him four Barons, *Nigel*, he made Baron of *Halton*; *Malbank*, Baron of *Nantwich*; *Eustace*, Baron of *Mawpase*; and *Vernon*, Baron of *Shipbrook*: Such an Honour, as no subject before or since ever enjoyed the like. Also he gave to his Nephew *Alane* Earl of *Britain*, all the Lands which sometimes belonged to Earl *Edwyn*. And this Earl of *Britain*, the better to secure the Kings gift, built him a strong Castle near to his Mannor of *Gillingham*, and named it *Richmont*: from which Castle the Earls of *Richmont* bear their Titles of Honour.

What means he used for securing himself in the Kingdom.

BESIDES the Oath of Fealty, which he took of all his Lords both Spiritual and Temporal at his Coronation; in Lent following going into *Normandy*, he took along with him the greatest part of the great men of the Kingdom, of whom *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, the two Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edgar Atheling*, *Walthcoff* Son to *Syward* formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glastenbury* were the chief; leaving the care of the Kingdom in his absence to *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Brother by the Mother: and to *William Fitz-Osborn*, whom he had made Earl of *Hereford*: and to abate the greatness of the Prelates, which at that time was grown in a manner unlimited, he ordained that from thenceforth they should not command with any Temporal Authority whatsoever. And because the common people are no less to be feared for their number, than the Nobility for their greatness, he first took from them all their Armour, to the end, that leaving them without stings, they might afterwards be but Drones. And because there is seldom any danger from singular numbers, but all the dangers ariseth from plurality, therefore to prevent Conspiracies and Combinations, which are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded that in all Towns and Villages a Bell should be rung at Eight a clock in the Evening, and that in every house they should then put out their Fire and Lights, (which was called *Couure few*) and go to bed. And for more security, he erected Castles in the most doubtful places of the Kingdom, one at *York*, another at *Lincoln*, a third at *Nottingham*, (at that time called *Snottingham*) and a fourth at *Hastings*, where he first landed. By these means the Kingdom was quiet all the time of his being away at *Normandy*, saving only that *Edrick* the Forester in the County of *Hereford*, calling in to his aid the Kings of *Wales*, made some small disturbance. And indeed all the States of the Kingdom might in this very person find something to make them apt to tolerate his Government. For first, the people might think themselves in a sort advanced, being now made members of a great body; when the Dukedom of *Normandy* should come to be annexed to the Kingdom of *England*; and by experience of his good Government being a Duke, they might well hope, he would not govern worse being made a King. And the Nobility might be well content, as having a King of their former King's chooſing; and though a Stranger, yet no Alien, as having in him many veins of the same blood, and therefore likely also to have some veins of the same goodness of their good King *Edward*. But specially the Clergy could not chuse but be content, as having a King who came commended to them, by a commending as strong as a commanding, the Popes Benediction.

He takes from the Clergy all Temporal authority.

He takes from the people all their Armour.

He ordains *Couure few* at eight a Clock.

What Troubles or Insurrections were during his Reign.

BUT the body of a State being more obnoxious to crudities and ill humors, than the state of a Natural Body, it is impossible to continue long without distempers; notwithstanding any preservatives that can be applied. And therefore in the second year of his reign, brake forth the discontentment of *Edgar Atheling*, justly the first, as having most cause, being the next of the late *Royal Blood*, and therefore the most apt to be sensible of servitude, who taking along with him his Mother *Agatha* and his two Sisters, *Margaret*, and *Christine*, stole secretly away to Sea, with intention to pass into *Hungary*, the Country where he was born: but by contrary Winds was cast upon the Coasts of *Scotland*, where the King *Malcolme*, not only most kindly entertained him, but for a stricter bond of kindness took his Sister *Margaret* to Wife, by whom he had many Children, out of which, in the second Generation after, a Match was found, by which in the Person of King *Henry* the Second, the *Saxon* and *Norman* Blood were conjoined, the Union whereof continues in the Race of our Kings of *England* to this day. Not long after to *Edgar* in *Scotland*, came the two great Earls, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers to *Agatha* the late King *Harold*'s Wife; also *Hereward*, *Gospatrick*, and *Syward*, with many other Lords; and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Archbishops, with divers of the Clergy. And these Lords being together in *Scotland*, did but watch opportunity to recover that, which for want of taking opportunity they had lost: And assisted by the *Scots*, they invade the North parts, spoiling the Country, and Killing many for the fault they had themselves committed; but all they could do, was but to forrage the Country, and so return.

An. Reg. 2. 1068.

Edgar Atheling is cast upon the shore of *Scotland*. Whose Sister *Margaret* King *Malcolme* marries.

After this, in the Third year of his Reign, the two Sons of *Sweyne* King of *Denmark*, *Harold* and *Canutus*, with a Fleet of 240 Ships entred *Humber*, and invaded the North parts, with whom the *English* Lords in *Scotland* joined, and foraged all the Country, till they came near to *York*. When the *Normans* that were in the Town, to save the City, set fire on the Suburbs; but the fire not so contented, by assistance of a violent Wind, took hold of the City it self, burning a great part of it, and which perhaps was more worth than the City, a Library of excellent Books; and the *Normans* that were left in defence of the City, to the number of Three thousand, were all slain. King *William* hear-

An. Reg. 3. 1069.

The *Danes* invaded *England*; and at *York* slay 3000 *Normans*.

hearing hereof was so much incensed, that with all speed he raised an Army, and entred *Northumberland*, wasting the Country that already lay waste; and yet for all this great rage, was contented with a great sum of money to purchase the *Danes* departure. By these devastations in many Shires of the Kingdom, especially in *Northumberland*; so great a Dearth and Famine followed, that men were glad to eat horses and dogs, cats and rats, and what else is most abhorrent to nature; and between *York* and *Durham*, the space of 60 miles for nine years together, there was so utter desolation, as that neither any house was left standing, nor any ground tilled.

K. *William* purchaseth their departure with a great sum of mony.

Northumberland left desolate 60 miles together.

1076.

Many other Insurrections there were in his Reign, as at *Exeter*, at *Oxford*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and many times by the *Scots* in the Northern parts. The most dangerous of all the Conspiracies, and most distasted of him, was that of *Roger Fitz Aubre* Earl of *Hereford*, *Ralph Waher* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; *Waltheoff* Earl of *Northumberland*, with *Eustace* Earl of *Bolloigne*, (sent purposely, as it was thought, by the King of *France* into *England*, to incite and join with the Conspirators). *Ralph Waher* married the Sister of *Roger* the young Earl of *Hereford*, contrary to the expres commandment of King *William*: At the solemnization of the marriage, these Lords conspire to keep the King now in *Normandy*, and dispossess him of his Sovereignty; which to perform, they agreed to join theirs with the *Danish* Forces, whom they intended to call in. This was the most dangerous combination of all, it happening when he was out of *England*, at the siege of *Dole*, a Castle in *Britain* belonging to *Ralph Waher*, and defended against him by the King of *France*; and at such a time as almost all Christendom had declared their jealousies of him, and ill affections towards him. The King of *Scotland*, and Princes of *Wales* ready to assist the Rebels at home; *Swaine* King of *Denmark* invading *England* with a Navy of 200. Sail, to which *Drone* King of *Ireland* added 65. Ships. How much such an action did distaste and offend him, may be conjectured, in that most of these great Noblemen were either his Kinsmen, or in affinity nearly allyed to him: But *William*'s fortune secures him as well at home against Traitors, as in the field against his Enemies. This grand Conspiracy is discovered by *Waltheoff* to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who persuades the Earl to go over to King *William*, and inform him in what danger he was. Notwithstanding this discovery, *Roger* and *Ralph* persist in their intentions, raise Forces to prosecute their designs: but by the diligence of *Odo* the Kings Brother, Bishop of *Bayeux*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and the Abbot of *Evesham* were so prevented, that they could never unite their Forces. *Ralph* flies into *France*, *Roger* Earl of *Hereford* is taken, put in Prison, and, as some report, to death; *Waltheoff*, af all lamented, beheaded. But all these were easily suppresst, for they were but scattered Forces, *Et dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur*; whereas, if they had united themselves into an Army, they might perhaps have made it a War, which now were little more than Routs and Riots. Yet some write,

Malmesbury.

That King *William* granted *Cumberland* to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, to hold from him, conditionally, that the *Scots* should not attempt any thing prejudicial to the Crown of *England*, for which grant King *Malcolme* did him homage.

The greatest and last was an Insurrection raised in *Normandy* by his Son *Robert*, the more dangerous, because unnatural; for by the instigation and assistance of *Philip* King of *France*, (emulous now of King *William*'s greatness) he entred *Normandy*, and claimed it in his own right. His Father indeed had made him a promise of it long before; but *Robert* impatient of delay, as counting so long staying to be little better than dis-inheriting, endeavoured by strong hand to wrest it from his Father. But his Father King *William*, hearing hereof, with a strong Army passeth over into *Normandy*, where in a Battel meeting hand to hand with his Son, he was by him unhorsed, and hurt in the Arm: But his Son perceiving him by his voice to be his Father, suddenly leaps off his horse, takes up his Father, cast himself down at his feet, and humbly intreats his pardon; which as a Father he easily grants, embraceth his Son: and ever after, the Son from the Father had fatherly love, and the Father from the Son a filial obedience. But though his Father did thus pardon him, yet it seems there is a *Nemesis*, or to say better, a Divine Providence that did not pardon him; for after this, it is observed he never prospered in any thing he undertook. It cannot perhaps be discovered, whether the Kings severity begat his Subjects Insurrections; or his Subjects Insurrections the Kings Severity: But which of them soever was the mother, it is certain they were Nurses each of them to other. Yet after this, King *William* so far trusted his Son *Robert*, that he sent him with an Army against *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*, who had invaded *Northumberland*, but at the coming of Duke *Robert* retired. At which time Duke *Robert* begun the foundation of a Castle upon the River of *Tyne*; whereof the Town of *New-Castle* did after take both beginning and name, which before this time was called *Moncaster*. In his twentieth year in Whitsun-week, he honoured his Son *Henry* with the order of Knighthood, wherein what Ceremony he used is not certainly known: but it is worth observing, that before his time, the custom among the *Saxons* was, first, he who should receive the order of Knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a Priest; then he continued all that night in the Church, watching and applying himself to his private devotion: the next morning he heard Mass, and offered his Sword upon the Altar. After the Gospel was read, the Sword was hallowed, and with a Benediction put about his neck. Lastly, He communicated the Mysteries of the blessed Body of Christ; and from that time remained a perfect Knight. But this custom of consecrating Knights, the *Normans* abhorred.

His Son *Robert* riseth in Arms against him.

He unhorseth his Father.

His aptness to forget Injuries.

CERTAINLY there is no such goodness of Nature, as aptness to be reconciled; of which virtue it seems King *William* had a large

proportion, for he ſeldom remembred injuries after ſubmiſſion. *Edrick* the firſt that rebelled againſt him, he placed in office near about him. *Goſpatrick*, who had been a factious man, and a plotter of Conſpiracies againſt him, he made Earl of *Gloceſter*, and truſted him with managing a War againſt *Maclolm* King of *Scots*. *Euſtace* Earl of *Boloigne*, who in the Kings abſence in *Normandy*, attempted to ſeize upon *Dover* Caſtle, he received afterward into great favour and reſpect. The Earls *Marchar* and *Syward*, with *Wolnoth* the Brother of *Harold*, a little before his death, he releaſed out of Priſon. *Edgar*, who as next heir to the *Saxon* Kings, had often attempted by Arms to recover his right, he not only after twice defection pardoned, but gave him alſo allowance as a Prince: It is ſaid twenty ſhillings a day, or rather a pound weight of Silver, and other large Livings beſides; ſo as *Edgar* finding the ſweetneſs of ſafety, and the pleaſures of a Country life, ſpent the reſt of his days (which were many) retired from Court, neither envying nor being envied. Only *Waltheoff*, Earl of *Northumberland* and *Northampton*, of all the *Engliſh* Nobility, was put to death in all the time of this Kings Reign; and not he neither, till he had twice falſified his Oath of Allegiance.

Waltheoff Earl of *Northumberland* the only Nobleman put to death in all this Kings time.

Of new Acqueſts to this Kingdom, by this Kings means.

An. Reg. 13. 1079.

IN the Thirteenth year of his Reign, he ſubdued *Wales*, and made it Tributary to him, as before in the Seventh year of his Reign he brought *Malcolme* King of *Scots* to do him Homage, and thereupon to give him Hoſtages; that if *England* made him greater than he was before, a King of a Duke; he no leſs made *England* greater than it was before, three Kingdoms in one.

Of his Exactions and Courſes for raiſing of Money.

AS his Taxations were many in number, ſo they were various in kind, not always bringing in money directly, but ſometimes obliquely ſaving it: The firſt Tax he laid upon his Subjects was in the firſt year of his Reign, after his return out of *Normandy*; a grievous Tax all Writers ſay, but none what it was. In the third year of his Reign, he ranſacked all Monaſteries, and all the Gold and Silver of either Chalices or Shrines, he took to his own uſe. Moreover, whereas many of the more principal, and richer perſons of the Realm, fearing King *William*'s cruelty, and inſatiable deſire of monies, depoſited their Treaſures, Jewels, and chiefeſt Commodities in the Monaſteries and Abbies, as in ſure Sanctuaries to be ſafely kept for their own uſes; the King violently ſeized on all for himſelf, neither regarding the Sanctity of the places, nor what injuſtice he did to his own Subjects, but as a Conquering Tyrant made their poverty his own ſecurity. Likewiſe he ſeſſed all Biſhops and Abbots what number of Soldiers they ſhould find to ſerve him in his Wars: alſo the ſtrangers which he maintained in Pay, he diſperſed into Religious houſes, and ſome alſo among the Nobility to be maintained at their charge. Many other Taxations he made, but laſt of all in the eighteenth year of his Reign, by the advice of *Roger* Earl of *Hertford*, he cauſed the whole Realm to be deſcribed in a Cenſual Roll (whereof he took a Precedent from King *Alfred*) ſo there was not one Hyde of Land, but both the yearly Rent, and the owner thereof was therein ſet down: How many Ploughlands, what Paſtures, Fens or Mariſhes, what Woods, Farms and Tenements were in every Shire, and what every one was worth: Alſo how many Villains every man had; what Beaſts, what Cattel, what Fees, what other goods, what rent or commodity his Poſſeſſions did yield. This Book was called the Roll of *Winton*, becauſe it was kept in the City of *Wincheſter*. By the *Engliſh* it was called Doomſ-day Book, either by the reaſon of the generality thereof, or elſe corruptly, inſtead of *Domus Dei* Book, for that it was laid in the Church of *Wincheſter*, in a place called *Domus Dei*. According to this Roll Taxations were impoſed, ſometimes two ſhillings, and at this time ſix Shillings upon every Hyde of Land (a Hyde containing, as Maſter *Lambert* proveth, a hundred Acres). In all thoſe lands which he gave to any man, he reſerved Dominion in chief to himſelf, as alſo a yearly Rent, and likewiſe a Fine whenſoever the Tenant did alien or die. Theſe were bound to him by Oath of Fealty and Homage; and if any died, his heir being within age, the King received the profit of his Lands, and had the cuſtody and diſpoſing of the heirs body, until his age of one and twenty years. To be ſhort, his greedineſs of mony was ſo great, that he ſpared not his own Brother *Odo*, but found accuſations againſt him, to the end he might ſeize upon his Treaſure, which was infinite great, and which he had gathered in hope to buy the Papacy. Only one kind of profit he forbore to meddle with, that is Vacancies of Abbies and Biſhopricks, which he always reſerved for the ſucceſſors: But then he took another courſe of far greater profit, for he compelled all men to make new Fines at his pleaſure, for confirmation of any Grant or Priviledges formerly granted by any Prince of the Realm; by which device he got into his poſſeſſion the greateſt part of all the riches of the Land, as well of the Clergy, as of the Laity. And one particular may not be omitted that is reported of him, which was this: The Monks of *Ely*, to purchaſe their Peace, agreed to give him ſeven hundred Marks, when coming to pay it, they wanted a Groat in the weight, (for in thoſe days greater Sums were not paid by taile, but by weight) which the King underſtanding, denied them all compoſition for Peace, until with much ſuit he was intreated to accept of a thouſand Marks more.

The Roll of *Winton*, or Doomſ-day Book.

A Hyde of Land, how much it contains.

Wardſhips ordained by K. *William*.

For a Groat in weight wanting, a thouſand marks exacted.

Of his Laws and Ordinances, and Courts of Juſtice erected by him.

ALTHOUGH at his Coronation he had taken an Oath to obſerve the Laws of K. *Edward* then in uſe; yet afterwards (perhaps counting his Coronation Oath but a matter of courſe) he abrogated many, and in their ſtead brought in the Laws of *Normandy*; commanding them to be

He brings in the Laws of *Normandy*: and cauſeth them to be written in *French*.

be written in *French*; and also that all Causes should be pleaded, and all matters of Forms dispatched in *French*; upon a pretence to dignify the *French* tongue, but with a purpose to intrap men through ignorance of the Language, as indeed it did: or perhaps to make the *Normans* Language predominant in the Kingdom, as he had made their persons: which yet was so far from effecting, that there is not so much as any footsteps remaining of the *Norman* Language in the *English* tongue. Forms of Judgment, and trials by Fire and Water, called *Ordeal*, formerly used, were in short time after the Conquest disused, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope, as derived from Paganism. That of Combat continued longer, but of no ordinary use: and all actions both criminal and real, began now to be wholly adjudged by the Verdict of twelve men, according to the custom of *Normandy* where the like form is used, and called by the name of Enquest, with the same cautions for the Jurors, as it is here continued to this day; though by the Laws of *Ethelred* it appears, that the trial by twelve men was in use long before his time. And where before the Bishop and the Aldermen were the absolute Judges to determine all business in every Shire, and the Bishop in many Cases shared in the benefit of the Mulcts with the King, now he confined the Clergy within the Province of their own Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to deal only in business concerning rule of Souls, according to the Canons and Laws Episcopal. And where the Causes of the Kingdom were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward*, all matters in question were upon special penalty decided in their Gemote, which was a little Court held monthly in every Hundred: Now he ordained that four times in the year, for certain days the same businesses should be determined in such places as he would appoint, where he constituted Judges to attend for that purpose. Also he decreed there should be Sheriffs in every Shire, and Justices of Peace for punishment of Malefactors. Finally, he ordained his Council of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, (*Scaccarium*, corruptly called so, of the word *Statarium*, or rather of the Board or Table where the Officers sate); also his Courts of Justice, which always removed with his Court. These places he furnished with Officers, and assigned four Terms in they year for determining Controversies among the people. The place of these Courts was *Westminster*, where King *William Rufus* afterwards built a stately Palace. Now for his Provisionary Revenues, the Kings Tenants who held Lands of the Crown, paid him no money at all, but only Corn and other Victuals; and a just note of the quality and quantity of every mans ratement, was taken throughout all the Shires of the Kingdom, and levied ever certain, for maintenance of the King's House. Only the *Kentish*-men procured the continuance of their ancient Laws by a trick; for King *William* riding towards *Dover*, at *Swanscombe*, two miles from *Gravesend*, the *Kentish*-men met him, but in the form of a moving Wood, by reason of the great boughs they had cut, and carried in their hands; and compassing the King about, they only made suit for the continuance of their Laws and Customs; of which one special was, That the Tenure of their Lands was *Gavelkind*; by which they descended not to the eldest alone, as in other Countries, but were partable between all the Sons: and the Priviledges which the owners of such Lands enjoyed were chiefly these: Not to forfeit them for Felony: Not to be subject to services before the Justices: Not to be challenged for Villains. So the Conqueror considering that he might as well allow them, as other Kings had done before him, easily condescended to their request. But see the levity of these *Kentish*-men, to hazard themselves more for the preserving a simple Custom, than for preserving the Liberty of themselves, and their Country: But such is violence of conceit, till it be mastered by time, or rather so very a Changeling is Human Reason, that what they then cut down great Woods to defend, they have since been content to be abolished, without cutting down so much as a twig. But one Law especially he made, extreamly distasteful to all the Gentry of the Land; for where before they might at their pleasure hunt and take Deer which they found abroad in the Woods; now it was ordained under a great penalty, no less than putting out their eyes, that none should presume to kill, or take any of them, as reserving them only for his own delight. And indeed so great delight he took in that kind of sport, that he depopulated a great part of *Hampshire*, the space of thirty miles, where there had been (saith *Caxton*) six and twenty Towns, and fourscore Religious Houses, and made it a habitation for such kind of Beasts; which was then, and to this day is called the New Forest. But the lamentable disasters that have happened to this Kings Issue, do plainly shew, that there is a Power that observes all our Actions, and which we may know to be *Memorem Fandi atque Nefandi*. But in the first year of this Kings Reign, he granted to the City of *London* their first Charter and Liberties in as large form as they enjoyed them in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, which he granted at the suit of *William* a *Norman*, Bishop of *London*; in grateful remembrance whereof, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, upon the solemn days of their resort to *Pauls*, do still use to walk to the Gravestone where this Bishop lies interred. Also this King was the first that brought the Jews to inhabit here in *England*: as likewise he made a Law that whosoever forced a woman, should lose his Genitals: and in his time, long Bows came first into use in *England*: which as they were the weapons with which *France* under this King conquered *England*: so they were the weapons with which *England* under after-Kings conquered *France*; as if it were not enough for us to beat them, if we did not beat them with their own weapons. This King also appointed a Constable of *Dover*-Castle, and a Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, with Immunities as they are at this day. And to be short, this King ordained so good Laws, and had them so well executed, that it is said a Girl might carry a bag of Money all the Country over without danger of robbing; and in his time, the setting Seals to Bonds and Writings was first used,

He brought in the trial by Verdict of twelve men.

He ordained the Four Terms of Law.

He ordained Sheriffs and Justices of Peace.

He ordained the Court of Chancery and Exchequer.

His Tenants pay their Rents in Corn and other Victuals.

The *Kentish*-men procure the continuance of their ancient Laws. *Lambert.*

He restrains hunting.

He depopulates 16 Towns to make the New Forest in *Hampshire.*

He grants to the City of *London* their first Charter of Liberties.

He first brought Jews into *England.*

Also long Bows.

uſed, where before they were only witneſſes to Deeds.

Affairs of the Church in his Reign.

IN his time, *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was for divers cauſes deprived of his dignity, and kept private all his life after in the Caſtle of *Winchester*: after whom ſucceeded *Lanfrank*, an *Italian*, in that See: who in the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, held a Synod at *London*, where amongſt other things he removed the Biſhops Sees from ſmall Towns to great Cities, as from *Silliway* to *Chichester*; from *Kyrton* to *Exeter*; from *Wells* to *Bathe*; from *Shirborn* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorcheſter* to *Lincoln*; and from *Lichfield* to *Cheſter*, and from thence again to *Coventry*: and not long before, the Biſhoprick of *Lindisfern*, otherwiſe called Holy Land, upon the River *Twede*, had been tranſlated to *Durham*. In the ſixth year of his Reign, a Controverſy ariſing between the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, they appealed to *Rome*, and the Pope remitted it to the King and Biſhops of *England*. Hereupon a Synod is holden at *Windſor*, where Sentence was given on *Lanfrank*'s, then Archbiſhop of *Canterburies* ſide; That in matters of Religion, the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould ever be ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: Only at *Rome* it was decreed for matter of Title, That the See of *York* ſhould be ſtiled *Primas Angliæ*; and the See of *Canterbury Primas totius Angliæ*, as it is at this day. And as the Archbiſhop of *York* oweth obedience to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſo all the Biſhops of *Scotland* owe obedience to the Archbiſhop of *York*, as to the Primate of *Scotland*. It ſhall not be amiſs here to write the Journey of *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to *Rome*; who in the fifth year of King *William*'s Reign made Biſhop of *Canterbury*, went to *Rome* to obtain the Pall due to Archbiſhops, taking for his Companions *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Remigius* Biſhop of *Lincoln*; arrived at *Rome*, and admitted to the Popes preſence, Pope *Alexander* roſe from his Seat, and gently ſaluting him, ſaith withal, This honour I do not give, as due to your Archbiſhoprick, but as due to my Maſter; to whoſe labour I muſt acknowledge to be due what Learning I have. The next day having audience, he accuſed the two Companions of his Journey.

Biſhops See removed.

The Archbiſhop of *York*, *Primas Angliæ*; of *Canterbury Primas totius Angliæ*.

But as this King took down the Prelates in Temporalities, for he ordained they ſhould exerciſe no Temporal Authority at all: ſo in Spiritualties, he rather raiſed them, as may be ſeen by a paſſage between *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and the King; for at a time, upon the repulſe of a certain Suit, the Archbiſhop in great diſcontentment offered to depart, when the King in awe of his diſpleaſure, ſtayed him, fell down at his feet, deſired pardon, and promis'd to grant his Suit. The King all this while being down at the Archbiſhops feet, the Noblemen that were preſent, put him in mind that he ſhould cauſe the King to riſe: Nay (ſaith the Archbiſhop) let him alone, let him find what it is to anger Saint *Peter*. And as by this ſtory we ſee the inſulting pride of a Prelate in thoſe days: ſo by another, we may ſee the equivocating falſehood of a Prelate at that time: For *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* would often ſwear, He had not one penny upon the Earth, when under the Earth it was afterwards found he had hidden great Treaſure. Alſo it is memorable, but ſcarce credible of another Biſhop, who being accuſed of Simony, and denying it, the Cardinal before whom he was to anſwer, told him, that a Biſhoprick was the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore to buy a Biſhoprick was againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and thereupon bid him ſay, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, which the Biſhop beginning, and oft aſſaying, could never ſay (*and to the Holy Ghoſt*), but ſaid it plainly when he was put out of his Biſhoprick. And yet was not the Church in that age ſo barren of virtue, but that it afforded ſome good Biſhops, as *William* Biſhop of *Durham*, Founder of Univerſity-Colledge in *Oxford*; but eſpecially Biſhop *Wolſton*, whom, upon *Lanfrank*'s reporting to be inſufficient for the place for want of Learning, the King commanded to put off his Pontifical Robes, and to leave his Biſhoprick: when ſuddenly out of a Divine Inſpiration, *Wolſton* anſwered, A better than you, O King, beſtowed theſe Robes upon me, and to him I will reſtore them. And therewithal going to St. *Edward*'s ſhrine, who had made him a Biſhop, and putting off his Robes, he ſtruck his Staff upon St. *Edward*'s Monument, which ſtuck ſo faſt in the ſtone of it, that by no ſtrength it could be drawn forth, till he drew it forth himſelf: which ſo terrified both *Lanfrank* and the King, that they intreated him to take his Robes again, and keep his Biſhoprick. Alſo *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who deviſed a Form of Prayers to be daily uſed in his Church, and was uſed afterwards in other Churches, from whence proceeded the common ſaying of *Secundum uſum Sarum*. In this Kings time was *Berengarius*, who denied the true body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament; Alſo in his time, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh removed married Prieſts from executing Divine Service, whereof great Troubles aroſe in *England*: Alſo in his time was inſtituted the Feaſt of the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*: Alſo in his time, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, in a Synod holden at *Rome*, ordained that none ſhould be called Pope but only the Biſhop of *Rome*, where before all Biſhops were called Popes.

Aldred Archbiſhop of *York*, his inſulting over K. *William*.

An equivocating Biſhop.

A Miracle done upon a Biſhop.

A Miracle done by a Biſhop.

Prayers deviſed *Secundum uſum Sarum*.

No Prieſts to be married. *Eadmary*.

Works of Piety, by him and others, in his time.

THIS King founded the Abby of *Battel* in *Suſſex*, where he overcame *Harold*, as a Monument in memory of his Victory; but there ſucceeded a greater Monument in memory of this Battel, if it be true which *Newbrigenſis* ſaith, that after every ſmall rain the Graſs where the Battel was fought, ſhews to be of the colour of blood, and had continued to do ſo to his days, who lived in the time of King *Stephen*, almoſt an hundred years after the Battel was fought. The Abby of *Selby* in *Yorkſhire*; and a third near *London*, called St. *Saviour's*. He founded alſo the Priory of St. *Nicholas* at *Exeter*, and gave great Priviledges to St. *Martins le-Grand*

Grand in *London*; which Church was founded before the Conqueſt, by *Ingelricus* and *Emardus* his Brother, Couſins to King *Edward* the Confeſſor. He alſo builded the Tower of *London*: namely, the great white and ſquare Tower there. Theſe were this Kings works of *Piety* in *England*; but in *Normandy* he founded alſo an Abby at *Caen*, where his Wife *Maude* built alſo a Monaſtery of Nuns. He gave alſo to the Church of St. *Stephens* in *Caen*, two Mannors in *Dorſetſhire*, one Mannor in *Devonſhire*, another in *Eſſex*, much Land in *Berkſhire*, ſome in *Norfolk*, a Manſion in *Woodſtreet*, *London*, with many Advowſons of Churches: and even he gave his Crown and Regal Ornaments to the ſaid Church, being of his own Foundation: for the redemption whereof, his Son *Henry* gave the Mannor of *Brydleton* in *Dorſetſhire*. In this Kings time *Robert*, Son to *Hildebert Lacies*, founded the Priory of *Pontfraight*: *Henry* Earl *Ferrers* founded a Priory within his Caſtle at *Tutbury*, *Alwyn Childe*, a Citizen of *London*, founded the Monaſtery of St. *Saviours* at *Bermondſey* in *Southwark*, and gave the Monks there divers Rents in *London*. Alſo in this Kings time, *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, after the firing of the former Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, began the Foundation of the New Church, a work ſo admirable, that many thought it would never have been finiſhed. Towards the building of the Eaſt end whereof, the King gave the choice ſtones of his Caſtle at the Weſt end of the City, upon the Bank of the River *Thames*; which Caſtle having been at that time fired, in place thereof *Edward Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did afterwards found a Monaſtery of *Black-Fryers*. The King alſo gave the Mannor of *Starford* to the ſame *Maurice*, and to his Succeſſors in that See; after whoſe deceaſe, *Richard* his next Succeſſor beſtowed all the Rents of his Biſhoprick to advance the building of this Church, maintaining himſelf by his private Patrimony: and yet all he could do, made no great ſhew, but the finiſhing of the Work was left to many other ſucceeding Biſhops. In the fourteenth year of this Kings Reign, *Roger de Montgomery* Earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*, founded the Abby of *Shrewsbury*; He alſo built another at *Wenlock*. In the fifteenth year of this Kings Reign, *William* Biſhop of *Durham* founded Univerſity-Colledge in *Oxford*; Alſo one *Gilbert* a *Norman* Lord founded the Abby of *Merton* in *Surrey*, ſeven miles from *London*; and *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York*, firſt builded the Minſter of *York*. In this Kings ſixteenth year, his Brother Duke *Robert* being ſent againſt the *Scots*, builded a Fort, where at this day ſtandeth *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne*: but the Town and Walls were builded afterward by King *John*. Alſo in this Kings time, *Ledes* Caſtle in *Kent* was builded by *Creveken*, and the Caſtle of *Oxford* by *Robert d' Oylie*, two Noblemen that came into *England* with him. *Oſmund* Biſhop of *Salisbury* built the New Church there.

St. *Paul's* Church new builded.

Univerſity-Colledge in *Oxford* founded.

New-Caſtle upon *Tyne*, builded.

Caſualties happening in his time.

A great fire in *London*.

IN the twentieth year of his Reign, ſo great a fire happened in *London*, that from the Weſt-Gate to the Eaſt-Gate, it conſumed Houſes and Churches all the way, and amongſt the reſt the Church of St. *Paul*, the moſt grievous fire that ever happened in this City. Alſo this year, by reaſon of diſtemperature of Weather, Thunders and Lightnings, by which many men periſhed, there enſued a Famine, and afterwards a miſerable mortality of Men and Cattel; and which is very ſtrange, Hens, Peacocks, Geeſe, and Ducks bred in, and accuſtomed to Houſes, forſook their wonted Hives, and turned wild. (*Mat. Weſt. Anno Dom.* 1087.) Alſo this year in the Province of *Wales*, upon the Sea-ſhore, was found the Body of *Gawen*, Siſters Son to *Arthur*, the great King of the *Britains*, reported to be fourteen foot in length. Alſo in this Kings time, a great Lord ſitting at a Feaſt, was ſet upon by Mice; and though he were removed from Land to Sea, and from Sea again to Land; yet the Mice ſtill followed him, and at laſt devoured him.

The body of *Gawen* ſiſters Son to King *Arthur* found.

A Lord eaten up with Mice.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE had to Wife, and her only, *Mathilde*, or *Maude*, Daughter to *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*. She was Crowned Queen of *England* the ſecond year of his Reign; the ſeventeenth year of his Reign ſhe died. A Woman only memorable for this, that nothing memorable is recorded of her, but that ſhe built a Nunnery at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where ſhe lies buried. By her he had four Sons and five Daughters. His Sons were, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*: of whom *Robert* the eldeſt called *Court-cayſe*, of his ſhort Thighs; or *Court-hoſe*, of his ſhort Breeches; or *Courtois*, of his Courteous Behaviour, (for ſo many are the comments upon his name) ſucceeded his Father in the Dutchy of *Normandy*; *Richard* his ſecond Son was kill'd by misfortune, hunting in the *New-Foreſt*. *William* his third Son, called *Rufus*, ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*. *Henry* his youngeſt Son called *Beauclerk* for his Learning, had by his Fathers Will five thouſand pounds in money, and the Inheritance alſo of his Mother: His Daughters were *Cecilie*, *Conſtace*, *Adela*, *Margaret* and *Elenor*, of whom *Cecile* was Abbeſs of *Caen* in *Normandy*. *Conſtace* was married to *Allen* Earl of *Britain*. *Adela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*. *Margaret* affianced to *Harold* King of *England*, but never married, and died young. *Elenor* betrothed to *Alphonſus* King of *Gallicia*, but deſiring to die a Virgin, ſhe had her wiſh, ſpending her time ſo much in Prayer, that with continual kneeling her knees were brawned.

Robert Courtoiſe why ſo called.

Good Devotion.

Of his Perſonage and Condition.

HE was but mean of ſtature, yet big of Body, and therewithal ſo ſtrong, that few were able to draw his Bow: growing in years he was bald before; his beard always ſhaven after the manner of the *Normans*; and in his younger time he was much given to that infirmity of Youth, which grows out of ſtrength of Youth, Incontinency. After he was once married, whether out of Satiety, or out of Grace, he was never known to offend in that kind. Of ſo perfect health, that he was never ſick till that ſickneſs whereof he died. Of a ſtern countenance,

tenance, yet of an affable nature: In War as Expert as Valiant: In peace, as Provident as Prudent: and in all his Enterprizes as fortunate, as bold and hardy. Much given to Hunting and Feasting, where he was no less pleasant than magnificent. He made no great proficiency in Learning, as having had his Education in the licentiousness of the *French* Court: yet he favoured learned men, and drew out of *Italy*, *Lanfrank*, *Anselm*, *Durand*, *Terherne*, and divers others, famous at that time for Learning and great Piety. Very devout he was, and always held the Clergy in exceeding great Reverence. And this is one special Honour attributed unto him, That from him we begin the Computation of our Kings of *England*.

His Places of Residence.

HIS *Christmas* he commonly kept at *Gloucester*, his *Easter* at *Wincheſter*, and his *Whitsuntid* at *Westminster*, and once in the year at one of these places would be new Crowned; as though by often putting on his Crown, he thought to make it sit the easier upon his head. And for the Houses which the Kings of *England* had in those days in *London*; I find that at *Westminster* was a Palace, the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*, from the time of *Edward* the Confessor; which in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, was by casual fire burnt down to the ground. A very large and stately Palace this was, and in that Age for Building incomparable. The Remains whereof are the Chamber of assembling the High Court of Parliament, and the next unto it; wherein anciently they were wont to begin the Parliament, called St. *Edward*'s Painted Chamber; because the Tradition holdeth, that the said King *Edward* died in it. Adjoining unto this, is the *White-Hall*, wherein at this day the Court of Requests is kept. Beneath this, is the Great Hall, where Courts of Justice are now kept: This Hall, which we now have, was built by King *Richard* the Second out of the ground; as appeareth by his Arms engraven in the stone-work, (when he had plucked down the old Hall, built before by *William Rufus*) and made it his own habitation. But the aforesaid Palace, after it was burnt down in *Anno* 1512. lay desolate, and King *Henry* the Eighth shortly after translated the Kings Seat to a house not far off, built by Cardinal *Woolsey*, and is called *White-Hall*. The Tower of *London* was anciently used by the Kings of *England* to lodge in. Other Houses they anciently had; one where *Bridewell* now standeth; out of the ruines whereof, the now *Bridewell* was built. Another called the *Tower-Royal*, now the Kings Wardrobe. Another in *Bucklers-bury*, called *Sernes* Tower. Another where now the *Popes-Head* Tavern is, over-against the *Old Exchange*, thought to have been the Kings House; also another in *Lime-street* called the Kings Artrice. Also another in the *Old-Jury*; and oft-times they made use of *Baynard*'s *Castle*. But these are all long since demolished, that we may see Palaces and Places have their fates and periods as well as men. And as for his Arms, he gave three Lions passant Gold in a Field *Gules*; which have ever since been used as peculiar to the Crown of *England*; to which three *Flower-de-luces* were added by King *Edward* the Third, by reason of his claim to the Crown of *France*.

K. *William* new Crowned every year.

Westminster Palace the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*.

Westminster Hall built by *Richard* the second.

Whitehall, when made the Kings habitation.

His Death and Burial.

TOWARDS the end of his Reign, he appointed his two Sons, *Robert* and *Henry*, with joint authority Governors of *Normandy*. These went together to visit the King of *France* lying at *Constance*; where entertaining the time with variety of sports, *Henry* played with *Lewis* the Heir of *France* at Chess, and winning much mony of him, *Lewis* grew so cholerick, that he threw the Chess-men at *Henry*'s Face, calling him the Son of a Bastard; and thereupon *Henry* struck *Lewis* with the Chess Board, and had presently slain him, if his Brother *Robert* had not stept in and stayed him. Upon this the King of *France* invades *Normandy*, and draws *Robert*, King *William*'s eldest Son to join with him against his Father: But King *William* coming presently over with an Army, was soon reconciled to his Son; yet being corpulent and in years, was by this means much distempered in body, and so retired to *Roan*, where he stayed, as not being well in health. The *French* King hearing of his sickness, scoffingly said, That he lay in Child-bed of his great Belly. Which so incensed King *William*, that he swore by God's Resurrection and his Brightness, (his usual Oath) that as soon as he should be Churched of that Child, he would offer a Thousand Lights in *France*: And indeed he peformed it; for he entred *France* in Arms, and set many Towns and Corn-fields on fire, in which he was so violent, that by reason of his travel, and the unreasonable heat, being in the month of *August*, it brought upon him a relapse of his sickness, and withal, leaping on Horseback over a Ditch, his fat belly did bear so hard upon the pummel of his Saddle, that he took a Rupture in his inner parts; whereupon returning to *Roan*, his sickness so increased, that in short time he died. And that which is scarce credible, yet recorded for certain, the very same day he died at *Roan*, his death was known at *Rome*, a thousand miles off; which if it be true, it seems there are certain Invisible Intelligencers, that can make such speed: whereof *Froissard* tells a strange story; and for the strangeness not unworthy to be here related. There was (saith he) in the time of King *Edward* the Third, a Knight in *France* called *Coraſſe*, who could tell any thing that was done all the World over, the very day it was done, or within a day or two, how far soever it were off; and this he did by such an invisible Intelligencer. For he had gotten a Familiar Spirit, called *Orthone*, who brought him the news continually; and held on this course with him divers years, till at last he lost him by this occasion. He had only heard the voice of his spirit *Orthone*; and now had great longing to see his shape: whereupon the spirit seeing his earnestness; Well then (saith he) to morrow morning when you rise out of your bed, the first thing you see shall be I. So the Knight rising in the morning looked out, but could see nothing: whereupon he blamed his spirit *Orthone*

The *French* King scoffs at K. *William*'s great belly.

1087.

K. *Williams* death known the same day he died, a thousand miles off.

throne, for not keeping his Promiſe with him. *Orthone* anſwered, He had kept his promiſe: for, ſaith he, bethink your ſelf, what it was you firſt ſaw after your riſing. Then the Knight bethinking himſelf, remembred he ſaw two ſtraws upon the ground, tumbling upon one another: (Why ſaith *Orthone*) that was I. Then the Knight deſired he might ſee him in ſuch a ſhape, as that he might take notice of him. Well then, ſaid *Orthone*, to morrow morning, when you riſe, the firſt thing you ſee, that ſhall be I. So the next morning, the Knight riſing, and looking out of his Chamber Window, the firſt thing he ſaw was a Sow, ſo lean and deformed, that he could not abide to ſee it: and thereupon cauſed his men to ſet Dogs upon it, to drive it away: which being done, the Sow vaniſhed away; after this his ſpirit *Orthone* never came to him any more. And this relation *Froiſſard* had from the Knights own mouth: and by ſuch alike means, it might perhaps be, that the death of King *William* was known at *Rome* the very day he died at *Roan*, though a thouſand miles aſunder. And now to go on with the ſtory; *William* the Conqueror in all the time of his ſickneſs retained to the very laſt his memory and ſpeech; and ſhewed many demonſtrations of his Devotion, and true contrition, ſpecially for his ſeverity uſed towards the *Engliſh*. And thus he who was a Conqueror of men, was conquered himſelf by death, the ninth day of *September*, when he had reigned Twenty years, and near eleven months, in the Threeſcore and fourth year of his age; *Malmeſbury* ſaith in the fifty ninth. I may well ſay he was conquered by death, ſeeing death uſed him more deſpitefully than ever he living uſed any whom he had conquered: For no ſooner was the breath out of his body, but his attendants purloining what they could lay hands on, forſook him and fled, leaving his body almoſt naked upon the ground. Afterwards, *William*, Archbiſhop of *Roan*, commanded his body ſhould be conveyed to *Caen*, but his command was little regarded: till at laſt, one *Herlewyne*, a Country Knight, at his own charges cauſed his body to be Embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the Abbot and Monks meeting the Corps, ſuddenly in the midſt of their ſolemnities, a violent fire brake out in the Town, with the fright whereof, every man left the place; and thus was his body the ſecond time left forlorn. In the end a few Monks returned, and accompanied the Hearſe to the Abby Church; but when the Divine Office was ended, and the body ready to be laid in the Grave, one *Anſelm Fitz. Arthur* ſtood up and claimed that ground to have been the floor of his Father's houſe which King *William* had violently wreſted from him, and thereupon charged them, as they would anſwer it before the dreadful face of God, not to cover his body with the earth of his Inheritance. Whereupon after ſome pauſe, agreement was made with him, and three pound was paid in hand for the ground broken up, and an hundred pounds more afterwards for the ground it ſelf, paid him by *Henry*, the Kings youngeſt Son, who only of all his Sons was preſent at the Funeral. And yet this was not all, but when his body was to be put in the earth, it happened that the Sepulcher of ſtone which ſtood within the Grave, was hewen ſomewhat too ſtrait for his fat belly, ſo as they were fain to preſs it down with ſome violence, with which, whether his bowels burſt, or whether ſome Excrements were forced out of their natural paſſage, ſuch an intolerable ſtink proceeded from him, that none were able to endure it, but made all the haſt they could to be gone. And yet neither was this the laſt of his miſeries, for in the year 1562. when *Caſtillion* took the City of *Caen*, certain diſſolute Soldiers opened his Tomb, and not finding the Treaſure they expected, threw forth his bones with great deriſion: whereof ſome were afterward brought into *England*. So that if we conſider his many Troubles in his life and after his death, we may well think, that notwithſtanding all his greatneſs, a very mean man would hardly be perſuaded to change fortunes with him. He bore the ſame Arms as peculiar to the Crown of *England*, which all ſucceeding Princes have uſed: namely Three Lions paſſant Gold in a field *Gules*: for as for the Three *Flower-de-luces*, they were added by King *Edward* the Third, upon his claim of the Crown of *France*.

K. *William* being dead, how neglected and moleſted at his burial.

The Arms born by K. *William*.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Learning in his time were but rare in this Iſland, yet ſome there were, particularly *Marianus Scotus*, an Hiſtoriographer, and *Alpheredus* a Monk of *Beverly*, a Writer alſo of Hiſtorical Argument. And as for the Men of Valour, they are not to be expected in a time of ſervitude, but as if all the *Engliſh* Valour were now remaining in the *Kentiſh* men, they only made reſiſtance, when all other Countries had ſubmitted. Yet it is memorable in this time, what a private *Norwegian* Soldier did, who himſelf alone upon a Bridge, reſiſted the whole Army of the *Engliſh*, ſlew forty of them, and maintained the place for divers hours together, till one getting under the Bridge, found means to thruſt up a Spear into his body, and killed him.

THE

THE REIGN OF King William the Second.

William Rufus is Crowned. *An. Dom.* 1087.

KING *William* Second, called *Rufus*, third Son to *William* the Conqueror, appointed Successor by his Fathers Will, was upon the fifth of *October*, in the year 1087. by *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Crowned at *Westminster* King of *England*. Wherein his Father seems to have followed the example of *Jacob*, who gave to his younger Son *Joseph*, the Land which he had taken with his Sword and his Bow: for with his Sword and Bow had King *William* gotten the Land of *England*; and therefore might justly bestow it on which of his Sons he pleased. And besides, there was cause enough, why he should shew this Son of his some extraordinary favour, seeing in the Rebellion of his Brother *Robert*, yet he stood firmly for his Father; and in his quarrel incurred no small hazard of his life, as wherein he received divers wounds: and perhaps also, his Father thought the rough disposition of this Son fitter to bridle the insurrections of the *English*, than the softly disposition of his Son *Robert*.

But though he had thus quietly gotten the Crown, he must not look to hold it so; and indeed at his very beginning is assaulted with two troubles in one: for both his Brother *Robert* prepares to recover it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdom combine with *Robert* to assist him in it. The first mover of this trouble was *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Uncle, who finding himself not to bear the sway he expected, and specially for an old grudge he bore to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by whose means, in the former Kings time he had been Imprisoned, the Archbishop telling him, That though he might not Imprison a Bishop, yet he might Imprison an Earl of *Kent* (as this *Odo* was made not long before) he draws many other Bishops and Temporal Lords to join with him, in behalf of Duke *Robert* against the King: but though the storm were violent for a while, yet it soon passed over; that indeed of his Lords, with more difficulty: but that of his Brother *Robert* with more cost: for it was at last agreed, That *Rufus* should pay him Three thousand marks a year during his life, and leave him the Kingdom after his own decease. But there was difficulty in repressing his Rebel Lords by reason of their spreading themselves abroad in many quarters. For *Odo* fortified himself in *Kent*; *Roger Mountgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgshire*, *Hugh de Grandmenil*, in *Leicestershire* and *Northamptonshire*; *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, possessed himself of *Bristol*, *William* Bishop of *Durham*, of the North parts of the Realm; and divers other of the Clergy and Nobility, fortify themselves in *Herefordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*; and all the Countries adjoining to *Wales*, thinking by this means to distract the King, that he should not know where to begin, nor whither to turn him. But this course, as it made it hard to repress them suddenly, so it made it easy to repress them at leisure; for being thus divided, they were but as single sticks, that are easily broken; whereas if they had united themselves, as into a Faggot, they might have made a strength of far greater resistance. But the King having *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wolstan* Bishop of *Worcester* firm of his side: partly by their Authority and love amongst the people; but chiefly by his own promises, to restore their ancient Laws, and to allow them liberty of hunting in his Forests, he so firmly won the hearts of all unto him, that some of the Rebel Lords he reconciled with fair words: as *Robert Montgomery* (a principal sinew of the Faction); some again he mastered by strong hand; and *Odo* the chief Egineer of all the work, he besieged in the Castle of *Rochester*, took him Prisoner, and forced him to abjure the Realm. And thus this great Rebellion was suppressed: In which it is observable, that though so many hot bloods were up, yet there was but little blood spilt. A happy Rebellion for the *English*; for the Rebel Lords and Bishops being all *Normans*, the King had none to trust to but the *English*, whom for their faithfulness to him in this service, he ever after respected more than he had done before.

His Brother is incited to claim the Crown.

He is compounded with for 3000. marks a year.

The Rebel Lords are won or overcome.

The *English* firmer to King *William* than the *Normans*.

This year died *Lanfrank*, after he had been Archbishop of *Canterbury* eighteen years, who had brought the Monks to some good order, that before his time followed hunting and hawking, dicing and carding; to the great discredit of their profession.

An. Reg. 3. 1090.

After this storm was over in the South, there ariseth another in the North; for now *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, thinking it a fit time to do some feats when King *William* was troubled at home, invades *Northumberland*, and having burnt and spoiled the Country, returns home laden with booties: Which King *William* hearing, he takes his Brother *Robert* along with him, and with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, brings *Malcolme* to acknowledge his ancient homage: and upon Faith given returns to *London*. After this, Duke *Robert* finding his Brother King *William* not to keep his promise, in paying his Pension, complains to the King of *France*, and with his aid,

King *William* represseth the *Scots*. He represseth his Brother *Robert*, taking up Arms for his Pension not payed.

aid assaults and take some Towns, which he before had delivered in pawn for money to his brother King *William*; who hearing of it, hastens into *Normandy* with an Army, and by the mediation of money, takes off the King of *France*, and make his brother, being left destitute of Assistance, to ask him pardon; a wise and merciful course in King *William*; for to buy his peace with the King of *France*, did cost him but money; where to have purchased it by War, must besides money, have cost the lives of many.

An. Reg. 6. 1093.

After this, *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, came in Kindness to visit King *William* at *Gloucester*; but the King notvouchsafing so much as to see him, put him in so great an indignation, that returning home, he makes ready an Army, invades *Northumberland*, making great spoil, and getting great spoils; but by *Robert Mowbray*, the Kings Lieutenant there, was taken in ambush, and together with his eldest Son *Edward*, defeated and slain. This King *Malcolme* was a most valiant Prince, as may appear by an Act of his of an extraordinary strain; for hearing of a conspiracy plotted to murther him, whereof one was Author, whose name is not recorded, he dissembled the knowing of it, till being abroad one day a hunting, he took the fellow apart from the company, and being alone said unto him; Here now is a fit time and place to do that manfully, which you have intended to do treacherously; draw your weapon, and if you kill me, none being present, you can incur no danger: with which speech of the King, the fellow was so daunted, that presently he fell down at his feet, confessed his fault, humbly asked forgiveness, and being granted him, was ever after serviceable and faithful to him. The death of King *Malcolme* and his Son was so grievous, and so grievously taken of *Margaret* his Queen, the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*, that she made it her Prayer, and had it granted, not to overlive them, and so within three days after died. A woman as full of virtues all her life, as at this time of sorrows, whom yet I should not break order to mention, but for one Pious act of hers in causing a most barbarous custom of *Scotland* to be abrogated, that when a man married, his Lord should lie the first night with his Bride. Which custom by her endeavour was altered to a payment in money.

Malcolme King of *Scots* with his eldest Son *Edward* is slain.

A most valiant Prince.

With grief of whose death his Queen *Margaret* dyeth within three days.

A barbarous custom in *Scotland* abrogated by her means.

After these troubles were ended in the North, a new trouble ariseth in the West; for now the *Welch*-men hearing of King *William*'s distractions, enter upon the *English* borders, making spoil and havock of Men and Towns: whom King *William* went with an Army to encounter, but could do no good upon them, till he was fain to return to *London*, and provide him a stronger Army. About this time also *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, by whom *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, was in King *William*'s service formerly slain, finding his service not rewarded at he expected, enters into Conspiracy against the King: but the King being informed of the practice, seiseth suddenly upon many of his Complices; and himself, after many devices and shifts for flight, is taken and put in Prison, in the Castle of *Windsor*. After this, King *William* to take a further revenge of the *Welch*, and to make an absolute conquest of that unquiet people, with a far greater Army than ever before, enters *Wales*, and thinks with new devices of Castles and Forts, utterly to subdue them; but they defending themselves with their Woods and mountainous passages, tire and weary out the King and his Army, so as he leaves the business to two *Hughs*, one Earl of *Salop*, the other of *Chester*, who first invaded and took *Anglesey*, (their Island of refuge) where they used all kind of cruelty, pulling out of eyes, and cutting off hands and noses: in prosecuting of which business, *Hugh* Earl of *Salop* was slain, but *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* entred *Wales*, and in the end with the slaughter of *Rees*, the last King of *Wales*, made an absolute conquest of the Country: For after this, though they often rebelled, yet they were in a true subjection. And these for the most part, were all the troubles of his reign; where we may observe, that none of them did overtake him, but still he met them; and from none of them he ever fled, but still was the pursuer; and yet so many as might have well taken away all the Comfort of a Crown, and have made him willing to change his Diadem for a pair of Beads; but that Ambition, tho sometimes weary, yet never tires.

Wales absolutely conquered by K. *William*.

Rees the last King of *Wales* slain.

His Exactions and Courses for raising of Money.

IN the second year of his Reign, *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* died, who had kept the Kingdom and King in some good order; but assoon as he was dead, the King, as though he were then got loose, ranged without reins, in all licentiousness, preying especially upon the Clergy, as amongst whom he found the richest Booties. When Bishopricks or Abbies were vacant, it was familiar with him to seise them into his own hands, as this of *Lanfranks* he kept to his own use four years together, and longer would have kept it, if a sickness of his body had not healed this disease of his mind; For finding himself in some hazard of death, he then conferred the Archbishopick of *Canterbury* upon *Anselm*; and the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet*, two eminent men of that time: but assoon as he was well again, it repented him of that he had done, and he was not quiet till he had drawn from the said *Bloet*, five thousand pounds, and from *Anselm* also good sums of money. For he repented not more in time of sickness for the evil he had done in health, than being in health he repented of the good he had done in sickness; that it may in a manner be said, there was nothing made him sick but health, and nothing made him be in health but sickness. But this preying upon the Clergy was grown into such a custom with him, that he kept in his hands at one time three Bishopricks, *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, and *Salisbury*, and twelve Abbies; all which he let out to farm, and received the profits; and from this King the use is to have risen first in *England*, that the Kings succeeding had the temporalties of Bishops Sees, as long as they remained void. Having agreed to pay the King of *France* a great sum of money, he raised it in this manner; He caused twenty thousand men to be levied, under pretence for his wars in *Normandy*; but when they were ready to be shipped, it was signified to them from the King, that whosoever would pay ten shillings towards the levying of Soldiers in *Normandy*, should be excused from

K. *William* keeps Abbies and Bishopricks vacant in his hands.

From this King the Kings succeeding took the Temporalties of Bishops Sees vacant.

going, and ſtay at home, which was ſo plauſible an offer to the Army, that ſcarce a man was found that accepted not that condition. When Duke *Robert* went into the Holy Land, he pawned his Duchy of *Normandy* to his Brother King *William* for 6666 pounds, or as ſome write, for 12600. which money King *William* took up, part by a grievous Impoſition: ſo that Biſhops melted their Plate, and the Temporal Lords ſpoiled their Tenants for the payment thereof: and part by Loan; but chiefly of Religious Perſons. He ſold the Abby of *Glaſtenbury* to *Thurſtan* for five hundred pounds; and when he built *Weſtminſter-Hall*, he made that an occaſion to lay a heavy tax upon the People, who grudged at it as done on purpoſe. He uſually ſold all ſpiritual Preferments to them who would give moſt, and took Fines of Prieſts for Fornication; as alſo he took mony of *Jews*, to cauſe ſuch of them as were converted, to renounce Chriſtianity, and return to Judaiſm, as making more benefit by their Unbelief than by their Converſion. He cauſed divers of the Nobility to pay grievous Fines for tranſgreſſing his Laws, tho' the fault were never ſo ſmall. He ſet forth a Proclamation that none ſhould go out of the Realm without his Licenſe, by which he drew much mony from many; for either they muſt tarry at home and live diſcontented, or elſe content him for giving them leave to go abroad. And from thence the Cuſtom or Law of *Ne exeas Regno*, ſeems to have taken its beginning: for precedents of Servitude are ſure to live, where precedents of Liberty are commonly ſtill-born. Theſe were his ways for raiſing of money, wherein Promoters and Informers were his darling ſervants; and the moſt officious of all was *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, of whom he would often ſay, there was not ſuch a man in the world to ſerve a Kings turn. And yet he was not ſo greedy of lucre, but that he did ſome acts that may ſerve for examples; as one time, an Abby being vacant, two Monks of the Covent came ſuiters to him for the place, offering great ſums, and each of them out-bidding the other; whereupon the King looking about, and eſpying another Monk ſtanding not far off, asked him what he would give for the Place? Who anſwering, he neither had any thing to give, nor would give any thing if he had it. Well (ſaid the King) thou haſt ſpoken honeſtly, thou art fitter to be Abbot than either of theſe; and ſo beſtowed the Place upon him *gratis*.

Fines taken of Prieſts for fornication.

Ne Exeas Regno, whence it began.

A notable part of K. *William*.

Of his Magnanimity.

WORD was brought him as he ſate at dinner, that his City of *Mans* in *Normandy* was beſieged, and in great danger to be taken, if not preſently relieved: whereupon the King asked which way *Mans* lay, and then cauſed Maſons preſently to take down the Wall, to make him paſſage the next way, and ſo rode inſtantly towards the Sea. His Lords about him, adviſing him to ſtay till his people were ready, No (ſaith he) ſuch as love me I know will follow me. And being come on Shipboad, and the weather growing very tempeſtuous, he was adviſed by the Maſter of the Ship to ſtay for ſome calmer ſeaſon: No (ſaith he) Fear nothing, I never yet heard of any King that was drowned. And thereby coming to *Mans* unexpected, preſently diſperſed the Beſiegers, and took *Helias*, *Count de la Fleſche*, who had been Author of the tumult, priſoner; who vaunting to the King, and ſaying, Now indeed you have taken me by a wile; but if I were at liberty again, you ſhould find me to do other kind of feats: at which the King laughing, Well then (ſaith he) go your ways and do your worſt, and let us ſee what feats you will do. Being reconciled to his Brother *Robert*, he aſſiſted him to recover the Fort of Mount St. *Michael*, which their brother *Henry* did formerly hold in *Normandy*: during which ſiege, ſtragling one time alone upon the ſhoar, he was ſet upon by three Horſemen, who aſſaulted him ſo fiercely, that they drove him from his ſaddle, and his ſaddle from his Horſe; but he taking up his ſaddle, and withal drawing out his Sword, defended himſelf till reſcue came; and being afterward blamed for being ſo obſtinate to ſave his ſaddle, he anſwered, it would have angred me at the very heart, that the Knaves ſhould have bragged they had won the ſaddle from me.

In what he was juſt in keeping his word; in what he was failing.

THIS virtue eſpecially was commended in him, and he would often ſay, That even God himſelf was obliged by his Word. But if we obſerve the courſe of his life, we ſhall find that howſoever he might keep his word in ſmall matters, yet certainly not in great. For he kept not his word with his Brother *Robert*, to whom he promiſed to leave his Kingdom of *England* after his deceaſe, but performed it not. He kept not his word with his Subjects; for in the rebellion of the *Norman* Lords, he promiſed the *Engliſh*, if they would now ſtick to him, they ſhould have their ancient Laws reſtored, and be allowed liberty to hunt in his Foreſts; which promiſe he kept not at all, or at leaſt ſoon brake. Laſtly, he kept not his word with God himſelf; for being ſick at *Gloceſter*, and in ſome hazard of his life, he made a ſolemn vow, that if he recovered he would lead a new life, and give over all his diſorderly courſes: but being recovered he grew more diſorderly than he was before: that if denomination be made from the greateſt action, it cannot be truly ſaid, that he was juſt of his word. But ſuch is the priviledge of Princes over their Subjects, that if they make a promiſe, it muſt be believed; and if they break it, it muſt not be queſtioned.

Of his Incontinency and Prodigality.

MUCH is ſpoken of his laſcivious life in general, but nothing in particular; for neither is mentioned any violence he ever offer'd to any, nor is any woman named to have been his Concubine; and Princes Concubines are ſeldom concealed. It is true, he was never married, and of a ſtrong conſtitution of body, and ſo probably he might be inclined to that vice: but probabilities are not always concluding, and therefore whether it be a true accuſation, or but a ſlander, it may well be doubted; one baſe Son is ſpoken of, called *Bertrannus*, whom he advanced in honour, and matched in a Noble Family.

K. *William* never married.

Family. But why ſhould we look more for particulars of his Incontinency, than of his Prodigality? For he was taxed no leſs for being Prodigal, than for being Incontinent; and yet for his Prodigality there is not ſo much as one inſtance recorded, unleſs we take this for an inſtance, that when his Chamberlain brought him a pair of hoſe, which becauſe they were new, he asked what they coſt; And being told they coſt three ſhillings, in a great chafe he threw them away; asking him if he thought a pair of hoſe of 3*s.* to be fit for a King to wear! Get thee gone (ſaith he) and let me have a pair of a Mark. His Chamberlain went and bringing him another pair ſcarce ſo good as the former, and telling him they coſt a Mark; I marry (ſaith the King) theſe are ſomething like, and was better ſatisfied with hearing what they coſt, than with ſeeing what they were worth: and yet was this no imputation to his wiſdom, for to ſay the truth, it is no defect of Wiſdom in a King to be ignorant what his clothes are worth.

A coſtly ſuit for a King.

Of his wavering in Religion.

HE appointed a diſputation to be held between Chriſtians and Jews, and before the day came, the Jews brought the King a Preſent, to the end they might have an indifferent hearing; The King took the Preſent, encouraging them to quit themſelves like men; and ſwore by St. *Luke*'s face (his uſual Oath) that if they prevailed by Diſputation, he would himſelf turn Jew, and be of their Religion. A young Jew on a time was converted to the Chriſtian Faith, whoſe Father being much troubled at it, preſented the King ſixty Mark, intreating him to make his Son to return to his Judaiſm; whereupon the King ſent for his Son, commanding him without more ado to return to the Religion of his Nation: But the young man anſwered, he wondred his Majeſty would uſe ſuch words: for being a Chriſtian, he ſhould rather perſuade him to Chriſtianity: with which anſwer the King was ſo confounded, that he commanded the young man to get him out of his ſight. But his Father finding the King could do no good upon his Son, required his money again, Nay (ſaith the King) I have taken pains enough for it; and yet that thou maiſt ſee how kindly I will deal, you ſhall have one half, and the other half you cannot in conſcience deny me. There were fifty Gentlemen accuſed for hunting and killing the Kings Deer, which they denied, and were therefore condemn'd to the trial of fire, which by God's merciful judgment they paſſed through untouched; the King hearing it, and deceived of the Confiſcation expected, is ſaid in a great chafe to ſay, How happens this? Is God a juſt Judge in ſuffering it? Now a murrain take him that believes it. It ſeems alſo he doubted in many points of Religion then in credit: For he would often proteſt, that he believed not that Saints could profit any man in God's ſight, and therefore neither would he, nor any other that were wiſe (as he affirmed) make Interceſſion either to *Peter*, or to any other, for help.

K. *William* takes money to perſuade a Chriſtian Jew to turn to Judaiſm. *Eadmerus.*

A blaſphemous ſpeech of K. *William.*

K. *William* truſted not to the Prayers of Saints.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THE King claimed the Inveſtiture of Biſhops to be his right, and forbad Appeals and Intercourſe to *Rome*: for Appeals had been ſeldom uſed till *Anſelm* in this King's Reign appealed to the Pope; upon whoſe complaint the Pope was about to Excommunicate the King; but having a little before Excommunicated the Emperor *Henry* the fourth, he forbare at that time to do it, leſt by making Excommunication common, he ſhould make it be ſlighted. At this time great contention aroſe between the King and Archbiſhop *Anſelm*; and *Anſelm* not yielding to the King in any point prejudicial to the Popes authority, nor the King yielding to *Anſelm* in any point prejudicial to his own Prerogative, (which were points indeed incompatible) the contention continued long and hot, and the hotter, becauſe there were at that time two Popes on foot at once; one elected by the Conclave, called *Urbanus* the ſecond; another ſet up by the Emperor, called *Clement* the third: for *Anſelm* held with *Urban*, the King with *Clement*; and thus not agreeing in a third, it was impoſſible they ſhould agree between themſelves. And this contention, though palliated with pretentions, ſometimes of one ſide, ſometime of another; yet brake out again, and was renewed both in this Kings time, and in the time of many Kings after. *Anſelm* often threatning his going to *Rome*, the King told him plainly he would not thruſt him out of the Realm, but if he would go without his leave, he would then keep him out during his pleaſure; and beſides, he ſhould carry nothing out of the Realm with him. Yet *Anſelm* ventured it, and the King performed it; for *William Warkewaſt* was ſent to rifle him in his paſſage at Sea, of all he had, neither ſuffered to return as long as the King lived; during all which time, the King took the profits of his Archbiſhoprick to his own uſe. It may not be amiſs to ſhew a paſſage here concerning the firſt cauſe of contention between the King and *Anſelm*, which ſome ſay was this; The King required a thouſand Marks of him for having preferred him to that See; which *Anſelm* refuſed to give, as judging it no leſs Simony to give after the preferment, than before: but yet afterward offering five hundred pounds, the King refuſed to accept it, as being worth (he ſaid) five times as much; whereupon *Anſelm* told him, Your Grace may have me and all that is mine, to ſerve your turn in a friendly manner: but in the way of ſervitude and bondage you ſhall neither have me nor mine; Which words ſo angred the King, that they could never after be reconciled. In this Kings Reign, Pope *Urban* exhorted all Chriſtian Princes to join together for recovery of *Jeruſalem* and the Holy Land: and by the ſolliciting of *Peter* an Hermite, they aſſembled for that enterpriſe, under the conduct of *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, to the number of three hundred thouſand men; amongſt whom was *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who ſo valiantly carried himſelf in the action, that after *Jeruſalem* was won, the Kingdom of it (as ſome write) was offered to him; but he looking more after the Kingdom of *England*, and therefore refuſing it, it is obſerved he never proſpered all his life after. In this Kings Reign, although he had no command in *Ireland*, yet their Biſhop of *Dublin* was ſent over to *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,

Wilfred before this appealed to the Pope; as *Bede* largely relateth.

Contentions between the King and Archbiſhop *Anſelm.*

Anſelm fleeth the Realm, and not ſuffered to return during the Kings life.

Liberty of the Subject.

Godfrey of *Bulloin* undertakes the recovery of *Jeruſalem*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* refuſing the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, never proſpered after.

to be consecrated by him; and the Citizens of *Waterford* also desiring to have a Bishop, procured *Mercherdach* King of *Ireland*, to write to *Anselm*, to give his consent. Also in this Kings days the Pope forbad the marriage of Priests.

Works of piety by this King, or by others in his time.

THE King gave the Monks of *Southwark* the Church of St. *Saviour* of *Bermondsey*, and *Bermondsey* it self; He also founded at *York* the Hospital of St. *Leonards*: He gave the Church of St. *Peter* in the City of *Bathe* to be a Bishops See. *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* in this Kings days builded the Abby of *Chester*: *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, founded the Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*. *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*, to the end his Bishoprick might be removed to *Lincoln*, began to build the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*; and *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* builded two Hospitals without the City; the one of St. *John*, the other at *Harbaldown*; repaired Christs Church, and caused five and twenty Mannors to be restored to that See, which had unjustly been withholden. He repaired also the Abby of St. *Albans*, and the Church of *Rochester*, where for four secular Priests he placed to the number of fifty Monks. In the sixth year of this Kings Reign, *William Warren* the first Earl of *Surrey*, (who came with Duke *William* into *England*) and *Gundred* his Wife, founded the Abby of *Lewis* in *Sussex*. In his twelfth year, *Robert Losdunge* Bishop of *Thetford*, removed his See from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, and founded there a fair Monastery.

Bath made a Bishops See.

The Abby of *Lewis* in *Sussex* is founded.

His Buildings and Structures.

THIS King enlarged the Tower of *London*, and compassed it with new Walls: he also built the great Hall at *Westminster*, being 270. foot in length, and 74. in breadth; but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another Hall which should have stretched from the *Thames*, to the *Kings-street*. He repaired the City and Castle of *Carlisle*, which had been wasted by the *Danes* two hundred years before; and because it had but few Inhabitants, he brought a Colony thither out of the Southern parts. He finished *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, and many other Castles erected or repaired upon the Borders of *Scotland*; many also upon the Frontiers, and within the very Breast of *Wales*.

Westminster-Hall built by this King.

Casualties happening in his Reign.

IN the fourth year of his Reign, on St. *Lukes* day, above six hundred houses in *London* were thrown down with tempest, and the roof of St. *Mary-le-Bow* Church in *Cheapside*, was so raised, that in the fall six of the beams, being 27. foot long, were driven so deep into the ground, (the streets being not then paved with stone) that not above four foot remained in sight, and yet stood in such rank and order as the workmen had placed them upon the Church. Also in this Kings Reign all the Lands in *Kent*, sometimes belonging to Earl *Godwyn*, were by breaking in of the Sea covered with Sands, and are called *Godwin's* Sands to this day. In his eleventh year, at a Town called *Finchamstead* in the County of *Berks*, a Well cast out blood, as before it had done water; and after by the space of fifteen days, great flames of fire were seen in sundry places, and at sundry times.

A strange Fall. The streets in this Kings time not paved with stone.

Godwins sands in *Kent*.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was but mean of stature, thick and square bodied, his belly swelling somewhat round, his face was red, his hair deep yellow, whereof he was called *Rufus*; his forehead four square like a window; his eyes spotted, and not one like another; his speech unpleasant, and stammering, especially when he was moved with anger. Concerning the qualities of his mind, they may best be known by looking upon the actions of his life; in which we shall find he was never more assured, than when he was least sure; never less dejected, than when in most extremity; being like a Cube, that which way soever he fell, he was still upon his bottom. For his delights to pass the time, there was none in more request with him than hunting, a delight hereditary to him; which was the cause that as his Father had begun the great *New-Forest*, so he enlarged it to a far greater extent. Other delights of his we find not any, unless we shall reckon his Wars for delights; for though they were oftentimes forced upon him, when he could not avoid them: yet sometimes he entred into them when he needed not, but for his pleasure. And in general, it may be said that one of his greatest virtues, was that which is one of the greatest virtues, Magnanimity; and his worst vice, was that which is the worst of vices, Irreligion.

Presages that preceded his Death.

AT *Finchamstead* in *Berkshire*, near unto *Abington*, a spring cast up liquor for the space of fifteen days, in substance and colour like to blood. The night before the King was kill'd, a certain Monk dreamed that he saw the King gnaw the Image of Christ Crucified with his teeth; that as he was about to bite away the legs of the same Image, Christ with his feet spurned him down to the ground: and that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoak. This being related to the King by *Robert Fitz Mammon*, he made a jest of it, saying, This Monk would fain have something for his Dream: Go, give him a hundred shillings; but bid him look that he dream more auspicious Dreams hereafter. Also the same night, the King himself dream'd that the veins of his arms were broken, and that the blood issued out in great abundance; and many other like passages there were, by which it seems he had friends somewhere, as well as *Julius Cæsar*, that did all they could to give him warning: but that, as *Cesars*, so his *malus Genius* would not suffer him to take.

No warning can prevent destiny.

Of his Death and Burial.

KING *William* having kept his *Christmas* at *Gloucester*, his *Easter* at *Winchester*, his *Whitsuntide*

Whitsuntide at *Westminster*; notwithstanding forewarned by many signs of some great disaster toward him, would needs the day after *Lammas*, go a hunting in the New Forest; yet something resenting the many passages, he staying within all the Forenoon; About dinner time, an Artificer came and brought him six Crossbow Arrows, very strong and sharp; whereof four he kept himself, and the other two he delivered to Sir *Walter Tyrrel*, a Knight of *Normandy*; his Bow-bearer saying, Here *Tyrel*, take you two, for you know how to shoot them to purpose: and so having at dinner drank more liberally than his custom, as it were in contempt of Presages, out he rides into the *New Forest*, where Sir *Walter Tyrrel* shooting at a Deer, at a place called *Charingham*, (where since a Chappel hath been erected) the Arrow glanced against a tree, or as some write, grazed upon the back of the Deer: and flying forward, hit the King upon the breast: with which he instantly fell down dead. Thus it is delivered by a common consent of all; only one *Sugerus*, a Writer that lived at that time, and was a familiar acquaintance of the said *Tyrels*, against the current of all Writers, affirms that he had often heard the said Sir *Walter* swear that he was not in the Forest with the King all that day. I have been the longer upon this point, because a more pregnant example of Gods Judgment remains not any where upon record. For not only this King at this time, but before this, a Brother of his named *Richard*, a young Prince of great hope; and also a Nephew of his, the Son of his Brother *Robert*, came all in this place to violent deaths; that although King *William* the Founder of the Forest escaped the punishment in his own person, yet it was doubled and trebled upon him in his Issue. Thus died King *William Rufus*, in the three and fortieth year of his age, and twelfth and some months of his Reign: His body was drawn in a Colliers Cart, with one Horse, to the City of *Winchester*, where the day following it was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Swithine*, and was laid there in the Quire under a Marble-stone; till afterwards it was translated, and laid by King *Canutus*'s bones.

K. *William* slain in hunting in the *New-Forest*.

Sugerus differs from all other Writers.

Men of Note in his time.

FOR men of Valour, he must stand alone by himself: for men of Learning, there was *Lanfrank*, a *Lombard*, but Bishop of *Canterbury*; also *Robert*, a *Lorain*, who Epitomized the Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus*: also *Turgotus* an *English*-man, Dean of *Durham*, who wrote the Annals of his own time, and divers other works, but especially *Osmond* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who composed the Ordinary Office, or Book of Prayer.

THE

THE REIGN OF King HENRY I.

Of his coming to the Crown.

An. Dom. 1100.

ALTHOUGH *Henry* came not to the Crown, as his Brother *William* did, by the gift of his Father, yet he came to it by the Prophecy of his Father; for when his Father made his Will, and divided all his Eſtate in Land between his two Eldeſt Sons, giving to *Henry* his youngeſt only a Portion in Money, with which diviſion he perceived him to be much diſcontented, he ſaid unto him, Content thy ſelf *Harry*, for the time will come, that thy turn ſhall be ſerved as well as theirs. And now the time was come that his Prediction was accompliſhed; for on the fifth of *Auguſt*, in the year 1100. he was Crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter* by *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, (as Dean of all the Biſhops of *England*, and therefore might do it without any prejudice to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though he had been preſent, who was indeed at this time in exile). But though it appears, *fuiſſe in Fatis*, to be decreed by the Divine Providence that it ſhould be ſo; yet it would not have been ſo, if his own endeavours had not been concurring. And therefore being in the New Foreſt when his Brother King *William* was killed, he never ſtayed to complement the Diſaſter, but rode preſently to *Wincheſter*, and there, not without ſome oppoſition of the keepers, ſeized upon his Brothers Treaſure, as knowing Treaſure to be the means of getting of Friends, and Friends the means for getting the Crown; and having now gotten the firſt means, he made uſe of it for the ſecond; and both of them together brought him to this he is. Yet withal there were circumſtances in his own perſon that conduced to it; his Brother was born when their Father was but a Duke, he, when he was a King; *Robert* but a Foreigner, being born in *Normandy*; himſelf a Native, born at *Selby* in *Yorkſhire*; and it was not the leaſt circumſtance that he was called *Beauclerk*, as much as to ſay, a good Scholar, having been bred in *Cambridge*; not perhaps that his learning was ſo great, but that it was great, either in reſpect of that age which had but little, or in reſpect of his Brothers, who had none at all; and the people having been oppreſſed before, by the ill Government of two Kings that were illeterate, could not chuſe but be glad to come under the Government of a King that was learned. And though his Brother *Robert*, as being the elder, had right unto it; yet he, as out of ſight was out of mind, and perhaps neglected, as being himſelf negligent; withal it was given out, that he was choſen King of *Jeruſalem*, and therefore no looking for him to come home; and to give force to all theſe reaſons, *Henry Newborough* Earl of *Warwick* was a Principal furtherer.

K. *Henry* is Crowned. The Biſhop of *London* is as Dean to all the Biſhops of *England*

Why *Henry* preferred before *Robert* his Brother.

His courſe for eſtabliſhing himſelf in the Kingdom.

IT is a hard matter to keep that ſafely, which is unjuſtly gotten; and therefore he took all poſſible care to overcome that hardneſs, which he affected by theſe means: Firſt he called *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* home from Exile; placed *William Gifford*, a learned man, in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*; and Monaſteries that had been long vacant, he furniſhed with good Abbots. And becauſe it is no leſs pleaſing to the people to have bad Inſtruments puniſhed, than the good to be advanced, he caſt *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham* (a principal cauſe of their late oppreſſions) into priſon, then mitigated the rigor of the new Laws, and promiſed reſtitution of the old. And that there might be no abuſe in meaſures, he ordained a meaſure made by the length of his own Arm, which is called a Yard. He reſtored to his Subjects the uſe of Lights and Fire in the Night, which before had been forbidden after Eight a Clock at night. He acquitted the people from the Tax of *Dane-gilt*, and from all other unjuſt payments which had been impoſed upon them by the two former Kings. He gave free liberty to the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, to incloſe Parks for Deer, and Warrens for Connies, and ſuch like Game. And becauſe he knew *Scotland* might be an ill Neighbour to him, if not tied by ſome Bond, and none ſo ſure as the Bond of Alliance; he therefore takes *Matild*, ſiſter of the preſent King *Edgar*, to be his Wife.

Anſelm called home from exile.

The meaſure of a Yard ordained by K. *Henry*.

Dane-gilt remitted.

He marries the King of *Scots* Siſter.

His troubles during his Reign.

An. Reg. 2.

RALPH Biſhop of *Durham*, the late King *William*'s greateſt Inſtrument for Exactions, that had by this King been commtted to the *Tower*, made an eſcape, and paſſing over to Duke *Robert* in *Normandy*, incenſeth him not to ſuffer himſelf to be baffled by a younger Brother; as for his Brother *William* there was ſome reaſon, becauſe his Father had given him the Kingdom by his Will; but what could *Henry*

Ralph Biſhop of *Durham* incenſeth Duke *Robert* to claim the Crown.

Henry pretend, who had his Portion given him in money? Besides, it was an agreement with his Brother *William*, with consent of all the Lords of the Realm, that the survivor of them should succeed. With such like instigations, and withal assuring him, there were many in *England* would take his part, he easily persuaded the Duke to that, from which he could hardly have dissuaded him. Who thereupon with a convenient Army puts to Sea, and lands at *Portsmouth*, while *Henry* waited for his coming about *Hastings*; and being landed there, much people resorted to him, that it was like to have been a bloody business; but by mediation of friends, working upon the flexible nature of Duke *Robert*, it was brought at last to this agreement, That King *Henry* should pay to Duke *Robert* three thousand marks yearly, and Duke *Robert* should succeed him in the Kingdom, if he survived. And thus this cloud, that threatned so great a storm, brought with it rather Sun-shine, and fair weather; for now to his possession of the Kingdom, there was added a right, and he might now justify his being a King, without any scandal or usurpation. After this another little cloud arose, but was soon dispersed; for *Robert de Belsem*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a rash young man of disposition, but more through discontentment, though discontented for nothing, but that having a great Estate he was not a King as well as some others; fortified the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and the Castle of *Bridgenorth*, and got many *Welchmen* to assist him; but the King coming with a mighty Army, so terrified the *Welch*, that they abandoned the Earl, and left him a Prey to the King in his person, and more in his estate; for the King seised his estate into his hands, but for his person he only banish'd it the Realm. For as yet the shedding of blood, and putting to death, though for great Treasonable Practices, was not much in use: Policy of State was not yet grown to that height of severity. The like attempt, and upon the like occasion, was made by *William* Earl of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornwal* in *England*, Uncle to the King, only for denying him the Earldom of *Kent*; which because he could not obtain, he entred into Treasonable practises, by which he lost the Earldoms he had before. But these troubles were but as the labour of a woman, that is safely delivered, painful for a time, but ending in joy; and indeed for the most part, this King had the fortune to be a gainer by his losses.

1101. Duke *Robert* comes with an Army into *England*. Is compounded with upon certain conditions.

Robert de Belsem Earl of *Shrewsbury* rebels.

An. Reg. 3. 1102. Banishment as yet the greatest punishment, tho for Treason.

William of *Cornwal* rebels.

After this, Duke *Robert* came in kindness into *England*, to visit his Brother *Henry*; where he was so well pleased with his entertainment, that in requital thereof, and to do favour to the Queen, that was his God-daughter, he released to King *Henry* the three thousand marks which he was yearly to pay him. But returning into *Normandy*, and considering better what he had done, he so repented him, that he spared not to give out, that his Brother had directly cozened him. Which coming to King *Henry*'s ear, so incensed him, that he presently sent over a mighty Army, which foraged the Country, and won many Towns, and Cities, and soon after went over himself; where he so prevailed, that he left Duke *Robert* but only *Roan* in all *Normandy* to put his head in; and this done, returns into *England*. And now Duke *Robert* begins to be sensible of his own weakness, and therefore comes over into *England* to try the uttermost of his Brothers good nature. Himself had sent him a Tun of Wine to refresh him withal, when in a siege he was ready to perish for want of water: and it cannot be but that gratefulness and natural affection meeting together, must needs work something in the mind of a Brother. Thus resolved, he presents himself to the King, referring both his Dukedom and himself, and all differences and debates to his will and pleasure. But whether incensed with the scandalous words Duke *Robert* had given out of him, or whether aspiring to join *Normandy* to *England*, as his Father had done before, King *Henry* scarce vouchsafed to hear him speak, at least vouchsafed not to make him any answer, but in a sullen manner turned away, and so left him: which scornful usage put the Duke in such indignation, that he resolved to set his whole state at Stake, and either to redeem his disgrace, or to forfeit his life. So returning into *Normandy*, he used all his force in raising of forces; but King *Henry* suspecting his intentions, and not using to give Insurrections time to ripen, came upon him so suddenly with a mighty Army, that he drew him to a Battel before he was half ready to fight. In which Battel King *Henry* received sundry stripes on the head at the hands of one *William Crispine, Count de Eureux*; so as the blood burst out of his mouth: yet nothing abashed, he struck down divers of his enemies, and particularly the said *Crispine* who was there taken prisoner at the Kings feet. And now desire of revenge so animated the Duke, and the Duke his Soldiers, that never Battel was more fiercely fought, and the *Normans* seemed at first to have the better; till King *Henry* shewing himself in the Army, put such courage into his Soldiers, that they quickly made good the advantage they had in number, and King *Henry* obtained a compleat Victory, both in slaughter of men, (of whom there were slain above ten thousand) and in taking of prisoners (to the number of four hundred:) amongst whom, besides other great ones, as the Earl of *Mortaigne*, *William Crispine*, and *William Ferrers*, was Duke *Robert* himself, whom the King having first taken order for all things, in his new State of *Normandy*) brought over with him into *England*, and committed him to the Castle of *Cardyffe* in *Wales*, where he remained a Prisoner till he died, used for a time with reasonable liberty for Recreation, till attempting to make an escape, it was thought fit to put out his eyes; which though it increased his misery, yet it shortned not his life, for he lived many years after, in all, from the time of his first Imprisonment, eight and twenty. And thus this great Duke, who in his birth was the joy of Nature, in his life was the scorn of Fortune; and it is not unworthy the observing, that the *English* won *Normandy* the very same day fortieth year the *Normans* had won *England*. Such Revolutions of Fortune there are in Kingdoms, and so unstable is the state of all worldly greatness. He died, *Anno Dom.* 1134. and lies buried at *Gloucester*,

An. Reg. 4. 1104. Duke *Robert* remits his annuity.

1105. He giveth out that his Brother had cozened him.

1106. Duke *Robert* is invaded by K. *Henry*.

1167. Is taken Prisoner, brought into *England*, and hath his eyes put out.

ceſter. Matth. Weſtmin. writes that King *Henry* his Brother ſent him, according to his cuſtom, a Robe of Scarlet; and putting it firſt on himſelf, perceived the Capouch to be ſomewhat ſtrait: whereupon he ſaid, Carry this Garment to my Brother, for his head is leſs than mine. The meſſenger delivering the Robe, Duke *Robert* demanded if any had worn it; and being told him the King had firſt aſſayed it, and what ſpeeches he had uſed, the Duke replied, I have now too long protracted a miſerable life, ſince my Brother is ſo injurious to me, that he ſends me his old clothes to wear; and from that time would never eat any meat, nor receive any comfort.

And now is King *Henry* as great as ever his Father was; and as greatneſs draws envy, as much envied as ever his Father was; and as envy makes enemies, as much oppoſed as ever his Father was. For now *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, and *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, upon ſmall occaſions, and *Lewis* the *Groſs* King of *France*, upon none but ſuch as envy ſuggeſted, ſeeking to place *William*, Son to Duke *Robert*, in his Right to *Normandy*, aſſaulted the Kings Dominions, perhaps to try whether greatneſs had not made him unwieldly; but King *Henry*, to ſhew that greatneſs had made him more active, went over into *Normandy* with a mighty Army, and at *Nice* encountered the *French* King, where a bloody Battel was fought, with exceeding valour on both ſides: but at laſt King *Henry* repelled the *French* King, and recovered *Nice*; and after many other Conflicts between them, with variety of fortune, at laſt the King made peace with the Earl of *Anjou*, confirmed by a marriage of the Earls Daughter with his Son *William*; and upon this alſo the two King grew to a peace, in which *William*, Son to King *Henry*, being about ſeventeen years of age, was inveſted into the Dutchy of *Normandy*, doing homage for the ſame to the King of *France*. From whence it was afterwards a cuſtom, that the King of *England*'s eldeſt Son (as long as *Normandy* remained in their hands) was made always Duke of *Normandy*. After this, *Charles* Earl of *Flanders* being ſlain at *Bruxels* by a conſpiracy of his own people, and leaving no iſſue behind him, *Lewis* King of *France* inveſted *William*, Son to Duke *Robert*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, deſcended from Earl *Baldwyn*, whoſe Daughter *Maude* was Wife to King *William* the Firſt, and Grandmother to this *William*. So as *William* now having gotten this ſtep of advancement, ſeeks to go on, and to recover *Normandy*, and was thereof by the aſſiſtance of the King of *France* in a fair poſſibility, when in a certain light conflict, receiving a wound in his hand, the thread of his fair poſſibility was upon a ſudden cut off; and of that light wound he ſhortly after died.

1112. K. *Henry*'s Son *William* marries the Earl of *Anjou*'s Daughter. The King of *England*'s eldeſt Son always Duke of *Normandy*.

William Son to Duke *Robert* is wounded and dieth.

King *Henry* now in perfect peace abroad, was not without ſome little diſquietings at home; and marching through *Powiſ-land* in South-*Wales* to repreſs ſome Inſurrections of the *Welch*, he came to certain ſtraits, where his main Army could not paſs, in which place the King was ſmitten with an Arrow full upon the breaſt, whereat he ſwore by our Lord's death (his uſual Oath) that it was no *Welch* arm had ſhot that Arrow; yet in his diſtreſs, for a thouſand head of Cattel, he had the paſſage left open, and came ſafely off; and theſe were his troubles of Arms, both at home and abroad, during all his reign.

K. *Henry* in diſtreſs in *Wales*.

His Taxations and ways for raiſing of Money.

TOWARDS the marriage of his Daughter *Maude* with the Emperor, he obtained at his firſt Parliament at *Salisbury*, three ſhillings upon every Hide of Land throughout the Kingdom; which was afterwards drawn to a cuſtom, to receive aid from the Subjects whenſoever the King gave his eldeſt Daughter in marriage. Beſides this, he had no more in all his Reign, but only one ſupply for his Wars in *France*; but he kept Biſhopricks and Abbies void in his hands; and that of *Canterbury*, five years together. By an act of Parliament, or rather by a Synod of Biſhops holden at *London*, he was authorized to puniſh marriage and incontinency of Prieſts, which the Biſhops afterwards repented; for he ſuffered Prieſts to have Wives for Fines; or rather took Fines of them whether they had Wives or no, becauſe they might have them if they would. Puniſhments which before this time were multilation of Member, he made Pecuniary. And the Proviſions of his houſe, which were uſed to be paid in kind, were in his time rated at certain prices, and received in Money. By this Chapter and the next before, it appears there were in this Kings days but few troubles at home, nor but few Taxations, whereof the one may be thought to be the cauſe of the other; the firſt perhaps of the ſecond, but certainly the ſecond of the firſt.

The cuſtom of giving aid for marrying the King's eldeſt daughter, when it firſt began.

Puniſhments made pecuniary.

His Rents paid now in money

Laws firſt inſtituted in his time.

HE firſt inſtituted the form of the High Court of Parliament; for before his time, only certain of the Nobility and Prelates of the Realm were called to conſultation about the moſt important Affairs of State: but he cauſed the Commons alſo to be aſſembled, by Knights and Burgeſſes of their own appointment, and made the Court to conſiſt of three parts, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Common people, repreſenting the whole body of the Realm, and appointed them to ſit in ſeveral Chambers, the King, the Biſhops, and Lords of the Realm in one Chamber, and the Commons in another, to confer together by themſelves. Other Orders of that Court he Ordained, as they are in uſe at this day. The firſt Council of this ſort was held at *Salisbury*, on the 19. day of *April*, in the Sixteenth year of his Reign. He forbad the wearing of long hair, which at that time was frequent, after the manner of the *French*. He commanded robbers upon the High-way to be hanged without redemption; of whom a famous one at that time was one *Dunne*, and of him the place where he moſt uſed, by reaſon of the great woods thereabout, is to this day called *Dunſtable*, where the King built the Burrough as now it ſtandeth.

The Court of Parliament firſt inſtituted by K. *Henry*.

Long hair forbidden.

Dunſtable why ſo called.

Counterfeiters of money how punished.

ſtandeth. Counterfeiters of money he puniſhed with pulling out their eyes, or cutting off their privy Members, a puniſhment both leſs than death, and greater.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Contentions between the King and the Pope about inveſtiture of Biſhops.

AT his firſt coming to the Crown, he forbore his Claim to the inveſtitures of Biſhops; but after he had been King ſome time, he claimed, that both to inveſt Biſhops, and to allow, or hinder appeals to *Rome*, belonged to him. In theſe *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was now returned into *England*, oppoſed him; affirming that both of them belonged to the Pope. The contention at laſt was brought to the Pope, to whom King *Henry* ſent *William Warleſtwaſte*, elect Biſhop of *Exeter*, who ſaying to the Pope that his Maſter would not for the Crown of his Realm, loſe the Authority of inveſting his Prelates; the Pope ſtarted up, and anſwered, Neither will I loſe the diſpoſing of Spiritual Promotions in *England*, for the Kings head that wears the Crown; before God (ſaith he) I avow it. So the contention grew long and hot, and many meſſengers were ſent to and fro about it: The concluſion was (which proved no concluſion) That the King ſhould receive homage of the Biſhops elect: but ſhould not inveſt them by Staff and Ring: to which the King ſaid nothing for the preſent, but forbore not to do it ever the leſs. For five years after the death of *Anſelm*, *Ralph* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was by the King made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and notwithſtanding all former Decrees and Threatnings of the Pope, he received his Inveſtiture of the King. About this time a Council of Biſhops was held at *London*, at which the Temporal Lords were preſent, to the end that the Decree of the Council might be confirmed by both Orders. If any man deſire to know more of the paſſages between the King and *Anſelm*; and of the many great virtues of *Anſelm*, let him read *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who was his Secretary, and hath written of purpoſe to ſet forth his praiſes.

Eadmerus.

Marriage of Prieſts forbidden.

About this time, a Canon was made againſt the marriage of Prieſts, to which purpoſe *Johannes Cremenſis*, a Prieſt Cardinal, by the Kings licenſe came into *England*, and held a ſolemn Synod at *London*, where inveighing ſharply againſt it, affirming it to be no better than profeſt Adultery, he was himſelf the night following taken in Bed with a common Harlot. Even *Anſelm* himſelf, the moſt earneſt enforcer of ſingle life, dyed not it ſeems a Virgin; for elſe he would never in his writings make ſuch lamentation for the loſs thereof. A little before this, *Anſelm* being at *Roan*, *Baemundus*, one of the chief Princes that had been at *Jeruſalem*, came thither: and amongſt other Holy Reliques, gave unto him certain Hairs of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, which *Anſelm* held always in great veneration: and * my ſelf having the Cuſtody of them committed to me, have found by experience great holineſs to be in them. About this time *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, held a Council at *Weſtminſter*, where divers Conſtitutions were made; of which theſe were two, That Prieſts ſhould no more be ſuffered to have Wives: and that there ſhould be no more buying and ſelling of men in *England*, which was hitherto accuſtomed, as if they had been Kine or Oxen. *Anſelm* about this time dying at the age of 76. years, *Rodolph* ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury*, but not till five years after the death of *Anſelm*; and *Thomas* dying, *Thurſtane* ſucceeded him in the Archbiſhoprick of *York*; between which two Prelates there aroſe great contention. *Rodolph* would not Conſecrate *Thurſtane*, unleſs he would profeſs obedience; *Thurſtane* was content to embrace his Benediction, but profeſs obedience he would not. In this Contention, the King takes part with *Rodolph*, the Pope with *Thurſtane*; after many paſſages in the buſineſs, upon the Popes threatning to Excommunicate the King, *Thurſtane* entred upon his Biſhoprick, and the King connived. In the Tenth year of his Reign, the Abby of *Ely* was made a Biſhops See, and *Cambridgeſhire* was appointed for the Dioceſs thereof, which becauſe it belonged before to the Juriſdiction of *Lincoln*, the King gave the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in recompence thereof, the Mannor of *Spalding*. This King alſo created a Biſhoprick at *Carliſle*, and endowed it with many Honours. In his time, the Order of the *Templers* began. In the 27. year of his Reign, the *Grey-Fryers* by the procurement of the King, came firſt into *England*, and had their firſt houſe builded at *Canterbury*. Alſo in this Kings time, the firſt Legat to ſupply the Popes room came into *England*. but as yet not admitted. I may here have leave to tell two ſtories of Churchmen for refreſhing of the Reader. *Guymond* the Kings Chaplain, obſerving that unworthy men, for the moſt part were advanced to the beſt Dignities of the Church; as he celebrated Divine Service before him, and was to read theſe words out of St. *James*, [*It rained not upon the Earth III. years, and VI. months*] he read it thus, *It rained not upon the Earth one, one, one years, and five one months.* The King obſerved his reading, and afterwards blamed him for it; but *Guymond* anſwered, that he did it of purpoſe, for that ſuch Readers were ſooneſt preferred by his Majeſty. The King ſmiled, and in ſhort time after preferred him to the Government of St. *Frideſwids* in *Oxford*. The other is this, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York* falling ſick, his Phyſicians told him, that nothing would do him good, but to Company with a Woman; to whom he anſwered, that the Remedy was worſe than the Diſeaſe, and ſo dyed a Virgin: This King granted to the Church of *Canterbury*, and to *William* and his ſucceſſors, the cuſtody of Conſtableſhip of the Caſtle of *Rochester* for ever. In this Kings time the errors of *Gilbertus Porretas* were condemned in a Council holden at *Rheimes*, by Pope *Calixtus*; alſo in his time *Innocentius* and *Anacletus* contended for the Papacy, whereby a great Schiſm aroſe in the Church.

Cardinal *Cremenſis* taken in bed with a harlot.

* *Eadmerus.*

Contention between the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*.

Ely made a Biſhops See.

Carliſle made a Biſhops See.

The Order of the Templers begins.

Preferment for Ignorance.

A rare chaſtity.

The Error of *Gilbertus Porretas* condemned.

Works of Piety done by this King, or by others in his time.

THIS King founded and erected the Priory of *Dunſtable*, the Abby of *Cirencester*, the Abby of *Reading*, the *New-Abby* without

the Walls of *Winchester*, the Abby of *Shirborn*. He also new-builded the Castle of *Windsor*, with a Colledge there: He made also the Navigable River between *Yorksey* and *Lincoln*, a work of great charge, but greater use: His Wife Queen *Maud*, passing over the River of *Lune*, was somewhat endangered; whereupon she caused two Stone-Bridges to be built, one at the head of the Town of *Stratford*, the other over another stream there, called *Channel-Bridge*, and paved the way between them with Gravel. She gave also certain Mannors, and a Mill called *Wiggon* Mill, for repairing the same Bridges, and Way. These were the first Stone-Bridges that were made in *England*; and because they were Arched over like a Bow, the Town of *Stratford* was afterward called *Bow*. This Queen also found the Priory of the *Holy-Trinity*, now called *Christs-Church*, within the *East*-Gate of *London*, called *Aldgate*; and an Hospital of St. *Giles*'s in the Fields, without the *West* part of the City. In this Kings time *Jordan Briset* Baron, founded the House of St. *John* of *Jerusalem* near to *Smithfield*, in *London*, and gave fourteen Acres of ground, lying in the field next to *Clerkenwel*, to build thereupon a House of Nuns, wherein he with *Myriel* his Wife was buried in the Chapter-House: *Robert Fitsham*, who came out of *Normandy* with the Conqueror, founded a-new the Church of *Teukesbury*, and was there buried. *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, founded the Cathedral Church there. The Priory and Hospital of St. *Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, was founded by a Minstrel of the Kings, named *Rejor*, who became the first Prior there. Before this time, *Smithfield* was a Loistal of all ordure and filth, and the place where felons were put to Execution. *Hugh Lacy* founded the Monastery of St. *John* at *Lanthony* near to *Gloucester*. *Juga Baynard*, Lady of little *Dunmow*, founded the Church there, and gave to maintain it half a Hide of Land. This Lady *Juga* was late Wife to *Baynard*, that first builded *Baynards*-Castle in *London*. *Eudo* the Kings Sewer, founded the Monastery of St. *John* at *Colchester*, of black Canons, and those were the first of that Order in *England*. *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Maud* his Wife, founded the Monastery of St. *Andrew* in *Northampton*. In the seventh year of this Kings Reign, the first Canons entred into the Church of our Lady in *Southwark*, called St. *Mary-Overy*; founded by *William Pountlarge* Knight, and *William Dancies*, *Normans*. *Robert* the first Earl of *Gloucester*, the Kings base Son, builded the Castles of *Bristow* and *Cardyffe*, with the Priory of St. *James* in *Bristow*; and his Son Earl *William* began the Abby of *Kensham*. *Geoffery Clinton*, Treasurer and Chamberlain to the King, founded the Priory at *Kenelworth* of Regular Canons. *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Margaret* his Wife, founded the Colledge of St. *Mary*, in the Town of *Warwick*; and *Roger de Blemond*, his Son, and *Ellyne* his Wife, translated the same Colledge into the Castle of *Warwick*, in the year 1123. *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, built the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*; the Castles also of *Malmesbury* and *Shirborn*. He repaired the Castle of *Salisbury*, and invironed it with a Wall; he also built the stately Church of *Salisbury*; destined to a longer life than any of his other works. *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* began to build the Castle of *Norham*, upon the Bank of the River *Tweed*. In the two and Thirtieth year of this Kings reign, the Priory of *Norton* in *Cheshire*, was founded by one *William* the Son of *Nyhel*; and the Abby of *Cumbermere*, in the same Shire. The Colledge of *Secular Canons* also in the Castle of *Leicester*. Also in this Kings Reign was founded the Monastery of *Plimpton* in *Devonshire*, with the Cathedral Church of *Exeter*; the Priory of *Merton*, the Hospital of *Kepar*, the Priory of *Osney* near *Oxford*, by *Robert de Oylye* Knight: and the Hospital of St. *Cross* near *Winchester*, by *Henry Bloies* Bishop there: also *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abby of *Merival*; and indeed many in his time were built, that one would think the Inhabitants of *England* to be all Carpenters and Masons, that were able to finish so many great Buildings in so short a time as this Kings Reign.

Windsor Castle new builded.

The first Stone-bridges in *England*.

Stratford the *Bow* why so called.

Saint *John*'s near to *Smithfield* founded.

St. *Bartholomew*'s Hospital founded by a Minstrel.

Baynard's Castle in *London* by whom built.

The *Devises* in *Wiltshire* by whom built.

The Church of *Salisbury* by whom built.

The Cathedral of *Exeter* when built.

The Hospital of St. *Cross* by whom founded.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN this Kings days all the four Elements were guilty of doing much mischief, but chiefly the Water: for King *Henry* returning into *England* after his Conquest of *Normandy*, left his Son *William* with his Sister *Mary*, Countess of *Perche*, *Richard* his Son by a Concubine, the Earl of *Chester* with his Wife *Lucy*, the Kings Niece by his Sister *Adela*, and other Lords and Ladies, and Passengers to the number of 180. to follow after him, who taking shipping (and the best ship the King had) whether by carelesness, or drunkenness of the Sailers, were all drowned. The Prince indeed was got into the Ship-boat, and out of danger: but hearing the lamentable cries of his Sister, compassion wrought so in him, that he turned about his Boat to take her in, which overcharged with the multitude, over-turned, and they all perished: none escaped but only a Sailer, who had been a Butcher, who by swimming all night upon the Mast, came safe to Land. An accident not more grievous than exemplary; for amongst other conclusions, from hence we may gather, that no state is so uncertain as prosperity; no fall so sudden as into adversity: and that the Rule [*He that stands, let him take heed he fall not*] cannot always be observed, because a man happens sometimes to fall before it is possible for him to take heed. Another great mischief was in this Kings days wrought by the water; for by the breaking in of the Sea, a great part of *Flanders* was drowned: whereupon a great number of *Flemmings* being suitors to King *Henry* for some place to inhabit; he assigned them a part in *Wales* near the Sea, called *Pembrokeshire*, where they have inhabited to this day: the King by his own action, working two good effects, both shewing compassion to distressed strangers, and putting a bridle upon unquiet Natives. But the water had another way to do mischief, as much by defect, as this was by excess; for upon the tenth of *October*, the River of *Medway* many miles together did so fail of water, that in the midst of the Channel, the smallest Vessels could not pass: and the same day also in the *Thames* between the Tower

The Kings Children drowned.

Pembrokeshire assigned to the *Flemmings* to inhabit.

Tower of *London*, and the Bridge, men waded over on foot for the ſpace of two days: alſo at another time the River of *Trent* at *Nottingham* was dried up a whole day. Now for the Earth, though naturally it be without motion, yet it moves ſometimes when it is to do miſchief, ſpecially being aſſiſted by the Air; as in this Kings days, it moved with ſo great a violence that many buildings were ſhaken down; and *Malmesbury* ſaith that the houſe wherein he ſate, was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time ſettled again in the proper place. Alſo in divers places it yielded forth a hideous noiſe, and caſt forth flames at certain rifts many days together, which neither by water, nor by any other means could be ſuppreſſed. But yet the Active Element of Fire was buſieſt of all; for firſt, *Chicheſter* with the principal Monaſtery was burnt down to the ground. From *Weſt-Cheap* in *London* to *Aldgate*, a long tract of buildings was conſumed by Fire: *Worceſter* alſo and *Rocheſter*, even in the Kings preſence; then *Winchester*, *Bathe*, *Gloceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, and other places did alſo partake of this calamity, that there could be no charging the fire with any partiality: and to ſpeak of one foreign caſualty, becauſe a ſtrange one; in *Lombardy* this year was an Earthquake that continued forty days, and removed a Town from the place where it ſtood, a great way off. In the thirteenth year of this King, many prodigies were ſeen; a Pig was farrowed with a face like a Child, a Chicken was hatched with four legs; and the Sun was ſo deeply eclipſed, that by the reaſon of the darkneſs, many ſtars did plainly appear. In this Kings time *Gerard* Archbiſhop of *York*, a man though learned, yet of many ill parts, ſleeping one day in his Garden after dinner, never waked again, but was there found dead.

A ſtrange Earthquake.

Great Fires in many places.

Hovedon.

A long Earthquake.

Of his Wives and Children.

AT his firſt coming to the Crown, he married *Matild*, or *Maude*, Siſter to *Edgar* then King of *Scotland*, and Daughter to *Malcolme* by *Margaret* the Siſter of *Edgar Atheling*. This *Matild*, if ſhe were not a veiled Nun, ſhe was at leaſt brought up in a Nunnery, and thereby grown ſo averſe from Marriage, that when the motion was firſt made her to marry with King *Henry*, ſhe utterly refuſed it, and reſolved, tho perhaps not vowed to die a Virgin; till at laſt importuned, and even forced by the Authority of her Brother, ſhe rather yielded than conſented; for ſhe did it with ſo ill a will, that it is ſaid, ſhe prayed, if ever ſhe had iſſue by the Marriage, that it might not proſper, and indeed it proſpered but untowardly: as will be ſeen in the ſequel. But though ſhe made this imprecation before ſhe knew what it was to be a Mother; yet when ſhe came to be a Mother, ſhe ſhewed her ſelf no leſs loving and tender of her Children, than loyal and obſequious to her Husband. And to make amends for this ſeeming impiety towards her Children, there is a ſtory related of her real piety towards the poor; For a Brother of hers coming one morning to viſit her in her Chamber, found her ſitting amongſt a company of *Lazar* people, waſhing and dreſſing their Ulcers and Sores, and then Kiſſing them after ſhe had done; who wondring at it, and ſaying to her, How could ſhe think the King would like to kiſs that mouth, which had kiſſed ſuch filthy Ulcerous People? She anſwered, ſhe had a greater King to kiſs, who ſhe knew would like her never the worſe for it. By this Queen *Matild*, King *Henry* according to ſome Writers, had four Children; but as the received opinion is, only two, a Son named *William*, and a Daughter called *Maude*: of whom the Son at fourteen years old had fealty ſworn to him by the Nobility at *Shrewsbury*: at ſeventeen married the Daughter of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*: and at eighteen was unfortunately drowned, as hath been ſhewed. The Daughter lived to be an Empereſs, afterwards a Dutcheſs, but could never come to be a Queen, though born to a Kingdom; as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. She ſurvived her ſecond Husband ſeventeen years, living a Widow, and at *Roan* in *Normandy* died, and was buried there in the Abby of *Bec*, though there be a Tradition that ſhe was buried at *Reading*, in the Abby there beſide her Father; but it appears to have been a cuſtom in thoſe days, for great perſonages to have their Monuments erected in divers places. After the death of this Queen *Matild*, who died at *Weſtminſter*, in the eighteenth year of his Reign, King *Henry* married *Adeliza*, the Daughter of *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorain*, who though ſhe were a beautiful and accompliſh'd Lady, yet had he never any iſſue by her. When ſhe was to be Crowned, *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was to do the office, came to King *Henry*, ſitting Crowned in the Chair of State, asking him who had ſet the Crown upon his head? the King anſwering, he had now forgotten, it was ſo long ſince. (Well ſaid the Archbiſhop) whoſoever did it, did me wrong to whom it belonged; and as long as you hold it thus, I will do no office at this Coronation. Then (ſaith the King) do what you think good. Whereupon the Archbiſhop took the Crown off from the Kings head, and after at the peoples intreaty, ſet it on again, and then proceeded to Crown the Queen. By Concubines King *Henry* had many Children; it is ſaid ſeven Sons and as many Daughters; of whom ſome periſhed in the great Shipwrack: of the reſt, two of the Sons, *Reynold* and *Robert*, were made Earls, *Reynold* of *Briſtow*, *Robert* of *Gloceſter*, and was a great aſſiſter of his ſiſter *Maude*, in her troubles with King *Stephen*, who after many acts of Valour performed by him, in the twelfth year of King *Stephen* died, and was buried at *Briſtow*. The Daughters were all married to Princes and Noblemen of *England* and *France*, from whom are deſcended many worthy Families: particularly one of thoſe Daughters by *Anne Corbet*, was married to *Fitz Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain to the King: from which *Fitz Herbert*, our Family (*abſit invida verbo*) is by Females deſcended; paſſing by the names of *Cummin*, *Chenduet*, *Brimpton*, *Stokes*, *Foxcote*, *Dynebey*, and ſo to *Baker* and *Barret*.

K. *Henry* takes a Wife out of a Nunnery.

Her great humility and devotions.

Monuments for great Perſonages erected in divers places.

An inſolent part of *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Of his Incontinency.

OF this enough hath been ſaid, in ſaying he had ſo many Children baſely begotten: but if compariſon be made between his Brother *Rufus* and him, it may be ſaid, that howſoever they might be equal in looſeneſs of life; yet in that looſeneſs *William Rufus* was the baſer, and King *Henry* the more noble; for King *Henry* had certain ſelected Concubines, to whom he kept himſelf conſtant, whereas King *William* took only ſuch as he found: conſtant to the pleaſure, but not to the perſons.

His courſe for eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion in Maude *and her Iſſue.*

HE married his only Daughter *Maude*, being but ſix years old, to the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth; but he leaving her a Widow without Iſſue, he married her again to *Geoffery Plantagenet*, Son to *Fulk* Duke of *Anjou*: not the greateſt Prince that was a ſuiter for her, but the fitteſt Prince for King *Henry*'s turn; for *Anjou* is neighbouring upon *Normandy*, a great ſecurity to it, if a friend; and as great a danger, if an enemy. And having thus placed her in marriage, he now conſiders how to eſtabliſh her ſucceſſion in the Crown of *England*; whereupon he calls his Nobility together, and amongſt them *David* King of *Scots*, and cauſeth them to give their Oaths of Allegiance to her and her Iſſue: as thinking he could never make her ſucceſſion ſure enough; he cauſeth his Lords the year after again to take the like Oath, and after that a third time alſo; as conceiving that being doubled and trebled, it would make the tie of Allegiance the ſtronger: wherein nothing pleaſed him ſo much, as that *Stephen* Earl of *Blois* was the firſt man that took the Oath, becauſe he was known to be, at leaſt known he might be a pretender. But the King ſhould have conſidered, that *Nulla fides Regni*, and therefore no Oath, though never ſo often iterated, ſufficient to warrant Loyalty in perſons ſo deeply intereſſed as *Stephen* was: yet providence could do no more, and the King was well ſatisfied with it, eſpecially when he ſaw his Daughter a Mother of two Sons: for this, though it gave him not aſſurance, yet it gave him aſſured hope to have the Crown perpetuated in his Poſterity.

K. Henry cauſeth his Nobility to ſwear Allegiance to his Daughter *Maude*.

Of Ireland *in his time.*

THE Kings of *England* as yet had nothing to do with *Ireland*, the Country was governed by its own Kings; and the people of both Nations, though they were neighbours, yet divided by a rough Sea, but little acquainted: but now began entercourſe to be more frequented, and *Mercherdach* chief King of the *Iriſh*, bore ſuch awful reſpect to King *Henry*, that he would do nothing but by his counſel, and with his liking.

Mercherdach King of *Ireland* is much ruled by K. *Henry*.

Whom King Henry *uſed as his Vicegerent in his abſence.*

HE was abſent ſometimes in *Normandy* three or four years together; during which times, he committed commonly the care of the Realm to *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, a politick Prelate, and one as fit to be the ſecond in Government, as King *Henry* to be the firſt.

His Perſonage and Condition.

HE was a perſon tall and ſtrong, broad breaſted, his limbs well knit, and fully furniſhed with fleſh, his face well faſhioned, his colour clear, his eyes large and fair, his eyebrows large and thick, his hair black and ſomewhat thin towards his forehead, his countenance pleaſant, ſpecially when he was diſpoſed to mirth. A private man, vilified and thought to have but little in him, but come to the Crown, never any man ſhewed more excellent abilities; ſo true is the ſaying, *Magiſtratus indicat virum*. His natural affection in a direct line was ſtrong, in an oblique but weak; for no man ever loved Children more, nor a Brother leſs. Though a King in act, yet he always acted not a King; but in Battels ſometimes the part of a common Soldier, though with more than common valour: as at a Battel in *France*, where he ſo far hazarded himſelf, that though he loſt not his life, yet he loſt his blood. He delighted much in Beaſts of Foreign Countries, as in Lions, Leopards, Camels, and ſuch like, for which he incloſed a place at *Woodſtock* of purpoſe to keep them.

Huntingdon.

K. Henry's valour.

Of his Death and Burial.

A Diſcontent of mind upon ſome differences between him and his Son-in-law, the Earl of *Anjou*, brought upon him a diſtemper, which increaſed by eating, againſt his Phyſicians advice, of a Lamprey, a meat always pleaſing to him, but never agreeing with him, caſt him into a feaver, which in few days put a period to his life: So certain it is, that one intemperate action is enough to overthrow the temperance of a whole life; as of this King *Henry* it is ſaid, that he ſeldom did eat but when he was a hungry; Never did drink but when he was athirſt: yet this but once yielding to his ſenſual appetite, made him forfeit all benefit of his former abſtinence, though ſome write he took his death by the fall off his Horſe. He died upon the firſt of *December* at night, in this year 1135. when he had Reigned five and thirty years, lived threeſcore and ſeven. His Bowels, Brains, and Eyes, were buried at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he died, the reſt of his Body was ſtuffed with Salt, wrapped in Ox Hides, and brought over into *England*, and with honourable Exequies buried in the Monaſtery of *Reading*, which himſelf had founded. The Phyſician that took out his Brains, with the intolerable ſtanch ſhortly after died. In this King *Henry* ended the line of the *Normans*, as touching the Heirs Males; and then came in the *French* by the title of Heirs General.

K. Henry forfeiteth of eating of a Lamprey.

1135.

The Line of the *Norman* Kings ends.

Men

Men of Note in his Time.

MEN of Learning in his time were many; first, *Stephen Harding*, a Benedictine Monk, who was Founder to the *Cistercian* Order. Then *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who besides his activeness in matters of State, writ many great and learned Books. Then *Walter Calene*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, who delivered a History written in the *British* tongue, from *Brute* to *Cadwallader*, to *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* to translate; and added forty years of his own time. Also *Florentius* a Monk of *Worcester*, who writ *De rebus Gestis Anglorum*. Also *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who besides other Works, writ the History of his own time, under the two *Williams*, and *Henry* the First.

King STEPHEN.

A THE

THE REIGN OF King STEPHEN.

Anno Dom. 1135.

AFTER the deceaſe of King *Henry*, preſently ſteps upon the Stage of Royalty, *Stephen* Earl of *Boleyne*, Son to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by *Adela*, Daughter of King *William* the Conqueror; and tho there were two other before him, *Maude* the Empreſs, and *Theobald* his elder Brother; She in a ſubſtantial right, he in a colourable; yet taking advantage of being *primas occupans*, the firſt Invader, (as being quickly here after King *Henry*'s death, where the other ſtaid lingring about other affairs) he ſollicits all the Orders of the Ream, Biſhops, and Lords, and People, to receive him for their Soveraign: wherein beſides his own large promiſes, what greater matters he would do for them all, he had alſo the aſſiſtance of *Henry* his Brother, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Popes Legate, and of *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, his great friend, (two the moſt powerful men at that time in the State) who partly by force of Reaſons, but more indeed by Force than Reaſons, procure the State to accept him for their King, and ſo upon St. *Stephen*'s day, in *Anno* 1135, he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, in the preſence of but three Biſhops, few of the Nobility, and not one Abbot, by *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with great ſolemnity. That which put a ſcruple in mens minds, and made them averſe at firſt from King *Stephen*, was the Oath they had taken to receive King *Henry*'s Daughter *Maude* to be their Queen after his deceaſe; but the weight of this ſcruple was ſomething abated, when it was urged, That no Precedent could be ſhewed, that ever the Crown had been ſet upon a Womans head. And *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury* brought another Reaſon, Becauſe they had taken that Oath but upon Condition, that the King ſhould not marry her out of the Realm without their conſents; and the King's having broken the Condition, was juſt cauſe to nulliſie their Obligation. To which was added, That the Oath having been exacted by Authority, which is a kind of force, it might have the Plea of *Per minas*, and therefore void. And yet more than all theſe, *Hugh Bigot*, ſometime Steward to King *Henry*, immediately after his deceaſe came over into *England*, and took a voluntary Oath before divers Lords of the Land, That he was preſent a little before King *Henry*'s death, when he adopted and choſe his Nephew *Stephen* to be his Succeſſor, becauſe his Daughter *Maude* had grievouſly at that time diſpleaſed him. But howſoever their breach of Oath was thus palliated, it is certain that many of them, as well Biſhops as other Lords, came afterward to an evil end, at leaſt to many calamities before their end.

K *Stephen* is Crowned.

Upon what reaſons the Oath before taken to *Maude* was ſlighted.

What courſe he took to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom.

IT is a true ſaying, *Iis rebus optime ſervatur Imperium, quibus paratur*; and this was *Stephen*'s courſe, he got the Kingdom by promiſes, and he eſtabliſh'd it by performances; He pleaſed the People with eaſing them of Taxes and Impoſitions: He pleaſed the Clergy with forbearing to keep Biſhopricks and Abbies vacant, and with Exempting them from the Authority of the Temporal Magiſtrate; He pleaſed the Nobility with allowing them to build Caſtles upon their own Lands; He pleaſed the Gentry with giving them Liberty to hunt the Kings Deer in their own woods; and beſides, with advancing many of them in Honours: and for his Brother *Theobald*, who being the elder, was before him in pretence to the Crown, he pleaſed him with a Grant to pay him two thouſand Marks a year. And then to ſtrengthen himſelf abroad no leſs than at home, he married his Son *Euſtace* to *Conſtance* a Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, which alliance alone might be thought a ſufficient ſecurity againſt all oppoſition. And yet one thing more which eſtabliſh'd him more than theſe, at leaſt theſe the more for this, That he had ſeized upon King *Henry*'s Treaſure, which amounted to One hundred thouſand pounds, beſides Plate and Jewels of ineſtimable value, which he ſpent not in vain riot, but imployed to his beſt advantage, both in procuring of Friends, and in levying of Soldiers out of *Britany* and *Flanders*.

He marries his Son *Euſtace* to the King of *France*'s Daughter. K. *Henry* had left a hundred thouſand pounds in ready money.

Of his Troubles in his Reign.

THERE may well be made a Chapter of the Troubles of his reign, ſeeing his whole Reign was in a manner but one continued trouble, at leaſt no longer intermiſſion than as to give him breath againſt new encounters; till at laſt, when he grew towards his laſt, he rather left to be in trouble, than was at quiet, being forced to make his adverſary his Heir; and to leave his Crown to him that had ſought his life. For he was no ſooner ſet in his Chair of State, but he was preſently diſquieted and made to riſe, by the provocation of *David* King of *Scots*, who ſolicited by ſome Lords of *England*, but chiefly by *Maude* the Empereſs (whoſe right he had ſworn to defend) with a mighty Army entred *Northumberland*, took *Carliſle* and *New-Caſtle*, and was proceeding further, till King *Stephen* with a greater Army coming againſt him, yet rather bought his peace than won it; for to recover *New-Caſtle* out of his hands, he was

An. Reg. 4. 1139. The King of *Scots* in *Maudes* cauſe, enters *England* with an Army: but is compounded with.

was fain to let King *David* hold *Cumberland*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldom of *Huntington*, as their Inheritance, for which, the Father would not for his, as being engaged, but the Son for him as being free, did homage to King *Stephen*.

Upon a brute of K. *Stephen's* death, the Lords poſſeſs themſelves of ſeveral Caſtles.

No ſooner was this trouble over, but he was preſently under another; for being ſain ſomewhat ill at eaſe, it was bruted abroad that he was dead; which ſo diſtracted mens minds, that every one thought it wiſdom to ſhift for himſelf; and the great Lords made a contrary uſe of Caſtles, to that which King *Stephen* intended, when he gave liberty to build them; for the King intended them for his own defence againſt his Enemies, and they made uſe of them in their own defence againſt the King; for now *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Norwich*, *Baldwin Rivers* of *Oxford*, and *Robert Queſquerius* of other Caſtles. In theſe difficulties King *Stephen*, though he could not in perſon be in all places at once, yet in care he was, and there moſt, where was moſt danger, imploying others againſt the reſt. Againſt *Baldwin* he went himſelf, whom driven before out of *Oxford*, and gotten to the Iſle of *Wight*, the King followed and drove him from thence, and at laſt into Exile.

Geoffery Duke of *Anjou* enters into *Normandy*, but is Compounded withal.

And now *England* afforded him once again to take a little breath; but then *Normandy* preſently begins with him afreſh: For now *Geoffery Plantagenet* Duke of *Anjou*, in right of *Maud* his Wife, enters upon his Towns there, and ſeeks to get poſſeſſion of the Country: when K. *Stephen* paſſed over with an Army, and arreſts his proceedings: and after ſome ſmall defeats of his Enemies, brings the matter at laſt to a pecuniary Compoſition: He to pay the Duke five thouſand marks a year, and the Duke to relinquiſh his claim to *Normandy*. This done, he returns into *England*, where new Commotions are attending him. For the Lords in his Abſence, reſenting his breach of promiſes, upon which they had admitted him to the Crown, make uſe every one of their Caſtles, and ſtand upon their Guard: The Lord *Talbot* held *Hereford*; Earl *Robert*, *Mauds* Brother, *Briſtow*; *William Lovell*, the Caſtle of *Cary*; *Paganell*, the Caſtle of *Ludlow*; *William Moune*, the Caſtle of *Dunſter*; *Robert* of *Nichol*, now called *Lincoln*, the Caſtle of *Warham*; *Euſtace* the Son of *John*, the Caſtle of *Melton*; *William* the Son of *Alan*, the Caſtle of *Shrewsbury*; and withal *David* King of *Scots*, neither regarding his former agreement, enters *Northumberland* with an Army, committing ſo great cruelty, in raviſhing of Maids, murthering of Infants, ſlaughtering of Prieſts, even at the Altar, that never any barbarous Nation committed greater. Thus the Kingdom from the one end to the other was in combuſtion; that if the King had had as many hands as *Briareus*, there would have been work enough for them all. Yet all this diſmay'd not the King, but as having learned this Leſſon, *Tu ne cede malis ſed contrà audentior ito*, grows the more in confidence, the leſs he was in aſſurance; and as if danger were the fuel of courage, the more erected in himſelf, the leſs he was upheld by others: and ſo, venturing what his Rebels at home would do in his abſence, he paſſeth himſelf in Perſon againſt *David* King of *Scots*, as being moſt dangerous, and therefore the firſt to be repreſſed: but in finding it hard to draw him to a Battel, and impoſſible without a Battel to do any good upon him, he leaves the care of that Quarrel to *Thurſtane* Archbiſhop of *York*, and returns himſelf home, if it may be called home, where he ſcarce had a ſafe place to put his head in. But tho many Lords were rebellious againſt him, yet ſome there were that ſtuck firmly to him, by whoſe aſſiſtance and his own induſtry, partly by inticements, partly by inforcements, he reduced moſt of them to obedience, and all of them to ſubmiſſion. When in the mean time *Thurſtane* Archbiſhop of *York*, and in his ſickneſs, *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, aſſiſted with *William* Earl of *Aumerle*, *William Piperell* of *Nottingham*, and *Hubert de Lacy*, fought a memorable Battel againſt *David* King of *Scots*, wherein tho King *David* himſelf, and his Son *Henry* performed wonderful Acts of Proweſs, yet the *Engliſh* got the Victory, with the ſlaughter of Eleven thouſand *Scots* in the Fight, beſides many other ſlain in the Fight: where of the *Engliſh* none of account were ſlain but only a Brother of *Hubert Lacy's*, and ſome ſmall number of common Soldiers. This Victory infinitely pleaſed and comforted King *Stephen*, who not long after to make an abſolute ſuppreſſion of the *Scots*, paſſeth again with an Army, and inforceth King *David* to demand a Peace, delivering his Son *Henry* into King *Stephen's* hands for a pledge; and coming homeward, by the way he beſieged *Ludlow*, one of the Rebels neſts, where Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* had been taken Priſoner, if King *Stephen* in his own Perſon had not reſcued him.

He goes in perſon againſt the King of *Scots*.

The rebel Lords are reduced to obedience.

Eleven thouſand *Scots* ſlain, and but very few *Engliſh*.

K. *Stephen's* good nature and valour.

After this, once again the King got a little breathing time, but it was but to prepare him for greater Encounters. For now *Maud* the Empreſs her ſelf in perſon comes into play, in whom the Oath before taken was to have its trial; for till now, though never ſo really intended, yet it could not actually be performed; for how could they receive her for Queen, who came not in place to be received? but now that ſhe came in Perſon, now was the time of trial how the Oath would work; and work it did indeed with many, and that ſtrongly. For *Maud* coming into *England* with *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter* her baſe Brother, was moſt joyfully received at *Arundel* Caſtle, by *William de Aubigny*, who had married *Abeliza* the Queen Dowager of the late King *Henry*, and had the ſaid Caſtle and Country aſſigned for her Dower. King *Stephen* having intelligence hereof, cometh to *Arundel* Caſtle with an Army, and beſiegeth it; but either diverted by Council, or elſe finding the Caſtle to be inexpugnable, he left the ſiege, and ſuffered the Empreſs to paſs to *Briſtow*. The King hearing that *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, Son-in-Law to *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, had poſſeſt himſelf of the City of *London*, thither he goeth with an Army, and beſiegeth it: thither alſo came the ſaid Earl of *Cheſter*, and *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter* to raiſe the ſiege; at which time a moſt fierce Battel was fought between them upon *Candlemas*-day; wherein as it is memorable what wonders of valour King *Stephen* performed; for when all men about him were either

The Empreſs *Maud* comes now into *England*, and hath many adherents.

1141.

K. *Stephen's* valour. Is taken prisoner, and carried to *Maud*.

either fled or slain; yet he kept the field himself alone, no man daring to come near him, *Horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem ictuum vejus immanitatem*, saith *Hoveden*: yet overmastered at last by multitude, he was taken Prisoner, and brought to *Maud* the Empress; who sent him to be kept in safe custody in the Castle of *Bristow*, where he remained till *All-hallantide* after. And now the Empress having gotten King *Stephen* into her hands, she takes her journey to *London*; received in all places as she went peaceably, and at *London* joyfully. Where Queen *Matild* made humble suit unto her for the liberty of King *Stephen* her Husband, and that he might but be allowed to live a private life; the *Londoners* also made suit to have the Laws of King *Edward* restored: But the Empress not only rejected both their suits, but returned them answers in harsh and insulting language: Indeed most unseasonable; and which gave a stop to the current of all her fortunes. For Queen *Matild* finding thereby how high the Empresses pulses did beat, sent presently to her Son *Eustace*, being then in *Kent*, to raise forces with all speed, with whom the *Londoners* as much discontented as she, do afterwards join; and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, as much discontented as either of them, fortifies his Castles at *Waltham* and *Farnham*, and especially *Winchester*, where he stays himself, attending upon what coast the next wind of the Empress would blow. Of all these things the Empress had intelligence, and thereupon secretly in the night she fled to *Oxford*, sending strait charge to have King *Stephen* more narrowly watched, more hardly used, but (as some write) in Fetters, and fed with very bare and poor Commons; withal she sends to her Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, to come unto her with all speed possible; who coming accordingly, they fall into consultation what is first to be done. The lot falls upon *Winchester*, as being their greatest Adversary, now, no less in appearance than in power: so *Winchester* they besiege, which Queen *Matild* hearing, she with her Son *Eustace* and the *Londoners* came presently to the succour, where a fierce Battel being fought, the end was, that the party of Queen *Matild* prevailed, and the Empress to make her escape, was fain to be laid upon a Horses back in manner of a dead Corps, and so conveyed to *Gloucester*, while Earl *Robert* her Brother disdaining to fly, was taken Prisoner, whom Queen *Matild* caused to be used the more hardly, in retaliation of the hard usage which the Empress before had shewed to King *Stephen*. Things standing on these terms, Propositions were made by the Lords for Pacification; but such were the high spirits of the Empress and her Brother *Robert*, that no conditions would please them, unless the Empress might enjoy the Crown. But after long debate, whether by agreement between themselves, or by Connivence of the Keepers, both King *Stephen* and Earl *Robert* got to be at liberty. When the first thing King *Stephen* did, was to look out the Empress to requite the kindness she had shewed him in Prison; and hearing her to be at *Oxford*, he lays siege to the Town, and brings the Empress to such distress, that she had no way to free her self but by flight; and no way to fly but with manifest danger: yet she effected it by this device. It was in the Winter season, when Frost and Snow covered all the ground over; she therefore clad her self, and her four servants that were with her in white cloaths, which being of the colour of Snow, made her pass the watches without being discerned, and by this means came safe to her Friends at *Wallingford*. Yet *Malmsbury*, who lived at that time, confessed he could never learn certainly by what means she made her escape. But howsoever she escaped this present danger, yet it left such an impression of fear upon her, that she never had after any mind to appear upon this Stage of War, but left the prosecution of it to her Son *Henry*, who was now about sixteen years of age; and being forward of his age, and able to bear Arms, was by his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, Knighted, to make him more forward.

Maud is received of the *Londoners*.

She is beaten by *Matild* K. *Stephen's* Wife, and her Brother the Earl of *Gloucester*, taken prisoner.

R. *Stephen* and Earl *Robert* both get to be at liberty.

1142.

Maud besieged at *Oxford*, flieth away secretly.

Henry, *Mauds* son, now sixteen years of age, prosecuteth the War against K. *Stephen*.

1144.

It was now the ninth year of King *Stephen's* Reign, when *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, keeping possession of the City of *Lincoln*, was in the night time assaulted by the King; but the Earl perceiving the Kings Forces to be but small, suddenly issued forth, and repelled the King with the slaughter of fourscore of his men. Yet two years after this, the Earl was reconciled to the King, and came of his own accord to wait upon him, when perfidiously he was detained by the King, and not set at liberty, till he had surrendred into the Kings hands all the Castles that were in his possession; which though it brought the King some present benefit, yet it wrought him a greater future loss; for it lost him his credit with all men, and no man afterward would trust his word.

K. *Stephen* discredits himself.

1152.

Now was Duke *Henry* come to the age of Nineteen years, and was in possession of the Dukedom of *Anjou*, by the death of his Father *Geoffery Plantagenet*: and not long after this, he married *Eleanor*, the Daughter and Earl of *William* Duke of *Guyen*, by whom he had that Dutchy, and also the Earldom *Poictou*; *Normandy* he had by his Mother; but more by the peoples inclination. So as being possest now of four great Principalities, this greatness of Estate adding to the greatness of his Spirit, made him aspire to recover his right in *England*; and over he comes, bringing with him but small Forces, but promising himself great from the people of this Kingdom. And many indeed reforted to him; with whom he fell on presently, and besieged *Marleborough*: but by the Kings greater forces was repelled.

Prince *Henry* marries the Heir of *William* Duke of *Guyen*.

1153.

After this, their Armies continued in the field still; rather watching advantages to be doing, than doing any thing; sometimes advancing when no Enemy was near, and then retiring when the Enemy came; till at last it was like to come to a set Battel, when suddenly *Eustace*, King *Stephen's* only Son, unfortunately dyed: Unfortunately for himself, but fortunately for the Kingdom: for now King *Stephen* being left destitute of Issue to succeed, was the more easily drawn to conditions of Peace, as likewise the Empress *Maud*, having lately lost her Brother *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, and *Miles* Earl of *Hereford*, (her two best Champions) was no less willing than he: which being furthered by the Lords of both sides, was at last concluded upon these conditions,

Eustace K. *Stephen's* son dyeth.

tions,

K. *Stephen* and Prince *Henry* agree.

tions that *Stephen* ſhould hold the Kingdom of *England* during his life, and adopt Duke *Henry* as his Heir to ſucceed him. And this agreement thus made, and in a Parliament at *Wincheſter* confirmed, Duke *Henry* ever after accounted King *Stephen* no leſs than a Father; and King *Stephen*, Duke *Henry* no leſs than a Son; and well he might, if it be true which ſome write, that the Empreſs, when a Battel was to be fought between King *Stephen* and her Son, went privily to him, asking him how he could find in his heart to fight againſt him that was his own Son? Could he forget the familiarity he had with her in her Widowhood? But this was no matter for the Writers of that time to deliver. It touched too near the Intereſt of Princes then in being, and Princes muſt not be touched while they live; nor when they are dead neither, with uncertainties, as this could be no other: But howſoever it was, certain it is, that after this agreement between King *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*, they continued in mutual love and concord as long after as they lived.

Prince *Henry* thought by ſome to be King *Stephen's* Son.

1154.

No mention what became of *Maud* at this time.

But what became of *Maud* the Empreſs at this time? For that ſhe was alive, and lived many years after this agreement between King *Stephen* and her Son *Henry*, all Writers agree; and to ſay that ſhe conſented to the agreement, without any proviſion made for herſelf, is to make her too much a woman, a very weak veſſel: And to ſay there might be proviſion made, though it be not Recorded, is to make all Writers defective in great exceſs: And beſides, being ſo ſtirring a woman as ſhe was, that upon a ſudden ſhe ſhould be ſo quiet, as not to deſerve to have one word ſpoken of her in all the long time ſhe lived after, (being no leſs than twelve or thirteen years) is as ſtrange as the reſt. And if ſhe placed her contentment ſo wholly in her Son, that in regard of him ſhe regarded not her ſelf at all, it deſerves at leaſt the *Encomium* of ſuch a motherly love as is very unuſual, and not always ſafe. Whatſoever it was, I muſt be fain to leave it as a Gordian knot, which no Writer helps me to untie. *Matthew Paris* makes her to live one and thirty years after the death of King *Stephen*; and makes this her Epitaph.

Ortu magna, viro major, ſed maxima partu
Hic jacet Henrici *filia, ſponſa, parens.*

Of his Taxations and ways for raiſing of Moneys.

OF Taxations in his time, there is no mention made, for Taxations indeed are properly drawn from a body of State when it is entire, whereas the State all this King's time was altogether in Factions. But what he wanted in Taxations he ſupplied with Confiſcations, which by reaſon of the many revoltings of men of all ſorts could not but chuſe but fill his Coffers, every Rebellion being in nature of a purchaſe to him; for whatſoever became of the perſons, their Lands and Goods were ſure to be his. And if it happened at any time, that Confiſcations came in but ſlowly, he had then devices to haſten their pace; for upon light ſuggeſtions (not ſo much oftentimes as juſt ſuſpicions) he would call men into queſtion, and ſeize upon their Goods, as in the caſe particularly of *Robert* Biſhop of *Salisbury*; and it may not be unpleaſing to hear from what beginning this Biſhop grew to ſuch a height of greatneſs; which was thus: In the time of King *William Ruſus* he was a poor Prieſt, ſerving a Cure in a Village near to *Caen* in *Normandy*, when the King's younger Brother *Henry* chanced to paſs that way, and to make ſome ſtay in the ſaid Village, who being deſirous to hear a Maſs, this *Roger* being Curate, was the man to ſay it; which he diſpatched with ſuch celerity, that the Soldiers (who commonly love not long Maſſes) commended him for it, telling their Lord, That there could not a fitter Prieſt be found for men of War than he. Whereupon *Henry* appointed him to follow him; and when he came to be King, preferred him to many great places, and at laſt to be Chancellor of *England*, and Biſhop of *Salisbury*. You have heard his riſing, now hear his fall: When King *Stephen* came to the Crown, he held this man in as great account as his Predeceſſor King *Henry* had done, and perhaps in greater; for being a great beggar of Suits, the King would ſay of him, If this man will never give over asking, neither ſhall I ever give over giving. Yet this great Prelate fell firſt through pride into envy, and then through envy into ruin. For King *Stephen* having given liberty to build Caſtles, this man did ſo far exceed all others in magnificence (for he builded the Caſtles of *Salisbury*, the *Vyes*, *Sherburn*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newark*, to which there were no Structures comparable in the Kingdom) that the Lords out of envy put it into the King's head, that theſe Caſtles of his were built thus magnificently for entertainment of *Maud* the Empreſs. Which ſo poſſeſſed the King, or he would be thought to be ſo poſſeſſed, that taking this for a juſt cauſe, he ſeiſed them all into his hands, and forty thouſand Marks beſides, which he had in money; and not contented with this, he took the like courſe alſo with *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, only becauſe he was his Nephew, and of his near kindred. Another way he had for gaining of Money, for in the firſt year of his Reign, having given liberty to hunt in his Foreſts, he afterwards at *Oxford* cauſed many to be impleaded for that liberty: A trick which perhaps he learned from Hunting, firſt to give men leave to do a thing, and then to fine them for having done it. But this is the priviledge of Princes, that their leave muſt be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it.

Robert Biſhop of *Salisbury* by what means he came to his greatneſs.

By what means to his fall.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HE gave licenſe to the City of *Norwich* to have Coroners and Bailiffs, before which time they had only a Serjeant for the King to keep Courts; and after this, in the 37th. year of King *Henry* the Third, they had licenſe to incloſe the Town with Ditches.

Norwich is allowed to have Coroners and Bailiffs.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

UPON the King's ſeiſing into his hands the Biſhop of *Salisburies* Caſtles and Goods, complaint was made, and a Synod was called by

the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legate, to right the Bishop, where the King was cited to appear; who sending to know the cause, answer was made, that it was to answer for his imprisoning of Bishops, and depriving them of their Goods, which being a Christian King he ought not to do: The King replies by his Lawyer, *Aiverec de Vere*, that he had not arrested the Bishop of *Salisbury* as a Bishop, but as his Servant that was to make him accompt of his Imployment. To this the Bishop answereth, That he never was Servant or Accomptant to the King: And many Allegations and Probations were urged to and fro, but in conclusion the Synod brake up, and nothing was done. The Bishops durst not Excommunicate the King without the Pope's privity; so in the end they fell from Authority to submission, and in the King's Chamber fell down at his feet, beseeching him that he would pity the Church, and not suffer dissention to be between the Kingdom and the Priesthood. And this was no small magnanimity in the King, that he was able to pull down the high stomachs of the Prelates in that time. In the eighth year of his Reign, a Synod was held in *London* by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, where it was decreed, That whosoever should lay violent hands upon any Clergyman, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself; and from this time forward, Clergymen were exempt from the secular power. In the tenth year of his Reign, by the soliciting of St. *Bernard*, many took upon them the Cross, for a supply to the Holy Land, amongst whom some *English* Lords also.

The King might not imprison Bishops.

Clergymen exempt from secular power.

Works of Piety by him, or by others in his time.

HE founded the Abbeys of *Cogshal* in *Essex*, of *Furneys* in *Lancashire*; of *Hurgulers* and *Feversham* in *Kent*; at *Heigham* in *Kent*, a house of black Nuns; also an house for Nuns at *Carew*. His Queen *Matild* builded the Hospital of St. *Katharines* by the Tower of *London*. A Knight called Sir *William* of *Mount Fitchet*, founded the Abbey of *Stratford Langthorn*, within four miles of *London*; *William* of *Ypre* founded *Boxely* Abbey in *Kent*; *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abbey of *Merival*, in *Warwickshire*; and in the same Shire, *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* the Abbey of *Non Eaten*. *Thurstane* Archbishop of *York* founded the Monastery of *Fontes* in *Yorkshire*. Also by others were founded the Abbeys of *Tiltey*, of *Rieval*, of *Newborough* and *Beeland*, of *Kirkstead* in *Yorkshire*; and divers others in other places. So that more Abbeys were erected in his days, than had been within the space of a hundred years before.

St. *Katharines* by the Tower founded.

Boxeley Abbey in *Kent* founded.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

Newbrigensis and also *Huntingdon* reporteth of one *Raynerus*, a wicked Minister of a more wicked Abbot, that crossing the Seas with his Wife, he so with his iniquity overweighed the Ship, that in the midst of the Stream it was not able to stir; at which the Mariners astonished, cast lots, and the lot fell upon *Raynerus*; and lest this should be thought to happen by chance, they cast the lots again and again, and still the lot fell upon *Raynerus*; whereupon they put him out of the Ship, and presently the Ship, as eased of her burthen, sailed away. Certainly a great Judgment of God, and a great Miracle; but yet recorded by one that is no fabulous Author. In this King's time also, there appeared two Children, a Boy and a Girl, clad in Green, in a stuff unknown, of a strange language, and of a strange diet; whereof the Boy being Baptized, dyed shortly after, but the Girl lived to be very old; and being asked from whence they were; she answered, They were of the Land of St. *Martyn*, where there are Christian Churches erected; but that no Sun did ever rise unto them; but where that Land is, and how she came thither, she her self knew not. This I the rather write, that we may know there are other parts of the World than those which to us are known: And this story I should not have believed, if it were not testified by so many, and so credible witnesses as it is. In the fifteenth year of this King, the River of Thames was so hard frozen, that Horse and Cart passed over upon the Ice. In this King's time lived *Johannes de Temporibus*, of whom it is recorded, that he lived three hundred sixty and one years. He was one of *Charlemain* the Emperor's Guard, and died in the Reign of *Conradus* the Third, *Anno Dom.* 1139. *Newbrigensis.*

Of his Wife and Children.

HE Married, by his Uncle King *Henry*'s means, *Matild*, Daughter and Heir of *Eustace*, Earl of *Boleyne*, a Woman made for the proportion of both fortunes: In Adversity not dejected, in Prosperity not elated. While her Husband was at liberty, a Woman; during his durance, as it were a Man; acting his part for him when he was restrained from acting it himself; not looking that fortune should fall into her lap, but industrious to procure it. By this Queen he had only one Son named *Eustace*, a Prince more than of hope, for he lived to the blossoming of much valour, though it came not to maturity, as being cut off at eighteen years of age, some say by drowning, and some by a stranger accident. But strange Relations must not always be rejected; for though many of them be forged, yet some no doubt are true; and who knows but it may be of this kind, which some Writers relate of this Prince? That being at the Abbey of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, and denied some money he required to have had, he presently in a rage went forth, and set fire on the Corn-Fields belonging to the Abbey; but afterwards sitting down to dinner, at the first morsel of bread he put into his mouth, he fell into a fit of madness, and in that fit dyed. Certainly, the persons of Princes are for more observation than ordinary people; and as they make Examples, so they are sometimes made Examples. This Prince *Eustace* was so beloved of his Father, that he had a purpose to have joyned him King with himself, but that the Pope upon the Bishops complaining to him of it, diverted him from it. Howsoever being dead, he was buried in *Feversham* Abbey, where his Mother

Queen *Matilds* commendation.

The strange death of *Eustace*.

Mother was buried a little before. Other legitimate issue King *Stephen* had none, but by a Concubine he had a Son named *William*, whom he made Earl of *Norfolk*; which honour was confirmed upon him by a special Article, in the agreement made between King *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*; only a *French* Chronicle speaks of another Son of his, named *Gervase*, made Abbot of *Westminster*, and that he dyed in the year 1160. and was there buried.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, of great strength, and of an excellent good complexion. Concerning the qualities of his mind, there was apparent in him a just mixture of Valour and Prudence; for if he had not had both, he could never have held out with such weak friends as he did, against such potent adversaries as he had. And specially it must be confest, he was of an excellent temper for a Soldier, seeing he never kill'd any enemy in cold blood, as *Anthony* did *Cicero*; nor any friend in hot blood, as *Alexander* did *Clitus*. What he would have been in Peace, we are left to judge by only a pattern, the short time between his agreement with Duke *Henry* and his death. Which seeing he spent in travelling to all parts of the Realm, and seeking to stitch up the breaches which the Violence of War had made, we may well think that if his life had been continued, he would have given as good proofs of his Justice in Peace, as he hath done of his Valour in War. For of his extraordinary good nature we have a sufficient example in one action of his, which was this: Duke *Henry* being on a time in some straits for money, sent to his Mother *Maud* the Empress, desiring her to furnish him; but she answered that she was in as great straits her self, and therefore could not do it: then he sent to his Uncle Earl *Robert* to furnish him, and he answered he had little enough to serve his own turn, and therefore could not do it: at last he sent to King *Stephen*, and he tho an Adversary and standing in terms of opposition, yet sent presently, and supplied him with it. He was withal a great oppugner of superstition, which made him on a time to ride into *Lincoln* with his Crown upon his head, only to break the people of a superstitious opinion they held, that no King could enter into that City in such manner, but that some great disaster would fall upon him. One special Virtue may be noted in him, that he was not noted for any special Vice, whereof if there had been any in him, Writers certainly would not have been silent.

A good temper for a Soldier.

K. *Stephen's* good nature.

A superstitious opinion held of *Lincoln*.

of his Death and Burial.

AS a Fish cannot live out of Water, no more was it in the Destiny of this King to live out of Trouble. As soon as he came to enjoy quietness, he left to enjoy life. No time left him between his agreement with Duke *Henry* and his Death, but only so much as might reasonably serve him to take his last leave of all his Friends: For it was but from *January* to *October*; and the last friend he took leave of was *Theodorick* Earl of *Flanders*, whom he met at *Dover*, and as soon as he had dismissed him, he was suddenly taken with the Iliack Passion, and with an old Disease of the Emrods, and dyed in the Monastery there, the five and twentieth of *October*, in the year 1154. when he had Reigned almost nineteen years, lived nine and forty, and was buried in the Abby of *Feversham*, which he had founded.

1154.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Clergy-men there was *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* the King's Brother; also *William* another Archbishop of *York*, whom we may find in the Calendar of Saints, as likewise St. *Bernard*, who lived in this time, tho not of this Country. And if we may reckon strangers, there lived at this time *Peter Lombard*, Master of the Sentences; *Peter Comestor*, writer of the Ecclesiastical Story; and *Gratian*, Compiler of the Canon Law; all three Brothers, and all three Bastards: also *Avicen*, *Averroes*, *Mesue*, and Rabbi *Solomon*, were in this time famous. Of Military men, there was *Randulph* Earl of *Chester*, *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*: but especially *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, the King's base Son, whose praises if any desire to hear sounded out to the full, let him read *William* of *Malmesbury*, who writ the History of these times of purpose to be his Trumpet. Of the Writers of our Nation, there was this *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry Huntington*, *Simeon Dunelmensis*, *William Rievallensis*; and *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, Bishop of St. *Asaph* in *Wales*. Also *Hugo Carthusianus*, a *Burgundian*, but made Bishop of *Lincoln* here in *England*.

Three great Clerks all Bastards.

Robert Earl of *Gloucester's* praise.

The chief History Writers at this time.

THE LIFE and REIGN of OF King HENRY II.

1155. K. Henry is Crowned.

KING *Stephen* being dead, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, by his Father *Geoffery Plantaginet*, succeeded him in the Kingdom of *England*, by agreement, whom he preceded by right as being Son and Heir of *Maud*, sole Daughter and Heir of King *Henry* the first, and was Crowned at *Westminster* by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on the seventeenth of *December*, in the year 1155. and was now a greater Prince than any of his Ancestors had been before. And indeed the Kingdom of *England*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and the Dukedom of *Anjou* in his own right, and in the right of his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, the Dutchy of *Guyen*, and the Earldom of *Poictou*, being all united in his person, made him a Dominion of a larger extent than any Christian King had at that time.

A greater Prince than any of his Ancestors.

Born at *Mentz* in *Normandy*.

He was born at *Mentz* in *Normandy*, in the year 1132. a great joy to his Father *Geoffery* Duke of *Anjou*, a greater to his Mother *Maud* the Empress, but so great to his Grandfather King *Henry* the first, that it seemed to make amends for his Son *William*, whom unfortunately he had lost before by Shipwrack. The years of his childhood were spent at home under the care of his Parents. At nine years old or thereabouts, he was brought by his Uncle *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* into *England*, and placed at *Bristow*, where under the tuition of one *Matthew* his Schoolmaster, to instruct him in learning, he remained four years; after which time he was sent into *Scotland*, to his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, with whom he remained about two years, initiated by him in the principles of State, but chiefly of his own Estate. And being now about fifteen years of age, was by him Knighted; and tho scarce ripe for Arms, yet as a fruit gathered before its time, was mellowed under the Discipline of his Uncle *Robert*, one of the best Soldiers of that time. And now the Duke his Father not able any longer to endure his absence, sent with great instance to have him sent over to him; for satisfying of whose longing, Earl *Robert* provided him of passage, and conducted him himself to the Sea-side where he took his last farewel of him. Being come into *Anjou*, his Father perhaps overjoyed with his presence, not long after dyed, leaving him in present possession of that Dukedom, being now about nineteen years of age: when shortly after he married *Eleanor* the late Wife of *Lewis* King of *France*, but now divorced. A year or two after, he came again into *England*, where after some velitations with King *Stephen* they were at last reconciled, and his succession to the Crown of *England* ratified by Act of Parliament. Not long after he went again into *France*, and presently fell to besiege a Castle which was detained from him by the *French* King. In the time of which siege, news was brought him of King *Stephen*'s death, which one would have thought should have made him hasten his journey into *England*; yet he resolved not to stir till he had won the Castle. Which resolution of his being known to the Defendants, they surrendred the Castle; but yet no sooner, but that it was six weeks after before he came into *England*, when he was now about the age of three and twenty years.

Is Educated at *Bristow*.

Is sent into *Scotland*.

Is carried into *Anjou*.

He marries the Lady *Eleanor* the divorced Wife of *Lewis* K. of *France*.

His first Acts after he came to the Crown.

HE began his Reign as *Solomon* would have begun it, if he had been in his place. For first he made choice of wise and discreet men to be his Counsellors; then he banished out of the Realm all strangers; and especially *Flemmings*, with whom the Kingdom swarmed: as of whom King *Stephen* had made use in his Wars, amongst whom was *William* of *Ypres*, lately before made Earl of *Kent*. Castles which by King *Stephen*'s allowance had been built, he caused to be demolished, (of which there were said to be eleven hundred and fifteen) as being rather nurseries of Rebellion to the Subject, than of any safety to the Prince. He appointed the most able men of that profession, to reform abuses of the Laws, which disorder of the Wars had brought in. He banished many Lords, who against their Oath had assisted King *Stephen* against him, as thinking that men once perjured would never be faithful; and to the end he might be the less pressing upon the people with Taxations, he resumed all such Lands belonging to the Crown, which had any way been aliened or usurped, as thinking it better to displease a few than many; and many other things he did, which in a disjointed State were no less profitable and expedient, than requisite and necessary.

He causeth Castles to be demolished.

He reforms the Laws.

He resumed Crown-Lands.

His troubles during his Reign.

HE had no Competitors nor Pretenders with him for the Crown; and therefore his troubles at first were not *in Capite*, struck not at the root, as King *Stephen*'s did: but were only some certain niblings at inferior parts, till at last he

His troubles with the *Welch* soon ended.

he brought them himself into his own bowels. For what was the trouble in his first year with the *Welch*, but as an exercise rather to keep him in motion, than that it needed to disquiet his rest? For tho they were mutinous for a time, while they looked upon their own Bucklers, their Woods and Mountainous passages; yet as soon as King *Henry* did but shew his Sword amongst them, they were soon reduced to obedience for the present, and to a greater awfulness for the future. It is true, *Henry* Earl of *Essex* that bore the Kings Standard, was so assaulted by the *Welch*, that he let the Standard fall to the ground, which encouraged the *Welch*, and put the *English* in some fear, as supposing the King had been slain; but this was soon frustrated to the *Welch*, and punished afterward in the Earl, by condemning him to be shorn a Monk, and put in the Abby of *Reading*: and had his lands seised into the Kings hands. And what was his trouble with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, but a work of his own beginning? For if he would have suffered him to enjoy that which was justly his own, *Cumberland*, and *Huntingtonshire*, by the grant of King *Stephen*, and *Northumberland*, by the gift of his Mother *Maud* the Empress, he might have stayed quietly at home, and needed not at all to have stirred his foot; but he could not endure there should be such parings off from the body of his Kingdom; and therefore went with an Army into the North, where he won not, but took *Northumberland* from him, with the City of *Carlisle*, and the Castles of *New-Castle* and *Bamberg*: and meerly out of gratefulness, in remembrance of the many courtesies done to him before by *David* King of *Scots*, he left him the County of *Huntington*; but yet with this condition, to owe fealty, and to do homage to him for it. And what was his trouble with his Brother *Geoffery*, but a Bird of his own hatching? For his Father *Geoffery* Duke of *Anjou*, had three Sons, *Henry*, *Geoffery* and *William*; and dying, he left his Dukedom of *Anjou* to his eldest Son *Henry*, but to hold no longer than till he should come to be King of *England*, and then to deliver it up to his second Son *Geoffery*. And he made his Lords to swear, not to suffer his body to be buried, until his Son *Henry* had taken his Oath to do it. Which Oath *Henry* afterward, in reference to his Fathers body, did take, but as he took it unwillingly, so he willingly brake it, and sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope for a dispensation of his Oath. Which granted, he enters *Anjou* with an Army, and takes from his Brother *Geoffery*, being little able to make resistance, not only the Dukedom of *Anjou*, but some other Cities also, which his Father had absolutely given him for his maintenance: yet out of Brotherly kindness, was content to allow him a Pension of a thousand pounds a year. Which Brotherly kindness was so unkindly taken by his Brother *Geoffery*, that it brake his heart; and within a short time after he dyed.

1157. *Henry* Earl of *Essex* how punished for letting the Kings Standard fall.

Malcolm K. of *Scots* repressed.

K. *Henry*'s unkindness to his brother *Geoffery*.

And thus these troubles begun by *Henry* himself, were soon ended; but now a trouble is coming on, begun by *Lewis* King of *France*, and this is like to stick longer by him. For King *Lewis* not having yet digested King *Henry*'s marriage with his divorced Wife *Eleanor*, seeks all opportunities to express his spleen, by doing him displeasure, and a fit opportunity was now offered. For there fell out a difference between *Raymond* Earl of St. *Giles*'s, and *Henry* King of *England*, about the Earldom of *Tholouse*, which *Raymond* possest, and *Henry* claimed: in this difference, King *Lewis* takes part with *Raymond*, as pretending to be the juster side. Hereupon are great Forces provided on both sides, and it was like to have come to a dangerous battel: but that by mediation of friends, a Peace was made; and to make the Peace the firmer, a marriage was concluded between *Henry*, King *Henry*'s eldest Son, scarce yet seven years of age, and *Margaret*, Daughter of King *Lewis* not past three, who was delivered to King *Henry* to bring up till fit years for consummation. This was then thought a strong link to hold them in friendship, but it proved afterward a cause to make a greater breach; and indeed when a Son is once matched into a Family, the Father must never look from thence afterward to have a good wish; seeing the Daughter thus matched can have no advancement, but by the advancement of her Husband, and he none, at least, none so well as by the ruin of his Father: yet this brake not out till some years after. It was now about the sixteenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, and his Son *Henry* grown to be seventeen years of age, when it came into the Kings mind to have his Son *Henry* Crowned King, and Reign with himself in his own time; partly out of indulgence to his Son, but chiefly, as having found by his own experience, that Oaths for succession are commonly eluded: but Oaths for present Allegiance, as being *Verba de præsenti*, can have no evasion. And pleasing himself with this conceit, he acquaints his Lords with his purpose, and causeth his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King by the hands of *Roger* Archbishop of *York*; and all the Lords to swear Allegiance to him. At the Feast of which solemnity, King *Henry* to honour his Son, would needs carry up the first dish to his Table: whereupon the Archbishop *Roger* standing by, and saying merrily to the new King, What an honour is this to you, to have such a Waiter at your Table? Why (saith he) what great matter is it for him who was but the Son of a Duke, to do service to me, that am the Son of a King and Queen? Which the old King hearing, began to repent him, now it was too late, of that he had done. For indeed the honour which by God's commandment children are to do their Parents, is by such making them their equal, in a manner abolished; at least it gives them stomachs to take more upon them than is fit. But King *Henry* passed it over, and meant to set the best side outward. Notwithstanding this ill success of King *Henry*, yet King *Lewis* of *France* soon after did the like to his Son *Philip*, and caused him to be Crowned King in his own life-time at *Paris*, *Anno* 1179.

Troubles like to rise between K. *Henry* and the K. of *France*.

1160. But pacified by a marriage of their children.

An. R. 16. 1170. K. *Henry* causeth his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King with himself.

The Sons Insolent speech against his Father.

And now King *Lewis* took displeasure that his Daughter was not Crowned as well as her Husband; and therefore to satisfy him in that point, King *Henry* sendeth his Son *Henry*, and his Wife *Margaret* into *England*, and causeth them both to be Crowned by *Walter* Archbishop of *Roan*: and shortly after, the young King *Henry* and his

his Wife go back to King *Lewis* her Father, and by him with great joy and variety of ſports were entertained. In the time of their being there, King *Lewis* partly out of his old ſpleen to King *Henry*, and partly to make his Son-in-law more abſolute, falls oftentimes into conference with him; and finding his hot ſpirit to be fit tinder for ſuch fire, tells him, it was a ſhame he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be made aſtale; have the title of a King, and not the Authority; and that as long as he ſtood in ſuch terms, that which ſeemed an honour was indeed a diſgrace. With which words of King *Lewis*, the young King *Henry* was ſet aſloat, and from that time forward, ſtuck not openly to oppoſe his Father. Whereof his Father having intelligence, ſent meſſengers to King *Lewis*, deſiring him from the King their Maſter, to be a means to bring his Son to more moderation. But King *Lewis* hearing the Embaſſadors name their Maſter King, with an angry countenance ſaid unto them; What mean you by this to call him King who hath paſſed his Kingdom over to his Son? and with this anſwer ſent them away. To this evil, another worſe was added: That Queen *Eleanor* his Wife enraged with jealouſy of her Husband's Concubines, both incenſed her Son *Henry*, and perſuadeth alſo two other of her Sons, *Richard* and *Geoffery*, to join againſt their Father; telling them, it would be better for them that their Brother ſhould prevail, who could not chuſe but allow them better maintenance than their Father did. With theſe perſuaſions they paſs over into *Normandy*, and join with their Brother *Henry*, who emboldned by their aſſiſtance, grows now more inſolent than he was before; that when meſſengers were ſent to him from his Father, requiring him to lay down his Arms, and to come lovingly to him, he proudly made anſwer, that his Father muſt not look he would lay down his Arms, unleſs himſelf firſt would lay down his authority, and reſign the Kingdom. And now *Lewis* King of *France* calling together the great Lords of his Kingdom, and with them *William* King of *Scots*, *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Hugh Bigot*, and others of his Sons party, they all take their Oaths to aſſiſt the young King *Henry* with all their power, and thereupon all in one day the *French* invade *Normandy*, *Aquitain* and *Britain*; the King of *Scots Northumberland*, and King *Lewis* the City of *Vernoil*, which he brought to that diſtreſs, that it was agreed by the Inhabitants, if it were not ſuccoured within three days, then to ſurrender it. King *Henry* hearing of this agreement, promiſeth to ſuccour them by that day. But here King *Lewis* uſeth a trick, gets that by fraud, which he could not do by force; for he ſends to King *Henry*, that if he were willing to have a Peace with his Sons, he ſhould meet him at a place appointed, at ſuch a time, and he doubted not to effect it. King *Henry* glad of ſuch an offer, and with that gladneſs perhaps blinded, and not ſuſpecting any deceit, promiſed to meet; and coming to the place at the day, which was the day he ſhould have ſuccoured *Vernoil*, he ſtayed there all day looking for King *Lewis* coming, who inſtead of coming, ſent word to *Vernoil*, that King *Henry* was defeated; and therefore their hope of ſuccour was in vain. Whereupon the Citizens thinking it to be ſo indeed, becauſe he came not according to his promiſe, ſurrendred the Town; which King *Lewis* finding himſelf unable to hold, ſet it on fire, and ſo departed. But King *Henry* when he perceived the fraud, followed him with his Army, and took a bloody revenge of his fraud, with the ſlaughter of many of his men. At the ſame time alſo King *Henry*'s Forces encountred *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, and *Robert Fulger*, who had taken *Dole* in *Britain*, took them Priſoners, and brought them to King *Henry*. And about the ſame time likewiſe in *England*, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter* thinking to ſurprize *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*, and *Richard Lucy*, King *Henry*'s Generals, at unawares, was himſelf by them overthrown, and the Town of *Leiceſter* taken, which only the ſite of the place defended from being battered to the ground. *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter* being thus defeated, paſſeth over into *France*, and being ſupplied by King *Lewis* with greater forces than before, is together with *Hugh Bigot* ſent back into *England*, to draw the Country to *Henry* the Son's party, who at firſt aſſault took *Norwich*; and then ſitting down before *Bury*, they are in a great Battel by *Richard Lucy*, and others of King *Henry*'s Captains, overthrown with the ſlaughter of ten thouſand men, and as many taken priſoners; amongſt whom Earl *Robert* himſelf. Yet were not *Roger Mowbray*, and *Hugh Bigot* ſo daunted with this overthrow, but that together with *David* the King of *Scots* Brother, they gather new Forces, and invade *Northumberland* and *Yorkſhire*, when *Robert Stoteve*, *Ralph Granvila*, *William Veſci*, and *Bernard Balliol* (who built *Bernard* Caſtle in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*) Knights of thoſe parts, aſſembled together, and fighting a great Battel with them, overthrew them, and took the King of *Scots* priſoner, with many others. Yet is not *Hugh Bigot* daunted with this neither, but gathers new Forces and takes *Norwich*; and *Robert Ferris*, *Nottingham*. The news whereof, when King *Henry* the Son heard, he recovered new ſpirits, and obtaining new aſſiſtance from King *Lewis*, prepares himſelf afreſh for War: which King *Henry* the Father hearing, returns ſpeedily into *England*, and to appeale St. *Thomas Becket*s Ghoſt, goes to viſit his Tomb, and there asks him forgiveneſs. This done, he goes into *Suffolk*, and at *Framingham* Caſtle, which belonged to *Hugh Bigot*, ſtays with his Army; when ſuddenly moved, by what inſtinct no man knows (unleſs the appeaſing of St. *Thomas*'s Ghoſt did work it), both *Hugh Bigot* delivers up his Caſtle into King *Henry*'s hands, and likewiſe *Robert Mowbray*, *Robert Ferris*, and many other of that party, come voluntarily in, and ſubmit themſelves to the Kings mercy. Hereupon King *Henry* returns to *London*, about which time he committed his Wife Queen *Eleanor* to priſon for her practices againſt him. In the mean time, King *Lewis* underſtanding that *Normandy* was but weakly guarded, together with his Son his young King *Henry*, and *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, he beſiegeth *Roan*, which the King's Forces valiantly defended, till he came himſelf in perſon; and thereupon King *Lewis* deſpairing of any good to be done, ſends meſſengers to King *Henry*

The young K. *Henry* is incited by his Father-in-law, K. *Lewis* to oppoſe his Father.

Queen *Eleanor* alſo.

The young King requires his Father to reſign the Kingdom, K. *Lewis* and the Lords of *France* aſſiſt him.

K. *Lewis*'s fraud to get *Vernoil*.

Leiceſter a ſtrong ſite.

Hugh Bigot's reſolute perſiſting in aſſiſting young K. *Henry*.

Bernard Caſtle of whom ſo called.

1174.

K. *Henry* viſits the Tomb of *Tho. Becket*.

Hugh Bigot and others ſubmit themſelves to K. *Henry*.

Queen *Eleanor* committed to priſon.

Henry for a truce, and appointed a day to meet at *Gyſors*, where he doubted not to make a reconcilement between his Sons and him; King *Henry* agreed willingly, but at the meeting nothing was done. It ſeems it was but one of King *Lewis*'s old tricks to come fairly off.

After this truce made with King *Lewis*, King *Henry* hearing that his Son *Richard* had in the mean time poſſeſt himſelf of a great part of the Province of *Poictou*, goes thither with an Army, where *Richard* at laſt, after ſome heſitation, as doubting his Forces, ſubmits himſelf to his Father, and asks his pardon; which his Father as freely grants, as if he had never committed any fault. And thereupon K. *Henry* imploys him to King *Lewis*, and his Brother *Henry*, to perſuade them to Peace; who wearied now with the wars, were eaſily drawn, and ſo reconciliation on all parts is made. And to confirm the reconciliation between the two Kings, *Henry* and *Lewis*, his Daughter *Adela* is affianced to King *Henry*'s Son *Richard*, as Earl of *Aquitain*; and becauſe the Lady was but young, ſhe was committed to the care of King *Henry* till ſhe could be fit for marriage. Upon this King *Henry* ſets *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, giving Hoſtages and Oath for their Allegiance, at liberty; and *William* alſo King of *Scots*, paying a certain Mulct, for which he delivered in pawn the ſtrong Caſtles of *Berwick*, *Roxborough*, and *Sterling* to King *Henry*, and was fined to loſe the County of *Huntington*, and never to receive any Rebels into his protection. Theſe things done, the King with his Son returns into *England*, where with all joyfulneſs they were received.

A reconciliation is made on all parts. *Rich.* K. *Henry*'s ſecond Son affianceth *Adela* the K. of *France*'s Daughter.

1179.

It was now the year 1179. when King *Lewis* began again to grow diſcontented with King *Henry*, becauſe his daughtet was not yet married to his Son *Richard*, as was agreed: but King *Henry* making him promiſe to have them married within a few days, gave him ſatisfaction; though indeed he meant nothing leſs, for it was thought he kept her for himſelf, as with whom he had before that time had unlawful familiarity.

With whom K. *Henry* is thought to have unlawful familiarity.

An. R. 30. 1184.

The year 1184. was memorable for nothing, or for nothing ſo much as the death of the young King *Henry*, who died then, being of the age of one and twenty years: whoſe Widow *Margaret* returning into *France*, was afterward married to *Bela* King of *Hungary*. Now King *Henry*'s Son *Richard*, no longer enduring to have his marriage delayed, which his Father often promiſed, but would never ſuffer to be performed, falls into his old fit of diſcontentment. Wherein though he cannot perhaps be juſtified, yet he may juſtly be excuſed; for to be kept from a Wife at that time of his age for which a Wife was moſt proper; and eſpecially having been affianced ſo long before, which could not chuſe but make his appetite the ſharper; muſt needs be, if not a juſt cauſe, at leaſt a ſtrong provocation to make him do as he did. Howſoever from this fit of diſcontentment, he falls into a relapſe of Rebellion, and infecting with it his Brother *John*, and a great part of his Fathers Adherents, they all take part with *Philip*, (now after the deceaſe of *Lewis* King of *France*) who willing to make uſe of their aſſiſtance, before

The young K. *Henry* dieth.

Richard diſcontented with the delay of his marriage, rebels; and draws in his brother *John*.

the ſtream of filial awfulneſs ſhould return into the natural Channel, takes them along with him and beſiegeth the City of *Mentz*, in which King *Henry* at that time was himſelf in perſon. Who apprehending the danger, and then reſenting the miſchief of falling into his enemies hands, gets him ſecretly out of the City, leaving it to defend it ſelf, till he ſhould return with greater forces; for hearing afterward that the Town was taken, he fell into ſo great a diſtraction of mind, that it made him break out into theſe blaſphemous words; I ſhall never hereafter love God any more, who hath ſuffered a City ſo dear unto me, to be taken from me: but he quickly recollected himſelf, and repented him that he had ſpoken thoſe words. Indeed *Mentz* was the City in which he was born. That to have this City taken from him, was as much as to have his birth-right taken from him. And to ſay the truth, after he had loſt this City, he ſcarce ſeemed to be alive; not only becauſe he ſhortly after died, but becauſe the State of Majeſty which had all his life accompanied him, after this forſook him; for now he was fain to beg peace of his enemies, who often before had begged it of him; now he was glad to yield to conditions, which no force before could have wreſted from him. It is memorable, and worth obſerving, that when theſe two Kings had meeting between *Turwyn* and *Arras*, for reconcilement of differences, there ſuddenly happened a Thunderbolt to light juſt between them, with ſo terrible a crack, that it forced them for that time to break off their conference; and afterward at another meeting, the like accident of thunder happened again, which ſo amazed King *Henry*, that he had fallen off his horſe, if he had not been ſupported by thoſe about him. Which could be nothing but drops let fall of the Divine anger, and manifeſt preſages of his future diſaſters. And thus this great Prince's troubles, which began in little ones, and were continued in great ones, ended at laſt in ſo great a trouble, that it ended his life, and left him an example of deſolation, notwithſtanding all his greatneſs; forſaken of his Friends, forſaken of his Wife, forſaken of his Children; and (if he were not himſelf, when he blaſphemed for the loſs of *Mentz*) forſaken of himſelf; which might be exemplar in this King, if it were not the common Epilogue of all greatneſs.

Mentz taken by the K. of *France*.

A blaſphemous ſpeech of K. *Henry*.

A ſtrange accident.

K. *Henry* forſaken of his good fortune.

Of his Acqueſt in Ireland.

ROBERT *Fitz-Stephen* was the firſt of all *Engliſh*-men after the Conqueſt that entred *Ireland*, the firſt day of *May* in the year 1170. with 390. men, and there took *Wexford* in the behalf of *Dernutius*, Son of *Mercherdach*, called *Mac Murg*, King of *Leymſter*. In *September* following, *Richard* Earl of *Chepſtow*, ſurnamed *Strong-bow*, ſailed into *Ireland* with twelve hundred men, where he took *Waterford* and *Dublin*, and married *Eve* the Daughter of *Dernutius*, as he was promiſed. From theſe beginnings, King *Henry* being then at reſt from all Hoſtile Arms both at home and abroad, takes into his conſideration the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as a Kingdom which oftentimes afforded aſſiſtance to the *French*; and therefore purpoſing with himſelf by

Who firſt of all *Engliſh*-men entered *Ireland*.

Ireland ſubmits it ſelf to K. *Henry*.

by all means to ſubdue it, he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter ſeaſon ſailed thither, taking Shipping at *Pembroke*, and landing near to *Waterford*. Where entring into conſultation what courſe was fitteſt to be taken in the enterpriſe, ſuddenly of their own accord the Princes of the Country came in, and ſubmitted themſelves unto him, only *Rodorick* King of *Conact* ſtood out; who being the greateſt, thought to make himſelf the only King of that Nation. But K. *Henry* forbearing him for the preſent, who kept himſelf in the faſtneſs of Boggs and Woods, and was not to be followed in the winter ſeaſon, takes his journey to *Dublin*, the chief City of the Country; and there calling the Princes and Biſhops of the Nation together, requires their conſent to have him and his heirs to be their King; which they affirming they could not do without the Popes authority, to whom, at their firſt converſion to the Chriſtian Religion, they had ſubmitted themſelves; the King ſent preſently to *Adrian* the then Pope, and *Engliſh*-man, requiring his aſſent, which upon divers good conſiderations he granted; and hereupon the King built him a ſtately Palace in the City of *Dublin*; and having thus without blood poſſeſt himſelf of the Kingdom, the Spring following he returns joyfully into *England*. About four years after, *Rodorick* alſo ſends his Chancellor to King *Henry*, to offer his ſubmiſſion, with a tribute to be paid of every ten beaſts, one ſufficient. After this, in the one and thirtieth year of his Reign, he ſent his Son *John* to be the Governor there.

The Pope confirms their ſubmiſſion.

K. *Henry* builds a ſtately Palace in *Dublin*.

He ſends his Son *John* Governor into *Ireland*.

His Taxations and ways for raiſing of Money.

TAXATIONS in his time were chiefly once when he took Eſcuage of *Engliſh*-men, towards his wars in *France*, which amounted to 12400 pounds: but confiſcations were many, becauſe many Rebellions, and every Rebellion was as good as a Mine. Alſo vacancies of Biſhopricks and Abbies, kept in his hand ſometimes many at once; no time without ſome. He reſumed alſo all Lands which had either been ſold or given from the Crown by his Predeceſſors: but a principal cauſe that made him plentiful in money, was his Parſimony; as when he was enjoined for a Penance to build three Abbies, he performed it, by changing Secular Prieſts into Regular Canons, only to ſpare coſt: And it was not the leaſt cauſe of alienating his Sons from him, that he allowed them not maintenance anſwerable to their calling. And it could be nothing but Parſimony while he lived, which brought it to paſs that when he died, there were found in his Coffers nine hundred thouſand pounds, beſides Plate and Jewels.

He keeps Abbies vacant in his hands.

He reſumes Crown-Lands.

His Parſimony.

He left behind him nine hundred thouſand pounds in money.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN the beginning of his Reign, he refined and reformed the Laws of the Realm; making them more tolerable and more profitable to his people than they were before. In the one and twentieth year of his Reign, he divided his whole Kingdom into ſix ſeveral Circuits, appointing in every Circuit three Judges, who twice every year ſhould ride together, to hear and determine Cauſes between man and man: as at this day, tho altered in the number of the Judges, and in the Shires of Circuit. In this Kings days, the number of *Jews* all *England* over was great: yet whereſoever they dwelt, they might not bury any of the dead any where but in *London*; which being a great inconvenience to bring dead bodies oftentimes from far remote places, the King gave them liberty of burial in ſeveral places where they lived. It was in this Kings days alſo ordained, that Clergy-men offending in hunting the Kings Deer, ſhould be puniſhable by the Civil Magiſtrate, according to the Laws of the Land; which order was afterward taken with them for any offence whatſoever they committed. Tho it be not a Law, yet it is an Ordinance which was firſt brought in by this King, that the Lyons ſhould be kept in the Tower of *London*. Alſo this King made a Statute concerning Armour and Weapons, That every man that held a Knights-Fee, ſhould be bound to have a pair of Curaſſes, an Helmet, with Shield and Spear; and that every man of the Laity having Goods and Revenues to the value of ſixteen Marks, ſhould have one pair of Curaſſes, an Helmet, a Spear and a Shield; and every man worth ten Marks, ſhould have an Habergeon, a Steel Cap, and a Spear.

Judges circuits appointed.

Jews whereſoever dwelling might bury no where but in *London*, till this King gave them Liberty.

Clergy-men puniſhable by the Civil Magiſtrate.

Lyons ordained to be kept in the *Tower*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THIS Kings reign is famous for the contention of a Subject with the Prince; and tho it may be thought no equal match, yet in this example we ſhall find it hard to judge which of them had the victory. But before we come to ſpeak of the Contention, it is fit to ſay ſomething of the Man, and of the Quarrel. The man was *Thomas Becket*, born in *London*, his Father one *Gilbert Becket*, his Mother an outlandiſh-woman, of the Country of *Syria*. His firſt riſing was under *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who taking a liking to him, (as one ſaith, no man knew for what) made him firſt Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and then uſed means to have him be the Prince's Tutor; after that to be Chancellor of *England*; and after the deceaſe of the ſaid *Theobald*, was himſelf made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in his place. One memorable thing he did at his coming to be Archbiſhop, he ſurrendred his place, being Chancellor, as not thinking it fit to ſit at the Helm of the Commonwealth, and of the Church, both at once. But now began the contention between the King and him. The difference was, the King would have it ordained that Clergy-men who were Malefactors, ſhould be tried before the Secular Magiſtrate as Lay-men were: This *Becket* oppoſed, ſaying, it was againſt the Liberty of the Church, and therefore againſt the honour of God. Many Biſhops ſtood with the King, ſome few with *Becket*; the Contention grew long, and with the length ſtill hotter, till at laſt *Becket* was content to aſſent to the Ordinance with this clauſe, *Salvo Ordine ſuo*. The King liked not the clauſe, as being a deluding of the Ordinance: He required an abſolute aſſent, without any clauſe of Reſervation. At laſt, after many debatings and demurrs, the Archbiſhop yields to this alſo, and ſubſcribes the Ordinance, and ſet his hand unto it: But going

Th. Becket's parentage and riſing.

The contention between the King and him.

going homewards, it is ſaid, his Croſs-bearer and ſome other about him, blamed him for that he had done. But whether moved with their words, or otherwiſe upon ſecond thoughts, the next day when they met him again, he openly repented his former deed, retracts his ſubſcription, and ſends to the Pope for abſolution of his fault; which the Pope not only granted, but encouraged him to perſiſt in the courſe he had begun. It may be thought a fable, yet it is related by divers good Authors, that one time during this contention, certain fellows cut off the Archbiſhop's Horſes tail; after which fact all their Children were born with tails like Horſes; and that this continued long in the Poſterity, though now long ſince ceaſed, and perhaps their families too. But King *Henry* finding there was no prevailing with *Becket* by fair means, begins to deal more roughly with him; and firſt makes uſe of Authority upon his Temporalties; and withal a cenſure was ſpoken to be intended againſt his perſon. Which *Becket* underſtanding, thought it his beſt courſe to flee the Realm, and thereupon paſſing under the name of *Dereman*, he paſſeth over Sea, and there, two years by the Pope, and five by the King of *France*, was maintained as it were of Alms: In which miſery nothing vexed him ſo much, as that King *Henry* ſent all his kindred, Men and Women, old and young, into baniſhment after him. And now King *Henry* finding that *Becket* ſtood much upon his Legantin Power, ſent meſſengers to the Pope, deſiring him to take that power from him, and to confer it upon his Archbiſhop of *York*; but the Pope anſwered he would not do ſo, but was content the King himſelf ſhould be his Legate, and ſent him Letters to that purpoſe; which King *Henry* took in ſuch ſcorn, that he threw away the Letters, and ſent them preſently back to him again. This dignity of Legatſhip, for the diligent ſervice of *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was by a ſpecial Decree of Pope *Innocent* the ſecond, to remain to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; ſo that they were entituled *Legati nati*, Legats born.

Children born with Horſes tails, and the cauſe.

Becket flees the Realm.

The Pope offers to make K. *Henry* his Legate.

In this mean time, the King of *France* prevailed with King *Henry* to afford *Becket* a conference, hoping to bring them to ſome Agreement; where being together, King *Henry* alledged before the King of *France*, that he required nothing of *Becket* but his aſſent to an Ordinance, to which in his Grandfather King *Henry* the Firſt's time, all the Biſhops of the Realm, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* that then was, did give their Aſſent: Yet this moved not *Becket* at all, but he continued his former Tenet; it was againſt the Honour of God, and therefore deſired to be excuſed. See now (ſaith King *Henry*) the perverſeneſs of this man, all that agrees not with his own humour, is preſently againſt the honour of God. While theſe things were thus a working, *Becket* had gotten him more friends at *Rome*, and by their means prevailed with the Pope to give him power to interdict ſome Biſhops in *England* that had done him wrong; and the Pope ſpared not to threaten Excommunication to King *Henry* himſelf, if he reſtored not *Becket* to his dignity. But whether aw'd with threatnings, or won by the King of *France*'s importunity; or elſe perhaps relenting in himſelf, he was contented at laſt that *Becket* ſhould return home and enjoy his Biſhoprick. Who being come to *Canterbury*, the Biſhops whom he had interdicted for Crowning the young King *Henry*, (which he ſaid was his right to have done) made humble ſuit unto him, to be releaſed of the cenſure. Which, when the Archbiſhop would not grant, but with certain cautions and exceptions, the Biſhops diſcontented went over to the King, complaining of the hard meaſure that was offered them by the Archbiſhop: Whereat the King being much moved, Shall I never (ſaith he) be at quiet for this Prieſt? If I had any about me that loved me, they would find ſome way or other to rid me of this trouble. Whereupon four Knights ſtanding by, that heard the King make this complaint, namely, *Reynold Fitz-urſe*, or *Bereſon*, *Hugh Mervill*, *William Tracy*, and *Richard Britton*, thinking they ſhould do an acceptable ſervice to the King, went ſhortly after into *England*; and going to *Canterbury*, found the Archbiſhop then at Church, when upon the ſteps, there, they ſtruck him upon the head with their Swords, and ſlew him the thirtieth day of *December*, in the year 1172. Afterward with much ado, by King *Henry*'s means they were pardoned by the Pope, only enjoyned Penance to go on Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, as ſome write: But others more probably, that the King abhorred them ever after; and that within three years after they all died miſerably. You have heard his perſecution, and (as ſome would have it called) his Martyrdom: Now hear the honours that have been done him, and the viſitations to his Tomb: And firſt King *Henry* himſelf coming to *Canterbury*, as ſoon as he came within ſight of *Becket*'s Church, lighting off his Horſe, and putting off his hoſe and ſhooes, he went barefoot to his Tomb; and for a further penance ſuffered himſelf to be beaten with Rods by every Monk of the Cloiſter. A few years after, King *Lewis* of *France* comes into *England* of purpoſe to viſit the Shrine of St. *Thomas*; where having paid his Vows, he makes oblations with many rich Preſents. The like many Princes ſince that time have done; and many Miracles are reported to have been done at his Tomb, which yet may be unbelieved without unbelief, and with Faith enough. It is worth obſerving, how ſome days are to ſome men more fortunate than other days; as *Matthew Paris* writes of this *Becket*, that Tueſday was obſerved to be a fortunate day to him; for upon Tueſday he was born; upon a Tueſday he was Baniſhed; upon a Tueſday he was recalled from Baniſhment; upon a Tueſday he ſuffered Martyrdom; upon a Tueſdey, fifty years after his death, his body with great ſolemnity was tranſlated.

K. *Henry* complains of *Becket* to the K. of *France*.

Becket returns home.

The Biſhops complain of *Becket* to the King.

Becket is ſlain.

His Murtherers how puniſhed.

The honors done to *Becket*'s Tomb.

Another difference in this King's days, was between the two Archbiſhops of *England*, about the juriſdiction of *Canterbury* over *York*, which being referred to the Pope, he gave judgment on *Canterbury*'s ſide. Alſo in this King's days there was a Schiſm in the Church of *Rome*, two Popes up at once, of whom *Alexander* the third was one; which Schiſm continued the ſpace of almoſt 20 years. Alſo in this King's days, one *Nicholas Breakſpear*, born at St. *Albans*, or

Contention betwixt the two Archbiſhops.

Two Popes at once.

A bondman comes to be Pope, called *Adrian* the fourth.

as others write, at *Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*, being a bondman of that Abbey, and therefore not to be allowed to be a Monk there, went beyond Sea, where he ſo profited in Learning, that the Pope made him firſt Biſhop of *Alba*, and afterward Cardinal, and ſent him Legate to the *Norways*, where he reduced that Nation from Paganiſm to Chriſtianity, and returning back to *Rome* was choſen Pope by the name of *Adrian* the Fourth, and dyed, being choaked with a Fly in his drink. In his days alſo *Heraclitus* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* came to King *Henry*, deſiring aid for the *Holy Land*, but not ſo much of money as of men; and not ſo much of men neither, as of a good General, as himſelf was: To whom King *Henry* anſwered, That though he were willing to undertake it, yet his unquiet State at home would not ſuffer him. With which anſwer the Patriarch moved, ſaid, Think not Great King, that Pretences will excuſe you before God; but take this from me, That as you forſake God's cauſe now, ſo he hereafter will forſake you in your greateſt need. But (ſaith the King) if I ſhould be abſent out of my Kingdom, my own Sons would be ready to riſe up againſt me in my abſence; to which the Patriarch replied, No marvail, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they ſhall; and ſo departed. Alſo in this King's days there came into *England* Thirty *Germans*, Men and Women, calling themſelves Publicans, who denied Matrimony, and the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and of the Lord's Supper, with other Articles; who being obſtinate, and not to be reclaimed, the King commanded they ſhould be marked with a hot Iron in the forehead, and be whipped; which puniſhment they took patiently, their Captain (called *Gerard*) going before them ſinging, *Bleſſed are ye when men hate you.* After they were whipped, they were thruſt out of doors in the Winter, where they died with cold and hunger, no man daring to relieve them. This King after his conqueſt of *Ireland*, impoſed the tribute of *Peter-pence* upon that Kingdom, namely, that every houſe in *Ireland* ſhould yearly pay a penny to St. *Peter*. In this King's time was held by Pope *Alexander* the third, the General Council of *Lateran* conſiſting of 310 Biſhops; where many Ordinances were made for the peace of the Church. Alſo in the 33*d*. year of his Reign *Jeruſalem* was taken by the *Turks*.

Choaked with a Fly.

Heraclitus the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* his inſolent ſpeech to K. *Henry*.

The patience of Hereticks.

Peter-pence impoſed upon *Ireland*.

Works of Piety by this King, or by others in his time.

THIS King founded the Church of *Briſtow*, which King *Henry* the Eighth afterward erected into a Cathedral. He alſo founded the Priories of *Dover*, of *Stonely*, of *Baſinwork*, and the Caſtle of *Rudlan*; and began the Stone-bridge over the Thames at *London*. He cauſed alſo the Caſtle of *Warwick* to be builded. *Maud* the Empreſs, his Mother, founded the Abby of *Bordeſly*. In his time alſo *Hugh Mortimer* founded *Wigmore* Abby: *Rich. Lucy* the King's Chief Juſtice laid the Foundation of the Conventual Church, in the honour of St. *Thomas*, in a place which is called *Weſtwood*, otherwiſe *Leſnes*, in the Territory of *Rocheſter* in the new Pariſh of *Southfleet*. He alſo builded the Caſtle of *Anger* in *Eſſex*. *Robert Harding*, a Burgeſs of *Briſtow*, to whom King *Henry* gave the Barony of *Barkley*, builded the Monaſtery of St. *Auguſtines* in *Briſtow*. In the tenth year of his reign, *London Bridge* was new made of Timber, by *Peter* of *Cole-Church* a Prieſt. *Robert de Boſcu* Earl of *Leiceſter*, founded the Monaſtery of *Gorenden*, of Monks; and of *Leiceſter*, called St. *Mary de Pratis*, of Canons Regular; and his Wife *Amicia* Daughter of *Ralph Montford*, founded *Eaton* of Nuns. In the two and twentieth year of his reign after the foundation of St. *Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*, the Stone Bridge over the *Thames* at *London*, began to be founded, towards which a Cardinal and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* gave a Thouſand Marks. *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* founded a Monaſtery at *Gloceſter* of Benedictine Monks.

The Stone-bridge in *London*.

London Bridge new made of Timber.

Caſualties that happened in his time.

IN the eleventh year of this King's reign, on the ſix and twentieth day of *January*, was ſo great an Earthquake in *Ely*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, that it overthrew them that ſtood upon their feet, and made the Bells to ring in the Steeples. In the ſeventeenth year of his reign, there was ſeen at St. *Oſyths* in *Eſſex*, a Dragon of marvellous bigneſs, which by moving burned houſes; and the whole City of *Canterbury* was the ſame year almoſt burnt. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the Church of *Norwich* with the houſes thereto belonging was burnt, and the Monks diſperſed. At *Andover*, a Prieſt praying before the Altar, was ſlain with Thunder. Likewiſe one *Clerk* and his brother was burnt to death with Lightning. In the three and twentieth year a ſhower of blood rained in the Iſle of *Wight* two hours together. In the four and twentieth year, the City of *York* was burnt; and on *Chriſtmas* day, in the Territory of *Derlington*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, the Earth lifted up her ſelf in manner of a high Tower, and ſo remained unmoveable from morning till evening, and then fell with ſo horrible a noiſe that it frighted the Inhabitants thereabouts, and the Earth ſwallowing it up there, made a deep pit, which is ſeen at this day; for a Teſtimony whereof *Leyland* ſaith, he ſaw the Pits there commonly called *Hell-Kettles*. Alſo in the ſame year, on the tenth day of *April*, the Church of St. *Andrews* in *Rocheſter* was conſumed with fire. In the eight and twentieth year of his reign, *Barnwell* with the Priory, near unto *Cambridge*, was burnt. In the thirtieth year, the Abbey of *Glaſtenbury* was burnt, with the Church of St. *Julian*. In the year 1180. a great Earthquake threw down many buildings, amongſt which the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln* was rent in pieces the five and twentieth of *April*: And on the twentieth of *October*, the Cathedral Church of *Chicheſter*, and all the whole City was burnt. This year alſo, near unto *Orford* in *Suffolk*, certain Fiſhers took in their Nets a Fiſh, having the ſhape of a man in all points, which Fiſh was kept by *Bartholemew de Glandevile* in the Caſtle of *Orford* ſix months and more; he ſpake not a word; all manner of meats he did gladly eat, but moſt greedily raw Fiſh when he had preſſed out the juice; oftentimes he was brought to the Church, but never ſhewed any ſign

A great Earthquake.

A ſhower of blood.

Hell-Kettles in the County of *Durham* made by an Earthquake.

A Fiſh taken in the ſhape of a man.

ſign of adoration: at length, being not well looked to, he ſtole to the Sea, and never was ſeen after. In the year 1188. on the twentieth of *September*, the Town of *Beverly*, with the Church of St. *John* there was burnt. And in this Kings time, the bones of King *Arthur*, and his Wife *Guynevour*, were found in the Vale of *Avolan*, under an hollow Oak fifteen foot under ground: the hair of the ſaid *Guynevour* being then whole and of freſh colour: but as ſoon as it was touched, it fell to powder, as *Fabian* relateth.

The bones of King *Arthur* found.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Eleanor*, Daughter and heir of *William* Duke of *Guyen*, late Wife of *Lewis* the ſeventh King of *France*, but then divorced; but for what cauſe divorced, is diverſly related. Some ſay King *Lewis* carried her with him into the Holy Land, where ſhe carried her ſelf not very holily, but led a licentious life; and which is the worſt kind of licentiouſneſs, in carnal familiarity with a *Turk*. Which King *Lewis* though knowing, yet diſſembled, till coming home, he then waved that cauſe, as which he could not bring without diſgrace to himſelf, and made uſe of their nearneſs in blood, as being Couſins in the fourth degree, which was allowed by the Pope, as a cauſe ſufficient to divorce them, though he had at that time two Daughters by her. Being thus divorced, Duke *Henry* marries her, with whom it was never known, but ſhe led a modeſt and ſober life, a ſufficient proof, that the former report was but a ſlander. By this Queen *Eleanor* he had five Sons, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffery*, and *John*; and three Daughters, *Maud*, married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*; *Eleanor* married to *Alphonſe* the Eighth of that name, King of *Caſtile*; and *Jane* or *Jone* married to *William* K. of *Sicily*. Of his Sons, *William* died young. *Henry* born the ſecond year of his reign, was crowned King with his Father in the eighteenth year, and died the nine and twentieth year, and was buried at *Roan*; married to *Margaret*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, but left no iſſue. *Richard* born at *Oxford* (in the Kings Palace there called *Beau-mont*) in the fourth year of his Fathers Reign, and ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. *Geoffery* born the fifth year of his Fathers reign, married *Conſtance*, Daughter and Heir of *Conan*, Earl of *Little-Britain*, in the fourteenth year, and in the two and thirtieth year died; leaving by his Wife *Conſtance*, two Daughters, and a *Poſthumus* Son named *Arthur*. *John* his youngeſt called *John* without Land, becauſe he had no Land aſſigned him in his Fathers time; born the twelfth year of his Fathers reign, and ſucceeded his Brother *Richard* in the Kingdom. And this may be reckoned a peculiar honour to this King, that of his five Sons, three of them lived to be Kings; and of his three Daughters, two of them to be Queens. Concubines he had many, but two more famous than the reſt; and one of theſe two more famous than the other; and this was *Roſamund*, Daughter of *Walter*, Lord *Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodſtock*, in lodgings ſo cunningly contrived, that no ſtranger could find the way in; yet Queen *Eleanor* did, being guided by a thread: ſo much is the eye of jealouſy quicker in finding out, than the eye of care in hiding. What the Queen did to *Roſamund* when ſhe came to her, is uncertain; but this is certain, that *Roſamund* lived but a ſhort time after, and lies buried in the Nunnery of *Godſtow* near to *Oxford*. By this *Roſamund*, King *Henry* had two Sons, *William* called *Longſword*; who was Earl of *Saliſbury* in right of his Wife *Ela*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of that Country, and had by her much iſſue, whoſe Poſterity continued a long time: And a ſecond Son named *Geoffery*, who was firſt Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and afterward Archbiſhop of *York*, and after five years baniſhment in his Brother King *John*'s time, died in the year 1213. The other famous Concubine of this King *Henry*, was the Wife of *Ralph Blewet* a Knight; by whom he had a Son named *Morgan*, who was Provoſt of *Beverly*, and being to be elected Biſhop of *Durham*, went to *Rome* for a diſpenſation, becauſe being a Baſtard he was elſe uncapable: But the Pope refuſing to grant it, unleſs he would paſs as the Son of *Blewet*, he abſolutely anſwered, he would for no cauſe in the world deny his Father; and choſe rather to loſe the Dignity of the place, than of his blood, as being the Son, tho but the baſe Son of a King.

A ſtrange licentiouſneſs of Q. *Eleanor*.

John without land.

Roſamund one of his Concubines.

The Wife of *Blewet* another of his Concubines.

An honour to deſcend from a King tho born baſe.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was ſomewhat red of face, and broad breaſted; ſhort of body, and therewithal fat, which made him uſe much exerciſe and little meat. He was commonly called *Henry Short-mantle*, becauſe he was the firſt that brought the uſe of ſhort Cloaks out of *Anjou* into *England*. Concerning endowments of mind, he was of Spirit in the higheſt degree Generous, which made him often ſay, that all the World ſufficed not to a courageous Heart. He had the Reputation of a wiſe Prince all the Chriſtian World over; which made *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, and *Garſyas* King of *Navarre* refer a difference that was between them, to his Arbitrement; who ſo judiciouſly determined the cauſe, that he gave contentment to both parties; a harder matter than to cut cloth even by a thread. His cuſtom was to be always in action: for which cauſe, if he had no real Wars, he would have feigned; and would tranſport Forces either into *Normandy* or *Britain*, and go with them himſelf, whereby he was always prepared of an Army: and made it a Schooling to his Soldiers, and to himſelf an Exerciſe. To his chidren he was both indulgent and hard; for out of indulgence he cauſed his Son *Henry* to be crowned King in his own time: and out of hardneſs he cauſed his younger Sons to Rebel againſt him. He was rather Superſtitious than not Religious; which he ſhewed more by his carriage toward *Becket* being dead, than while he lived. His Incontinency was not ſo much that he uſed other women beſides his Wife, but the affianced wife of his own Son: And it was commonly thought, he had a meaning to be divorced from his Wife Q. *Eleanor*, and to take the ſaid *Adela* to be his Wife. Yet generally to ſpeak of him, he was an excellent Prince; and if in ſome particulars he were defective, it muſt be conſidered he was a man.

Why called *Short-mantle*.

Always in action.

To his children both hard and indulgent.

His incontinency.

Of his Death and Burial.

HE was not well at eaſe before; but when the King of *France* ſent him a liſt of thoſe that had conſpired againſt him, and that he found the firſt man in the Liſt to be his Son *John*, he then fell ſuddenly into a fit of fainting, which ſo encreaſed upon him, that within four days after he ended his life. So ſtrong a Corroſive is grief of mind, when it meets with a body weakened before with ſickneſs. He died in *Normandy*, in the year 1189. when he had lived threeſcore and one years; reigned near five and thirty: and was buried at *Font-Everard* in *France*; the manner of whoſe burial was thus. He was cloathed in his Royal Robes, his Crown upon his head, white Gloves upon his hands, Boots of Gold upon his legs, Gilt Spurs at his heels, a great rich Ring upon his finger, his Scepter in his hand, his Sword by his ſide, and his face uncovered, and all bare. As he was carried to be buried, his Son *Richard* in great haſte ran to ſee him, who no ſooner was come near the body, but ſuddenly at his Noſtrils he fell a bleeding afreſh; which tho' it were in Prince *Richard* no good ſign of Innocency, yet his breaking preſently into bitter tears upon the ſeeing it, was a good ſign of Repentance. It may not be unſeaſonable to ſpeak in this place of a thing which all Writers ſpeak of; that in the Family of the Earls of *Anjou*, of whom this K. *Henry* came, there was once a Princeſs, a great enchantreſs, who being on a time enforced to take the bleſſed Euchariſt, ſhe ſuddenly flew out at the Church-window, and was never ſeen after. From this Woman theſe latter Earls of *Anjou* were deſcended, which perhaps made the Patriarch *Heraclius* ſay of this King *Henry*'s children, that from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would. But Writers perhaps had been more compleat, if they had left this ſtory out of their Writings.

1189.

His body falls a bleeding at his Son *Richard*'s coming near his Corps.

His Anceſtreſs an Enchantreſs.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Clergy-men, there was *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Winchester*, *Geoffery* of *Ely*, *Robert* of *Bathe*, *Aldred* of *Worceſter*, all learnd men, and of great integrity of life. Of Military men, there was *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*, *Hugh Bigot*, *Robert Ferris*, *Richard Lacy*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Ralph Fulger*, *Ranulph Granula*, *William Veſci*, and *Raynard Balioll*; men of great atchievements in War, and of no leſs abilities in Peace.

THE

THE LIFE and REIGN of King RICHARD I.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of his Coronation.

An. Dom. 1189. *K. Richard* Crowned.

KING *Richard*, the first of that name, after his Fathers Funeral, went to *Roan*, where he setled the state of that Province; and from thence came into *England*, where he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the third day of *September* in the year 1189. And herein this Prince is more beholden to Writers than any of his Predecessors; for in speaking of their Crowning, they content themselves with telling where and by whom they were Crowned; but of this Prince they deliver the manner of his Crowning, in the full amplitude of all Circumstances, which perhaps is not unfit to do, for satisfaction of such as are never like to see a Coronation; and it was in this manner. First, the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Trier*, and *Dublin*, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy, apparelled in rich Copes, and having the Cross, Holy Water, and Censers, carried before them, came to fetch him at the door of his Privy-Chamber; and there receiving him, they led him to the Church of *Westminster*, till they came before the high Altar with a solemn Procession. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy went four Barons, bearing Candlesticks with Tapers; after whom came *Geoffery de Lucy*, bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and *John Marshal* next to him, bearing a massy pair of Spurs of Gold; then followed *William Marshal*, Earl of *Striguil*, *alias Pembroke*, who bare the Royal-Scepter, in the top whereof was set a Cross of Gold; and *William de Patrick*, Earl of *Salisbury* going next him, bare the Warder or Rod, having on the Top thereof a Dove. Then came three other Earls, *David* Brother to the King of *Scots*; the Earl of *Huntington*; *John* the Kings Brother, Earl of *Mortaigne*; and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, each of them bearing a Sword upright in his hand, with the Scabbards richly adorned with Gold. The Earl of *Mortaigne* went in the middle betwixt the other two; after them followed six Earls and Barons, bearing a Checquer Table, upon the which were set the Kings Scutcheons of Arms; and then followed *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albemarle*, bearing a Crown of Gold, a great height before the King, who followed, having the Bishop of *Durham* on the right hand, and *Reynold* Bishop of *Bathe* on the left, over whom a Canopy was born: and in this order he came into the Church at *Westminster*, where before the high Altar, in the presence of the Clergy and the People, laying his hand upon the Holy Evangelists, and the Reliques of certain Saints, he took a solemn Oath, That he should observe Peace, Honour, and Reverence to Almighty God, to his Church, and to his Ministers, all the days of his life; also that he should exercise upright Justice to the people committed to his charge; and that he should abrogate and disannul all evil Laws, and wrongful Customs, if any were to be found in the precinct of his Realm; and maintain those that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his Garments from his middle upwards, but only his Shirt, which was open on the shoulders that he might be anointed. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* anointed him in three places, on the head, on the shoulder, and on the right arm, with Prayers in such cases accustomed. After this he covered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and set his Cap thereon; and then after he had put on his Royal Garment, and his uppermost Robe, the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, with which he should beat down the enemies of the Church; which done, two Earls put his Shooes upon his feet, and having his Mantle put on him, the Archbishop forbad him on the behalf of Almghty God, to presume to take upon him this Dignity, except he faithfully meant to perform those things which he had there sworn to perform; whereunto the King made answer, That by Gods Grace he would perform them. Then the King took the Crown beside the Altar, and delivered it to the Archbishop, which he set upon the Kings head, delivering to him the Scepter to hold in his right hand, and the Rod-Royal in his left hand; and thus being Crowned, he was brought back by the Bishops and Barons, with the Cross and Candlesticks, and three Swords, passing forth before him unto his Seat. When the Bishop that sang the Mass, came to the Offertory, the two Bishops that brought him to the Church, led him to the Altar, and brought him back again. The Mass ended, he was brought with solemn Procession into his Chamber; and this was the manner of this Kings Coronation. But at this solemnity there fell out a very disasterous accident. For this Prince not favouring the *Jews*, as his Father had done, had given a strict charge, that no *Jew* should be admitted to be a spectator of the solemnity; yet certain *Jews*, as though it had been the Crowning of King *Herod*, would needs be pressing in: and being put back by Officers set of purpose, it grew to be a brabble, and from words to blows, so

Hoveden.

The manner of his Coronation.

His Oath at the Coronation.

ſo as many *Jews* were hurt, and ſome ſlain: and thereupon a rumor was ſuddenly ſpread abroad, that the King had commanded to have all the *Jews* deſtroyed. Whereupon it is incredible what rifling there was of *Jews* houſes, and what cutting of their throats; and though the King ſignified by publick Declaration, that he was highly diſpleaſed with that which was done: yet there was no ſtaying the multitude till the next day; ſo often it falls out that great ſolemnities are waited on with great diſaſters, or rather indeed, as being connatural, they can hardly be aſunder.

Of his firſt Acts after he was Crowned.

He ſets his Mother Q. *Eleanor* at liberty.

HE began with his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, whom upon her Husbands diſpleaſure having been kept in priſon ſixteen years, he not only ſet at liberty, but ſet in as great authority, as if ſhe had been left the Regent of the Kingdom. The next he gratifies was his Brother *John*, to whom he made appear how much the bounty of a Brother was better than the hardneſs of a Father; for he conferred upon him in *England*, the Earldoms of *Cornwal*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and *Leiceſter*; and by the marriage of *Iſabel*, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of *Glouceſter*, he had that Earldom alſo, as likewiſe the Caſtles of *Marleborough* and *Lutgarſal*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Tichil*, and *Eye*, to the value of 4000. Marks a year: an eſtate ſo great, as was able to put a very moderate mind into the humour of aſpiring; of which Princes ſhould have a care. Concerning his affianced Lady *Adela*, it may be thought ſtrange, that having deſired her ſo infinitely when he could not have her, now that he might have her, he cared not for her: but the cauſe was known, and in every mans mouth; that ſhe was now but his Fathers leavings: yet he would not ſend her home but very rich in Jewels, to make amends, if it might be, for the loſs of her Virginity; though this was ſomewhat hard on his part, when the Father had taken all the pleaſure, that the Son ſhould afterwards pay all the Charges. But by this at leaſt he made a quiet way for his marriage now concluded, and ſhortly after to be conſummated in *Sicily* with *Berengaria* the Daughter of *Garſyas* King of *Navarre*. And now his mind is wholly ſet upon his long intended Voyage to the *Holy-Land*; for which he thinks not the treaſure left by his Father to be ſufficient, which yet amounted to nine hundred thouſand pounds: but forecaſting with himſelf the great charge it muſt needs be, to carry an Army ſo long a journey, he ſeeks to enlarge his proviſion of money by all the means he can deviſe. Not long before *Hugh Pudſey* had been advanced to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; and now for a great ſum of money, he ſold him the Earldom: and then ſaid merrily among his Lords, Do ye not think me a cunning man, that of an old Biſhop can make a young Earl? From the *Londoners* he drained alſo great ſums of money, and made them recompence in Franchiſes and Liberties which they had not before. He made alſo great ſales; to the King of *Scots*, he ſold the Caſtles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, for ten thouſand pounds: to *Godfrey de Lucie*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Mannors of *Weregrave* and *Mentz*: to the Abbot of St. *Edmundsbury* the Mannor of *Midhal* for one thouſand Marks of Silver: to the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Mannor of *Sadborough*; and when it was marvelled that he would part with ſuch things, he anſwered, That in this caſe he would ſell his City of *London*, if he could find a Chapman. But the worſt way of all was, that pretending to have loſt his Signet, he made a new one; and made Proclamation, that whoſoever would ſafely enjoy what under the former Signet was granted, ſhould come to have it confirmed by the new: whereby he raiſed great ſums of money to himſelf, but greater of diſcontentment in his Subjects. By theſe, and ſuch like means, he quickly furniſhed himſelf with money; and now it remained only to conſider, to whoſe care he ſhould commit the Government of the Kingdom in his abſence: and after deliberation, he made choice for the North-parts, of *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*; joining in Commiſſion with him, *Hugh Baldulph*, and *William Brunel*; and for the South-parts he appoints *William Longſhampe*, Biſhop of *Ely*, and Chancellor of *England*, and for his greater ſtrength, cauſeth the Pope to make him Legat of all *England* and *Scotland*; and for *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*; all men eminent for prudence and uprightneſs, and which is moſt of all, for loyalty: and indeed to make a man fit for ſuch imployment, all theſe virtues muſt concur. As for his Brother *John*, he knew well his aſpiring mind, and therefore would have tied him to live in *Normandy*, and not to come into *England* till his return, but that their Mother Queen *Eleanor* interceded, and paſſed her word for him; and that nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed his Nephew *Arthur*, the Son of his Brother *Geoffery* Duke of *Britain* to be his Succeſſor, if himſelf ſhould fail. And now *Undique convenere, vocat jam carbaſus auras*, every man is ready to take Shipping, and no ſtay now but for a Wind; only ſome ſay that King *Richard* before his departing, calling his Lords and Knights unto him, and ſwearing them to be true, gave to every of them a blue Ribband to be known by, from whence the firſt occaſion of the Order of the Garter is thought to begin.

His bounty to his Brother *John*.

He refuſed his affianced Lady *Adela*, and why.

He marries *Berengaria* the daughter of the K. of *Navarre*.

He makes great proviſion of money for his journey to the *Holy-Land*.

He makes the Biſhop of *Durham* an Earl for money.

He ſells *Berwick* to the King of *Scots*.

He leaves *William Longſhamp* Biſhop of *Ely*, Governor of the Kingdom.

He appoints his Nephew *Arthur* to be his Succeſſor if himſelf ſhould fail. From whence the order of the Garter is thought to have begun.

Of his Journey into the Holy Land.

KING *Richard* having prepared an Army of thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand Horſe; and having appointed to meet *Philip* King of *France* in *Sicily*, at the latter end of *June*, in the year 1190. ſets forward himſelf by Land to *Marſeilles*, and there ſtays till his Ships ſhould come about: but his Navy being driven by tempeſt to other parts, and the King weary of long ſtaying, after ſix weeks, he hireth Shipping for himſelf and his company, and paſſeth forward to *Meſſana* in *Sicily*, where arrived alſo the K. of *France*, and not long after, his own Navy. In this Iſland, the King *William* now lately dead had married *Jane*, King *Richard*'s Siſter, from whom *Tancred* the preſent King withheld her Dower; and therefore though he ſhewed King *Richard* fair countenance, yet he dealt ſecretly with

1190.

K. *Richard* takes the City of *Meſſana* in *Sicily.*

with the *Meſſanians* to uſe all means to get him gone: Whereupon the *Meſſanians* taking a ſmall occaſion ſet ſuddenly upon the *Engliſh*, and thruſt them out of their Town. With which King *Richard* juſtly offended, who had his Camp without the Town, prepares himſelf to revenge the affront; when *Tancred* ſending to him to ſignifie that the affront was offered without his knowledge, and much againſt his liking, ſo pacified him, that for the preſent he remained ſatisfied: But underſtanding afterward, that the *Meſſanians* did but wait their opportunity till the Spring, when King *Richard* ſhould be going, he reſenting their intention, ſtays not their leiſure, but aſſaulting the Town with Fire and Sword, in one days labour takes it; and had made great ſlaughter in it, if King *Richard* had not been moved to compaſſion with the *Meſſanians* tears, but chiefly with King *Tancred*'s offers, both to pay his Siſter *Jane* her Dower, and to Marry his Daughter to King *Richard*'s Nephew, *Arthur* Duke of *Brittain*, and to give a good part of the portion in hand. But King *Philip* was not well pleaſed with theſe conditions, yet he breaks not out to open diſſenſion till more fewel was afterward caſt upon the fire of his anger. In the Spring King *Philip* ſails with his Army to *Ptolemais* (otherwiſe called *Acon*) which the Chriſtians had long beſieged, and with them he joyns; while King *Richard* taking his Siſter *Jane* and *Berengaria* the young Daughter of the King of *Navarre* with him, in 190 Ships, and 50 Gallies, puts to Sea for the *Holy Land*, but is by Tempeſt caſt upon the Coaſt of *Cyprus*, where the Iſlanders ſeeking to hinder his landing, he ſet upon them with his Forces; and invading the Iſland, eaſily ſubdues and brings it under his Subjection. And the King of the Countrey being taken Priſoner, and intreating King *Richard* not to put him in bonds of Iron, King *Richard* gives him his word, and keeps it, but puts him in bonds of Silver. In this Iſland he ſolemnized his marriage with *Berengaria*, and then leaving *Richard de Canvile* and *Rob. de Thurnham*, his Lieutenants in *Cyprus*, he paſſeth on to *Ptolemais*, which City was defended by *Saladine*, and had been beſieged now two years, when the Enemy ſeeing and fearing the encreaſe of the Chriſtian Forces, propounds Conditions, upon which accepted, they deliver it up in *Auguſt* the year 1192.

He ſubdues the Iſland of *Cyprus.*

Here he Marries *Berengaria.*

1192.

The firſt offence between K. *Richard* and *Leopold* D. of *Auſtria.*

At the taking of this Town there fell out an accident, ſeeming an honour to King *Richard* for the preſent, but proving a diſgrace, at leaſt a great trouble and charge to him afterward; for *Leopold* D. of *Auſtria* had firſt ſet up his colours upon the wall, which King *Richard* cauſed to be thrown down, and his own to be ſet up: But this was no place to ſtand a quarrelling, it came not to the reckoning till ſome time after. When *Ptolemais* was taken, *Saladine* fearing the Chriſtians further proceeding, diſmantles all the beſt Towns that were near it; as *Porphyria*, *Cæſarea*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*: But of *Joppa*, King *Richard* takes a care, and placeth in it a Colony of Chriſtians. For *Joppa* is a City of *Paleſtine* that was built before the Flood, and hath belonging to it a Haven of great convenience. And now the King of *France*, though valiant enough himſelf, yet thinking his own great acts to be obſcured by

Joppa a City built before the Flood.

greater of K. *Richard*'s, he began, beſides his old hating him, now to envy him. For indeed Emulation when it is in Vertue, makes the ſtronger knot of love and affection; but when it is in Glory, it makes a ſeparation, and turns into the paſſion of envy and malice. And ſo it did with K. *Philip*, who pretending the Air of the Countrey did not agree with his body, but was indeed becauſe the air of King *Richard*'s Glory did not agree with his mind, obtained King *Richard*'s conſent to return home, ſwearing firſt ſolemnly not to moleſt his Territories in his abſence. But this fell out for the preſent enterprize moſt unſeaſonably: For the departure of the King of *France*, though it diminiſhed not much the ſtrength, (for he left *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy* in his place) yet it diminiſhed much the ſhew of aſſiſtance. And indeed *Saladine*, who was at this time in terms of ſurrendring *Jeruſalem*, when he ſaw the King of *France* departed, as knowing there muſt needs be a concluſion, where there was a beginning, doubted not but the reſt would follow ſoon after; and thereupon ſtayed his hands, and grew more confident than he was before. At this time *Guy* of *Luſignan* was poſſeſt of the City of *Tyre*, and with it of the right of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*: With him King *Richard* makes an exchange, that *Guy* ſhould have the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which King *Richard* had won, and King *Richard* ſhould have the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, to which *Guy* had a right; and upon this title the Kings of *England* were ſtiled Kings of *Jeruſalem* a long time after; as likewiſe the poſterity of the ſaid *Guy* hath by this exchange held the Kingdom of *Cyprus* to this day. Now was King *Richard* more hot upon taking *Jeruſalem* than ever before, and had certainly taken it, but that by ill counſel diverted, becauſe the Winter drew on, and indeed by the drawing back of *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy*, who envied that King *Richard* ſhould have the honour of taking it, he removed for that ſeaſon to *Aſcalon*; after which time, the Enemy growing ſtronger, and the Chriſtians weaker, all opportunity of taking it is utterly loſt, and they could never come to the like again. And ſhortly after King *Richard* was advertiſed of the King of *France* his invading *Normandy*, contrary to his Oath at his departure; which forced King *Richard* much to his grief, to conclude a peace with *Saladine*, and that upon conditions not very honourable for the Chriſtians; and himſelf preſently to return home. And ſo ſending his wife *Berengaria*, and his ſiſter *Jane*, with a great part of his Army into *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*, he paſſeth himſelf with ſome few in his company, by the way of *Thrace*, and was by Tempeſt brought into *Dalmatia*; from whence being to paſs through *Germany*, and particularly through Duke *Leopold*'s Countrey of *Auſtria*, he remembring the old grudge, changed his apparel, and travelling ſometimes a foot, and ſometimes on horſeback, he uſed all means poſſible to keep himſelf from being known. But deſtiny is not to be avoided, for as ſoon as he came to *Vienna*, partly by his tongue, and partly by his expences, it was preſently found he was an *Engliſh-man*, and withal ſome great man; and by and by a rumour was ſpread, that it was *Richard* King of *England*; who finding himſelf

The Kings of *England* from whence ſtiled Kings of *Jeruſalem.*

The K. of *France* invading K. *Richard*'s Territories in his abſence makes him return.

He returns home through *Germany*. Is taken priſoner by D. *Leopold.*

to be discovered, and no means possible to escape, he puts off his disguise, putting on his Princely apparel, and avows himself. Which Duke *Leopold* understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended: But King *Richard* refusing to yield himself to any, but to the Duke himself; the Duke himself came and led him to his own Palace honourably enough, but yet strongly guarded: Whereof as soon as *Henry* the Emperour heard, he sent with great instance to Duke *Leopold* to send King *Richard* over to him, under pretence of safer custody, but with a purpose indeed to be a sharer in his Ransome. And the Duke, though well knowing his meaning, yet knowing withal that it was not safe for him to deny the Emperour, he sent him over to him; who soon after put him into a prison he had, called *Trivallis*, into which no man was ever known to be put that escaped with life, though done perhaps to him but *in terrorem*, to draw the better Ransom from him. That with which King *Richard* was charged, beside the wrong done to *Leopold* in throwing down his Colours at *Ptolemais*, was the death of *Conrade* Duke of *Tyre*, whom they pretended King *Richard* had murthered. Wherein though King *Richard* made his innocency appear by the testimony of *Limboldus*, who confessed himself to have been the author of the Marquesses death; yet the pretence served to detain him in prison: And in prison indeed they kept him, till his Ransome was agreed upon and paid. Which being a hundred thousand pounds, fourscore thousand was paid in hand, whereof two parts to the Emperour, a third part to Duke *Leopold*; and for the rest, hostages given to the number of fifty, of whom the Bishop of *Roan* was one: Though the Hostages afterward were delivered without paying the rest; for *Henry* the Emperour dying shortly after, his Successor had the conscience not to take it, as knowing it had been unjustly exacted. And indeed the accidents that befel both the Emperor and the Duke *Leopold*, were evident demonstrations of the injustice they had done; for the Emperor shortly after died, and the Duke *Leopold* in a Tilting for solemnity of his Birth-day, fell off his Horse, and so broke his Leg, that to save his life, he was fain to have his Leg cut off. And now after fifteen months imprisonment, K. *Richard* is released, and returns into *England* four year elder than he went out; and thus ended his Journey to the Holy Land. Yet one memorable accident happening to him in the Holy Land, may not be omitted, that going one day a Hawking about *Joppa*, finding himself weary, he laid himself down upon the ground to sleep, when suddenly certain *Turks* came upon him to take him: But he awakened with their noise, riseth up, gets a horseback, and drawing out his Sword, assaults the *Turks*, who feigning to flie, drew the King into an ambush where many *Turks* lay, who had certainly taken him if they had known his person; but one of the King's Servants, called *William de Patrellis*, crying out in the *Saracen* Tongue, that he was the King, they presently laid hold upon him, and let the King escape.

Is imprisoned in *Trivallis* by the Emperour.

He is ransomed.

His valour.

A faithful servant.

Troubles in his Dominions in his absence.

KING *Richard* at his going out of *England* had so well settled the Government of the Kingdom, that it might well have kept in good order during all the time of his absence; but disorders are weeds which no foresight can hinder from growing, having so many hands to water them: Where occasions of distaste are no sooner offered than taken; and oftentimes taken before they be offered, as was here to be seen. For King *Richard* had left in chief place of Authority *William Longshampe* Bishop of *Ely*; a man who so carried himself, that although the things he did were justifiable, yet the pride with which he did them was unsufferable; seldom riding abroad without five hundred, some say a thousand in his train; not for safety, but for state: And though there were other left in Authority besides himself; yet his power was so predominant, that he made of them but cyphers, and ruled all as he list himself. This insolency of governing was soon distasted by many, and especially by *John* the King's Brother, who counting the greatness of his Birth an equal match, at least with any substitute greatness, affronted the Bishop in the managing of affairs in such sort, that while some adhered to the one, and some to the other, the Kingdom in the mean time was in danger to be rent asunder; till at last the Bishop finding himself too weak, or at least fearing that he was so, but rather indeed deposed from his Authority by the King's Letters, and the Archbishop of *Roan* put in his place, thought it best for him to flie the Realm. Whereupon for his greater safety, disguising himself in womans apparel, and carrying a Web of Cloth under his arm, he sought in this manner to take shipping and pass the Sea: But being discovered and known, the women in revenge of the abuse done their cloaths in making them his instruments of fraud, fell upon him and so beat him, that it might have beaten humility into him for ever after. This disgrace made him glad to get into *Normandy*, his native Countrey, where to little purpose he wooed King *Richard* and Queen *Eleanor* for reparation. But this was but a sport in comparison of the mischiefs done in *Normandy* by *Philip* King of *France*; for first he invades *Normandy*, where he takes many Towns, and amongst other *Gysors*, and draws the King's Brother *John* to combine with him, promising to assist him in winning the Kingdom of *England*, and to have his Sister *Adela*, whom King *Richard* had repudiated, to be his Wife: With which promise Duke *John* had been ensnared, if his Mother Queen *Eleanor* had not disswaded him. But in *England* Duke *John* took upon him as King, perswading the people that his Brother King *Richard* was not living; and indeed it was easie to remove, they knowing him to be a prisoner, to the affirming him to be dead: But such was the faithfulness of the Archbishop of *Roan*, and other the Princes of the Realm to King *Richard*, that they opposed Duke *John*, and frustrated all his practices; and the Bishop of *Ely* had told him plainly, That though King *Richard* were dead, yet the Succession in the King-

Longshampe's proud carriage.

Which the Lord *John* opposeth.

Longshampe seeketh to flie the Realm in disguise.

Is discovered and beaten by the women.

The Duke *John* takes upon him as King.

Kingdom belonged not to him, but to *Arthur* D. of *Britain*, Son of *Geoffry* his Elder Brother. And in these terms King *Richard* found his State when he returned from the Holy Land.

His Acts and Troubles after his returning from the Holy Land.

AT his coming home from the Holy Land, the first thing he did, was to give his Lords and People thanks for their faithfulness to him in his absence, and then for their readiness in supplying him for his Ransom. But as for his Brother *John*, in whom Ungratefulness seemed to strive with Ambition, which should be the greater in him, he depriveth him of all those great Possessions he had given him; some ado he had to make sound certain pieces which he had corrupted, as the Castles of *Marlborough*, *Lancaster*, and a Fortress at St. *Michael*'s Mount in *Cornwal*; but chiefly the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tickil*, which stood so firmly for D. *John*, that they were not reduced to obedience without some blood, and much expence. But his greatest trouble was with *Philip* King of *France*, in whom was so ingraffed a spleen against King *Richard*, that he seemed to be never well but when he was working him some ill. Now therefore King *Richard*, to make it appear he had not left the Holy War for nothing (having first obtained in Parliament a Subsidy towards his charges, and caused himself to be new Crowned at *Wincheſter*, (when the King of *Scots* bore one of the three Swords before him) lest the people through his long absence might have forgotten they had a King) he departs with a hundred Ships into *Normandy*; but it was withal upon this occasion; Sitting one day at dinner in his little Hall, (as it was called) news was brought him that King *Philip* had besieged *Vernoil*, with which he was so moved, that he swore a great Oath he would not turn his face till he were revenged. Whereupon he caused the Wall right before him to be presently beaten down, that so he might pass forward without turning his face; and thus in haste he goes to *Vernoil*, whither he was no sooner come, but the King of *France* made as great haste to be gone, not without some loss and more disgrace. Here his Brother *John* submits himself to him, and with great shew of Penitence intreats his Pardon, which he readily granted; saying only, I wish you may as well remember your Fault, as I shall forget it. The King of *France* having left *Vernoil*, enters *Turonia*, and neat to *Vindocinum* pitcheth his Tents: thither King *Richard* follows him, and with his coming so affrighted him, that leaving Bag and Baggage, Munition, Tents, and Treasure, to a marvelous Value, he got him gone, and glad he was so rid of King *Richard*. After this a Truce was agreed upon for a year, which each of them longed till it was expired; as having no pleasure but in troubling one another. In this time there was a trouble at home, tho not to the King, yet to the Kingdom. For *Robin Hood*, accompanied with one Little *John*, and a hundred stout Fellows more, molested all Passengers upon the High-way: Of some it is said, that he was of Noble Blood, at least made Noble, no less than an Earl, for some deserving services; but having wasted his Estate in riotous courses, very Penury forced him to take this course. In which yet it may be said he was honestly dishonest; for he seldom hurt any Man, never any Woman; spared the Poor, and only made Prey of the Rich; till the King setting forth a Proclamation to have him apprehended, it happened he fell sick at a certain Nunnery in *Yorkshire*, called *Birkleys*; and desiring there to be let blood, was betrayed, and bled to death. Such another trouble, tho not to the King, yet to the Kingdom, fell out by reason of the *Jews*; and first at the Town of *Lynne* in *Norfolk*, upon this occasion: A *Jew* being turned Christian, was persecuted by those of his Nation, and assaulted in the street; who thereupon flying to a Church hard by, was thither also followed, and the Church assaulted; which the people of the Town seeing, in succour of the new Christian, they fell upon the *Jews*, of whom they slew a great number, and after pillaged their houses. By this Example the like Assaults were made upon the *Jews* at *Stamford*, and after that at *Lincoln*, and lastly, at *York*, where infinite Number of *Jews* were massacred; and some of them block'd up in the Castle, cut the Throats of their Wives and Children, and cast them over the Walls upon the Christians heads, and then burnt both the Castle and themselves. Neither could this sedition be stayed, till the King sent his Chancellor the Bishop of *Ely*, with Force of Arms, to punish the Offenders. His last trouble was a Punishment of Covetousness; for one *Gaydomer* having found a great Treasure in the King's Dominions, and for fear of King *Richard*, flying to a Town of the King of *France* for his safeguard, was pursued by the King; but the Town denied him entrance; and he thereupon going about the Walls to find the fittest place for assaulting it, one *Bertram de Gerdon*, or as others call him, *Peter Basile*, shot at him with a Cross-Bow, and hit him on the Arm, of which Wound he died within four days after, and so ended all his Troubles.

King *Richard* at his return depriveth his Brother *John* of all his possessions

Is new Crowned.

His strange haste to relieve *Vernoil*.

Reconciled to his Brother *John*.

1195.

A Truce between the two Kings.

Robin Hood and little *John*.

Are betrayed.

Jews slain in divers places.

King *Richard* is wounded and dieth.

1199.

Of his Taxations, and ways for raising of Money.

OF Taxations properly so called, there were never fewer in any King's Reign; but of ways to draw Money from the Subject, never more. It is true, the first Money raised for his Journey, was all out of his own Estate, by selling or pawning of Lands; but then at his coming back, he return'd the Lands into his hands again, without paying back the Money he had received. This, if it may not have the name, yet certainly it had the Venom of a bitter Taxation. Likewise the feigning to have lost his Seal, and then enjoining them to have their Grants confirmed by a new; tho it went not in the number, yet it had the weight of a heavy Taxation where it lighted. Afterward, the Money raised for his Ransom, was not so properly a Taxation, as a Contribution; or of a Taxation for him, yet not by him; which was done in his absence, by the Subjects themselves. And indeed no Taxations are commonly so pinching, as those which are imposed upon the Subject by the Subject, and such was this; for to raise Money for his Ransom, there was imposed upon

every Knight's Fee 20. of all Lay-men's Revenues the fourth part; and the fourth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their Goods. Alſo the Chalices and Treaſure of all Churches were taken to make up the ſum. Afterward, this only was a plain Taxation, and granted in Parliament; that of every Plough-land through *England*, he would have two ſhillings, and of the Monks Ciſteaux, all their wool of that year. And one more great than this, and was this year impoſed towards his Wars in *Normandy*, that every Hide of Land, as much as to ſay every hundred Acres of Land, ſhould pay 5 *s.* which computed without deductions, will riſe to a Sum that will ſeem incredible.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HIS Ordinances were chiefly for the Meridian of *London*; for where before his time the City was governed by Portgraves, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffs and a Mayor, as now it is. And to give the firſt of theſe Magiſtrates the honour to be remembred, the names of the Sheriffs were *Henry Cornhill*, and *Richard Reyner*; and the name of the firſt Lord-Mayor was *Henry Fitz-Aldwyn*, who continued Lord-Mayor during his life, which was four and twenty years. But *Fabian* who was himſelf a Sheriff of *London*, and by that means moſt likely to know the truth, affirmeth that the Officers ordained now by King *Richard*, were but only two Bayliffs: and that there was no Mayor nor Sheriff of *London* till the Tenth year of K. *John*; and therefore at that year I will begin their Catalogue. But howſoever, now began the City firſt to receive the Form and State of a Commonwealth, and to be divided into Fellowſhips and Corporations, as at this day they are: And this Franchiſe was granted in the year 1189. the firſt year of King *Richard* the firſt. He made alſo divers Ordinances concerning the Meaſures of Corn, and Wine, and Cloath; and that no Cloath ſhould any where be dy'd of any other Colour than black, but only in principal Towns and Cities. Alſo he ordained Juſts and Turnaments to be holden for the exerciſe of his Gentry in Arms.

Sheriffs and Mayor of *London* firſt ordained.

Pariſ. fol. 191.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THE Church within his own Dominions was quiet all his time, no conteſtation with the Pope, no alterations amongſt the Biſhops, no difference between the Clergy and the Laity, or the Clergy amongſt themſelves: they alſo ſeemed to be aſleep, till they were afterwards awakened in the time of the ſucceeding King. But abroad in his time there was an addition of three Orders of Devotion; the Order of the *Auguſtine* Friars, called Friars Mendicants, begun by *William* of *Paris*; then the Orders of Friars Minors begun by St. *Francis*; and laſtly, the Orders of Friars Preachers, begun by St. *Dominick*, tho not confirmed till the firſt year of Pope *Honorius*.

New Orders of Friars.

Works of Piety in his time.

WOrks of Piety are for the moſt part Works of Plenty. Penury may inwardly have good wiſhes, but outwardly it can expreſs but little. And indeed all parts of the Kingdom, all ſorts of people were drawn ſo dry, by the two great occaſions of his Journey and his Ranſom, and afterward by the Taxations, that the richeſt men had enough to do to maintain themſelves, without being at any charge to make proviſion for others. All works of Piety were now for the ſervice of the *Holy Land*; and therefore it may well paſs, if not for a work of Devotion, at leaſt worthy to be remembred, that *William* Biſhop of *Ely* built the outer Wall of the Tower of *London*, and cauſed a deep ditch to be made about it, with an intention the River of *Thames* ſhould have ſurrounded it; tho it could not be effected. Only *Hubert Walter*, who at one time was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Pope's Legate, Lord Chanceſſor, Lord Chief Juſtice, and the immediate Governor under the King, both in *Wales* and *England*, founded a Monaſtery at *Weſt-Durham* in *Norfolk*, where he was born; begun another at *Wolverhampton*: and finiſhed a Collegiate Church at *Lambeth*.

Of his Wife and Children.

IN his Infancy he was contracted to a Daughter of *Raymonde* Earl of *Barcelone*, after that affianced to *Adelia*, or *Alice*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, yet married to neither of them; but he married *Berengaria*, Daughter of *Garſias* K. of *Navarre*, whom his Mother Queen *Eleanor* brought unto him into *Sicily*, from whence paſſing into *Cyprus*, their marriage was there ſolemnized. Afterward going forward to the *Holy-Land*, he carried her and his Siſter *Jane* Queen of *Sicily* along with him, where they remained till his return home, and then ſent them to paſs to *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*: but that ever ſhe came into *England*, no mention is made, neither what became of her after ſhe parted from King *Richard* at the *Holy Land*. But Children certainly he had none either by his Wife, or by any Concubine, unleſs we reckon as a Prieſt in *Normandy* did, who told K. *Richard* he had three Daughters; and the King marvelling who they ſhould be, ſeeing he knew of none he had; Yes (ſaith the Prieſt) you have three Daughters, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Lechery. Which the King taking merrily, called to the company about him, and ſaid, I am told by a Prieſt here, that I have three Daughters, and I deſire you to be witneſſes how I would have them beſtow'd; My Daughter Pride upon the Templars and Hoſpitalers; my Daughter Covetouſneſs upon the Monks of the *Ciſtertian* Order; and my Daughter Lechery upon the Clergy.

Uncertain what became of *Berengaria* King *Richard*'s Wife.

King *Richard*'s metaphorical daughters how diſpoſed.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his time the Town of *Mawling* in *Kent*, with the Nunnery, was conſumed with fire. And in his time the bones of *Arthur* the famous King of *Britain* were found at *Glaſtenbury* in an old Sepulchre, about which ſtood two Pillars, in which Letters were written but could not be read. Upon the Sepulchre was a Croſs of Lead, whereupon was written, Here lieth the Noble K. of *Britain*, *Arthur*. Alſo in this King's days for three or four years together, there rained ſo

K. *Arthur*'s Sepulchre found.

A great dearth.

so great a dearth, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for 18 shillings 8 pence; and then followed so great a Mortality of Men, that scarce the living sufficed to bury the dead.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, and well proportioned, fair, and comely of face, of hair bright abourn, of long arms, and nimble in all his joints, his thighs and legs of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his body. To speak of his moral parts, his Vices for the most part were but only upon suspicion: Incontinency in him, much spoken of, nothing proved. But his Virtues were apparent, for in all his actions he shewed himself Valiant, (from whence he had the appellation or surname of *Cœur de Lion*) Wise, Liberal, Merciful, Just, and which is most of all, Religious. A Prince born for the good of Christendom, if a Bar in his Nativity had not hindred it. The remorse for his undutifulness towards his Father, was living in him till he died; for at his death he remembred it with bewailing, and desired to be buried as near him as might be, perhaps as thinking they should meet the sooner, that he might ask him forgiveness in another World.

K. *Richard* why called *Cœur de Lion.*

Of his Death and Burial.

HE died of a wound with an Arrow in his arm, shot at him by one *Bertrad*, or *Peter Basile*, which neglected at first, and suffered to rankle, or as others say, ill handled by an unskilful Chyrurgeon, in four days brought him to his end. But his Charity deserves to have it remembred, that finding himself past hope of Recovery, he caused the party that had wounded him to be brought before him: who being asked what moved him to do this Fact? answered, That K. *Richard* had killed his Father and two of his Brothers with his own hand, and therefore he would do it if it were to do again. Upon this insolent answer, every one looked the King should have censured him to some terrible punishment; when contrary to all their expectations, in a high degree of Charity, he not only freely forgave him, but gave a special charge he should be set at liberty, and that no man should dare to do him the least hurt; commanding besides to give him an hundred shillings for his pains. An act that well shewed he had been at the *Holy-Land*, or rather indeed that he was going to it. But *Polychronicon* saith, That after King *Richard* was dead, the Duke of *Brabant*, who was then present, caused the said *Bertrad* to be flayed quick, and then to be hanged. He died the sixth day of *April*, in 1199. when he had lived 44. years, reigned nine, and about nine months, and had his Body buried at *Font-Everard*, by his Father: his Heart at *Roan*, in remembrance of the hearty love that City had always born him; and his Bowels at *Chalons*, for a disgrace of their unfaithfulness: others say at *Carlisle* in *England*.

K. *Richard's* charitable mind at his death.

1199.

Men of Note in his time.

IN his time were famous, *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who followed King *Richard* into the *Holy-Land*, and died there; *Hubert* that succeeded him; *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*; *William* Bishop of *Ely*, a man equally famous and infamous; also *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Learned Writer in Divinity; *Daniel Morley*, a great Mathematician; *John de Herham*, and *Richard de Herham*, two notable Historians; *Gulielmus Stephanides*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, who wrote much in the praise of Archbishop *Becket*; also one *Richard Divisiensis*, *Nicholas Walkington*, and *Robert de Bello Foco*, an excellent Philosopher. Of Martialmen, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Ranulph de Fulgeres*, two of the *Bardolphs*, *Hugh* and *Henry*; three *Williams*; *Marshal*, *Brunel* and *Mandevil*; with two *Roberts*, *Rose* and *Sevevile*.

The REIGN of King JOHN.

1199. KING *Richard* being dead, the right of ſucceſſion remained in *Arthur*, Son of *Geoffery Plantagenet*, elder Brother to Earl *John*; but *John* as thinking the Title of *Arthur* but a Criticiſm in State, and not for every ones Capacity, at leaſt in common ſenſe not ſo plain as his own, who was the Son of a King, and Brother to a King, aſcends into the Throne as confidently as if he had no Competitor: Only *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* went before, and made an Oration in his behalf, wherein ſeeking to do him a courteſy, he did him indeed a wrong; for waving his right of Succeſſion, he inſiſted wholly upon their right of Election, whereof would follow, that as they brought him in, ſo they might caſt him out; of which error when he was told, he ſaid, He did it of purpoſe to make King *John* the more careful of his Government, by making him ſenſible upon what an unſure ground his Regality ſtood. King *John* reſented it; but ſeeing it to ſerve his turn for the preſent, he took it not ill, as knowing that his turn once ſerved, he could afterward be his own carver of what Title he pleaſed; and ſo upon *Aſcenſion-day* in the year 1199. he was Crowned King at *Weſtminſter*, with more ſolemnity than joy: many preſaging by their countenances, and more in their minds, That all would not long be well. It cannot be denied, but that in moral circumſtances, Earl *John* had the advantage of his Nephew *Arthur*; for he was a man of years fit to govern, *Arthur* but a child, not thirteen years old; he a Native, at leaſt always bred up in the Kingdom; *Arthur* a Foreigner, and had never been here; he well known both to the Nobility and People; *Arthur* a ſtranger to both, as one they had never ſeen. And beſides theſe moral advantages, he had now added one from the Politicks, That he had gotten poſſeſſion; (of more force in the practical part than all the former) and withal a greater than all theſe, if it be true which ſome write, That his Brother King *Richard* had aſſigned him his Succeſſor after his deceaſe. But yet knowing the Title at laſt would come to be tried in a Court, where the Sword muſt be Judge, he employeth all his endeavours to get this Judge to be his Friend, and by all means poſſible to ſtrengthen himſelf with Arms; and thereupon going to *Chinon* and *Roan*, he ſeiſeth upon the Treaſure which his Brother had left in thoſe parts, and with it gets Friends and Soldiers, the Armour of Arms. And indeed all he could have done himſelf would have done him no good, if he had not had the help of able Aſſiſtants, who yet aſſiſted him no leſs for their own ends than for his. And theſe were chiefly his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who knew if her Grandſon *Arthur* ſhould be King, that then his Mother *Conſtantia* would rule all, at leaſt during his Minority, and thereby her ſelf be put from the ſtage of all Authority: and the Archbiſhop *Hubert*, who alſo knew that if *Arthur* ſhould come to reign, that then the *Angovin* and *French* ſhould have all the beſt Offices, and the *Engliſh* wholly be neglected, as it was in the time of King *William* the Conqueror. And yet a greater Friend than both theſe; for coming to *Roan*, he uſed means, that *Walter* the Archbiſhop in the Cathedral Church with great pomp girt him with the Ducal Sword of *Normandy*, and Crowned him with a Coronet of Golden Roſes, he taking his Oath for faithful Adminiſtration in that Dukedom, and they their Oath for being Loyal Subjects.

K *John* is Crowned.

Why preferred before his Nephew *Arthur*.

Of his Troubles in Conteſtation with his Nephew Arthur.

THO' King *John* had entred upon *Normandy*, and made that Province ſure unto him: yet the Province of *Anjou* ſtood firm for *Arthur*, in obſervance of their love to his Father their former Prince; which alſo King *John* ſoon after invading, reduceth by force of Arms to his obedience. And now *Conſtantia*, the Mother of Prince *Arthur*, finding King *John* too powerful an adverſary, and no likelihood for her Party to be able long to ſtand out againſt him without further aſſiſtance, conceives it her beſt way to have recourſe to the King of *France*, and thereupon commits her Son *Arthur* to his tuition; who ſeemed to receive him with the tenderneſs of a Father, and promiſeth to aſſiſt him with his uttermoſt Forces, in the recovery of his Right both in *France* and *England*. Here we may obſerve upon what hinge the affections of the King of *France* were uſed to turn. For in King *Henry* the Second's time, King *Lewis* of *France* was ſo great a Friend to his Son *Richard*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Father; afterward when *Richard* was King; then *Philip* King of *France* was ſo great a Friend to *John*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Brother: And now that *John* is come to be King, he is preſently grown ſo great a Friend of *Arthur*'s, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Uncle; and no doubt if *Arthur* ſhould ever have come to be King, he would have been as ready to help any other to get the Kingdom from him; by which it appears, that it was not the perſons of Men they either hated or loved, but that they were always jealous of their growing too great. And indeed this ballancing of

Conſtantia Prince *Arthur*'s Mother, imploreth aid of the King of *France*.

of States keeps Princes affections always in ſuſpence, and never ſuffers the Glaſs of their Love or Hate to make a true reflection. About this time, *William* King of *Scots* came to *London* to viſit King *John*, and there did homage to him for his Kingdom of *Scotland*, tho' ſome ſay, but only for the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*: but being required aid againſt the *French*, he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, He could not do it without conſent of his Kingdom, and ſo returned home.

The King of *Scots* doth homage to K. *John*.

And now *Philip* King of *France* having undertaken the protection of the young Prince *Arthur*, with a mighty Army enters *Normandy*; takes many of the beſt Towns, and purſuing his Victories, enters the Province of *Anjou* alſo, and recovers it from King *John*, which he the year before had gotten from Prince *Arthur*. Upon this, King *John* makes a Journey into *Normandy*, accuſing King *Philip* for breaking the Truce which he had formerly made with King *Richard* for five years. But when he ſhould come to make his Accuſation good by Arms, he falleth to Treaties, and obtaineth a new Truce for fifty days: with which new Truce, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who had profeſſed himſelf of that ſide, was not well pleaſed, and thereupon cometh to King *John* to *Roan*, and entring a new League with him, they there conſult how to proceed, when the fifty days ſhould be expired. This Conſultation the King of *France* underſtood; and thereupon both ſides prepare for War, but at the end of the Truce, both ſides ſeemed to relent, and divers meetings were had for Treaties of Peace: and in concluſion, King *John*, more deſirous of Peace than he was for his Honour, agreed to theſe Conditions, That his Niece *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, by his Siſter *Eleanor*, ſhould marry with *Lewis* King *Philip*'s Son, who ſhould have with her in Dower, beſides Thirty thouſand Marks in Money, all thoſe Cities, except only *Angiers*, which the *French* before that time had taken, which were very many and great. And this peace thus made, he returns into *England* with great joy, but was not with the like joy received of the *Engliſh* Lords, who counted themſelves diſhonoured in the diſhonourable conditions he had made; and *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* alſo, when he ſaw the poor ſpirit of King *John*, to deſcend to ſuch baſe conditions, left his party, and entring League with the King of *France*, diſpoſed himſelf for the Holy War.

1200.

The two Kings of *England* and *France* agree upon a Peace.

The *Engliſh* Lords are diſcontented with the conditions of Peace.

But King *John* having now gotten a Vacation, and a time of eaſe, which agreed much better with his nature than Wars, ſets his mind wholly upon pleaſures; and for maintaining his pleaſures, upon ſeeking after profit, which he purſues by all manner of injuſtice, under the name of Prerogative: and with ſuch violence, that when his Brother *Geoffery* Archbiſhop of *York*, in the dutifulneſs of a Counſellor, adviſeth him not to take ſuch unlawful courſes, he moſt unworthily took from him all he had, and it was a years work for all the Archbiſhop's friends to pacify his anger. In the neck of this injuſtice, he commits another, he procures a divorce from his Wife *Avis*, the Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, only for being of kin to him in the third degree; and by advice of the King of *France*, marries *Iſabel* Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Angoulesme*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*: and ſhortly after brings her with him into *England*, where he and ſhe together are both Crowned at *Canterbury*. And here the Earls and Barons of the Realm, being all ſummoned to attend the King into *France* at *Whitſuntide* following, they all by a general conſent ſent him word, That unleſs he would reſtore them their Rights and Liberties, they would do him no ſervice out of the Kingdom. But what it was that made the Lords more violent in preſſing their demands at this time than before, no Writers of theſe times do ſufficiently deliver: only ſome of them ſpeak ſcatteringly of certain oppreſſions (beſides the general grievance for Exactions) lately offered to ſome of the Lords; one to the Earl of *Cheſter*, whom he would have baniſhed, only for adviſing him to leave his cruelty and incontinency. Another, a purſuit in Love to a Daughter of *Robert Fitz-Water*, called *Maud* the Fair, who not conſenting to the King's luſt, a Meſſenger was ſent to give her poiſon in a potched Egg, whereof ſhe died: And a third offered to *William de Brawſe* and his Lady, for a raſh word ſpoken; for when the King ſent to have *de Brawſe*'s Son delivered him for a pledge, the Lady anſwered, We ſhall do well indeed to commit our Son to his keeping, who kept ſo well his own Nephew Prince *Arthur*. This raſh word coſt *de Brawſe* his Country, and his Lady and their Son their lives, both of them being famiſhed to death in Priſon. For, though theſe directly were but particular grievances, yet reflecting, they were general, what one ſuffered, all might; but whether any of theſe, or all of theſe together, were the Ingredients to make a Compound of violence in the Lords at this time, or whatſoever was the true cauſe, this was plainly the effect, That unleſs the King would reſtore their Liberties, they would not follow him out of the Kingdom. But notwithſtanding this refuſal of his Lords, he paſſeth over with his Queen into *Normandy*; and from thence to *Paris*, where the King of *France* receives them with all Complements of Love and Amity. But now *Hugh* Earl of *March*, reſenting the injury done him by King *John*, in taking away his affianced Wife, joins with Prince *Arthur*; and the King of *France* alſo, for all his fair ſhew of amity lately made, joins with them, as having ſome time before married his youngeſt Daughter to Prince *Arthur*; and theſe with their Forces joined, invade firſt the *Turones*, and then the *Andovins*, of which Province Queen *Eleanor* the King's Mother was left Regent: who thereupon betakes her ſelf to *Mirabel* the ſtrongeſt Town of thoſe parts, and ſends to her Son King *John*, acquainting him with the danger ſhe was in, and requiring his ſpeedy ſuccour. When in the mean time Prince *Arthur* takes the City, and in it his Grandmother Queen *Eleanor*, whom he uſed with greater reverence and reſpect than ſhe expected. But King *John* at the hearing hereof, was ſo moved, calling the *French* King ungrateful and perfidious for ſuccouring Prince *Arthur* contrary to his League, that ſtudying preſently the art of revenge, he fell upon a ſtra-

K. *John* divorceth his Wife *Avis*, and marries *Iſabel* affianced to *Hugh le Brun*.

The Lords refuſe to do the King ſervice out of the Kingdom.

K. *John*'s unjuſt carriage for being denied his ſuit in love.

Hugh de Brun and the K. of *France* join againſt K. *John* in aſſiſting Prince *Arthur*.

1202.

tagem

tagem of all other the moſt prudent againſt an Enemy. For a ſurpriſe in War is like an Apoplexy in the body, which ſtrikes without giving warning for defence. And this Stratagem at this time King *John* put in practice; for travelling night and day with indefatigable labour, he came upon his enemies before they were aware, and ſetting upon them unprovided, it was rather an execution than a battel: and they who remained unſlain were taken priſoners, amongſt whom Prince *Arthur* himſelf, who committed preſently to the cuſtody of *Robert de Veypont* in *Roan*, lived not long after. Whether it were, that attempting to make eſcape, he fell down from the Walls of this priſon, and was drowned in the River *Seyne*, as ſome ſay: or whether it were that through anguiſh of mind he fell ſick and died, as others ſay; or whether indeed he were made away by King *John*, as the common fame went; Certain it is, that he ſurvived his impriſonment but a very few days. But though he were gone, yet his Siſter *Eleanor*, a preceſſing Competitor to King *John*, was ſtill remaining; Her therefore, at this time alſo King *John* ſeiſed upon, and commits her in ſafe cuſtody to *Briſtow* Caſtle, where after ſhe had lived long, ſhe died.

K. *John* by his celerity ſurpriſeth his enemies.

Prince *Arthur* is taken priſoner, and ſoon after died.

Of his Troubles after the Death of his Nephew Arthur.

KING *John* being now freed from his Competitor, one would think he ſhould have ended all his troubles: but like a *Hydra*'s head, they rather multiplied upon him. For they who had been ſo ready to aſſiſt Prince *Arthur* in his life, were now as ready to revenge his death. And firſt, *Conſtance* his Mother comes to King *Philip*, with open exclamations againſt K. *John*, accuſing him with the murther of her Son, and with all the inſtance of Tears and Intreaties, ſolicits him to revenge it. Hereupon King *Philip* ſummons King *John* to appear at a day; and becauſe he appeared not according to the tenure of his homage, it was decreed againſt him, that he had forfeited all the property of his Eſtate in *France*; and thereupon King *Philip* with mighty Forces invades his Territories, takes many Towns of principal conſequence, while K. *John* lived idle at *Roan*, no more regarded it than if it had not at all concerned him. And when ſome of his Lords ſeemed to marvel what he meant to ſuffer the *French* to rob him of ſuch good Cities; You ſay true indeed (ſaith he) for it is but robbery; and within a few days you ſhall ſee I will make him reſtore them back with uſury. In this ſlighting humour he returns into *England*, where he looks not after the levying of Soldiers, or the raiſing of an Army, as this caſe required, but continues his old courſes for raiſing of money, accuſing ſometimes one of his Lords, ſometimes another, as if it were their fault that he had loſt theſe Towns in *France*. And upon theſe accuſations made many of them pay great ſums of money, which brought him not only into hatred at home, but into contempt abroad; for the King of *France* underſtanding his unworthy courſes, proceeds more violently in his invaſions than before, getting *Falais Damfront*, and all the good Towns of *Normandy*, but only *Roan*. And at laſt, though *Roan* was a Town ſtrongly fortified with Walls, and more ſtrongly with the faithful hearts of the Inhabitants; yet finding no hope of ſuccour from King *John*, it was forced for want of Victuals to ſubmit it ſelf to the King of *France*. Whoſe Example all the other Cities followed, and ſo all *Normandy* returned to the ſubjection of the *French*, after three hundred and ſixteen years that *Rollo* the *Dane* had firſt poſſeſt it.

Prince *Arthur*'s Mother accuſeth K. *John* of murthering her Son to the King of *France*.

K. *John*'s careleſneſs.

All *Normandy* loſt by K *John*.

It was now the year 1205. and the ſixth of King *John*'s Reign, about which time, the two props of his Eſtate, or rather indeed two bridles of his intemperancy died; his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, whoſe virtues had oftentimes qualified the vices of her Son; and *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who repented him at his death of nothing more, than that he had been an Inſtrument of bringing him to the Crown.

1205.

And now K. *John* being a ſubſtantive of himſelf, hath a device in his head to make his Subjects as willing to give him money as he was to have it: For knowing the great diſcontentment they all had for their loſſes in *France*, he gives it out, that he would preſently raiſe an Army for recovery of theſe loſſes, if he might have money to go about it: whereupon never was money given with more alacrity. And as ſoon as he had it, he inſtantly went to *Portſmouth*, and there took Shipping before it was poſſible for his Lords and others to be in readineſs to accompany him; and ſailing forward ſome certain leagues into the Sea, upon a ſudden he returns back again, and then lays the fault upon his Lords, that had not followed him: and for this backwardneſs of theirs, impoſed afterwards great Fines upon them, by which means he got money no leſs by pretence of his not going, than he had done before by pretence of his going. About this time died *Geoffery Fitz-Peter*, Juſtitiar of *England*, who while he lived kept the King in ſome awe; inſomuch, as hearing he was dead, he ſwore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King of *England*, and with great rejoicing ſaid to ſome Lords about him, Now when this man comes into Hell, let him ſalute the Archbiſhop *Hubert*, whom certainly he ſhall find there. But *Philip* King of *France* intending to leave the *Engliſh* nothing on that ſide the Sea, invaded *Chinon*, and takes it; and in it the valiant Captain *Roger Lacy*, which had given a period to King *Philip*'s Victories, had not *Guido*, the Husband of *Conſtantia*, Prince *Arthur*'s Mother, revolted to King *John*. Who with his aſſiſtance once again levies an Army, beſieged Mount *Auban*, a Caſtle thought impregnable, and within fifteen days takes it, which *Charles* the Great could not get with his ſeven years ſiege: where ſo great a number of *French* Lords were taken priſoners, that King *John* ſent a Catalogue of their names into *England*, for a memorial of ſo great a Victory. After this, he taketh the ſtrong Town of *Angiers*, and utterly defaceth it; for which afterward he was ſorry, as being the Town where he was born. But now when the two Kings were ready to meet, and to give battel, interceſſion was made by friends of both ſides, and thereupon a Peace concluded for two years, and King *John* returned into *England*.

K. *John*'s device to get money of his Subjects.

K. *John* glad of *Geoffery Fitz-Peter*'s death.

K. *John* aſſiſted unexpectedly.

He was born at *Angiers* in *France*.

A peace between the two Kings.

King

K. John passeth into Ireland and reduceth it to obedience

King *John* being returned, performs no leſs worthy Acts at home, than he had done in *France*; for firſt he invades the Borders of *Scotland*, and brings *Alexander* King of *Scots* to do him homage; and then underſtanding many of the *Iriſh* to be revolted, he paſſed over to *Dublin*, and reduceth them to his obedience; and then placing *John* Biſhop of *Norwich* Governor there, he returns into *England*; where paſſing through *Wales*, he ſubdueth certain Rebels there, and takes eight and twenty Children of the beſt Families for Pledges of their future Loyalty; but not long after, hearing they grew mutinous and rebelled again, he was ſo incenſed, that he would not go to dinner, till he had ſeen thoſe twenty eight Children to be all hanged before his face. So inconſiderate a thing is the deſire of revenge, that it makes no difference between innocency and guiltineſs; tho indeed a thing oftentimes muſt be done for example, which conſidered in it ſelf, would be forborn.

He ſubdueth the *Welch* Rebels, and takes 28 pledges of them. Upon their rebelling again he hangs up all their pledges.

1214.

It was now the year 1214. and the fourteenth of King *John*'s reign, when he going to *Angiers*, ſtrongly repairs it, and the Province of *Poictou* revolted to him; which *Lewis* King *Philip*'s Son underſtanding, comes upon them with a mighty Army, and uſes much ſeverity upon the Authors of the revolt, takes Priſoners *Reynold* Earl of *Boleigne*, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, with many other of K. *John*'s Captains, and defeated his whole Army. Whereof when K. *John* was certified, he grew in a manner deſperate, and as a man dejected, makes a new Truce upon any conditions with the King of *France*, and returns into *England*, where he finds a worſe buſineſs ready to entertain him. For the Lords of the Realm having often required their ancient Rights and Liberties, and finding nothing but deluſions, endure no longer to be abuſed; but meeting at St. *Edmundsbury*, they there conſer how they might find a remedy to redreſs this evil, and at laſt concluded to go to the King themſelves in perſon, and make their demands; whereof a Charter was produced, that had been formerly granted in K. *Henry* the firſt's time. Whereupon coming to the King after *Chriſtmas*, lying then in the New Temple, and acquainting him with their Demands, he gives them this fair Anſwer, that within a few days he would give them ſatisfaction; and cauſeth the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Ely*, with *William Marſhall*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, to paſs their words for him that it ſhould be performed. But the King meaning nothing leſs than to do as he ſaid, falls preſently a levying of Soldiers, which the Lords underſtanding, they all did the like; and going to the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, deliver him a Copy of their Demands, and required the King's Anſwer: But the Biſhop ſhewing it to the King, and humbly intreating him to give the Lords a ſatisfactory Anſwer, he ſwore a great Oath they might as well demand the Kingdom; and that he would dye before he would yield to any ſuch demands. Whereupon the Lords (knowing now what they were to truſt to) fall to beſiege *Northampton*, and after that *Bedford*, which is yielded to them; and withal they are ſent to by the *Londoners* to ſignify their readineſs to join with them. At this time the King was at *Windſor*, providing an Army, but hearing the *Londoners* were joined with the Lords, he thought it no good way to proceed by force, but rather by fraud; and thereupon ſends to the Lords, that if they would come to him to *Windſor*, he would grant their demands. The Lords coming thither, but in a military manner, (for they durſt not truſt his word) the King ſaluted them all kindly, and promiſed to give them ſatisfaction in all they demanded; and ſo in a Meadow between *Windſor* and *Staines*, called *Running-Mead*, he freely conſented to confirm their former Liberties; and was content ſome grave Perſonages ſhould be choſen to ſee it performed. But the next day, when it ſhould be done, he gets him gone to *Southampton*; and from thence to the Iſle of *Wight*; where adviſing with his Counſil what in this caſe was fitteſt to be done; it was concluded he ſhould ſend to the Pope, to acquaint him with this Mutiny of the Lords, and to require his help: while the King in the mean time liv'd skulking up and down in corners, that no man might know where to find him; or which is worſe (as ſome write) roving about and practiſing Piracy. And now the Lords begin to ſuſpect Fraud, when ſhortly after the King's Meſſengers who were *Walter* and *John*, Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Norwich*, return with the Pope's Decree, which was, That the King's Grant to the Lords ſhould be void. With this Decree, the King after three months that he had ſtaid in the Iſle of *Wight*, coming back to *Windſor*, acquaints the Lords; but they accuſing the Meſſengers for falſe informing the Pope, and the Pope alſo for making a Decree without hearing both ſides, betake them to Arms, and ſwear by the holy Altar to be revenged for this ludification and injurious dealing. The King finding the Lords nothing mov'd with the Pope's Decree, ſends again unto him, to acquaint him with it, who mightily incenſed to have his Decree ſo ſlighted, adjudged them all to be held as Enemies of Religion; and gives power to *Peter* Biſhop of *Winchester*, and to the Abbot of *Reading*, to excommunicate them. In the mean time the King had ſent the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellor of *England*, and others, with his Seal, to hire Soldiers from the parts beyond the Seas; who returning ſhortly after, bringeth along with him out of *Poictou* and *Gaſcony*, *Savery de Malcon*, *Geoffry* and *Olivier Boteville*, Brothers; and under their conduct ſo great a rabble, that with theſe Forces, within half a year the King had gotten all the Caſtles of the Barons, to the borders of *Scotland*. And now he divides his Army, committing part of it to his Brother *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and others, to ſet upon *London*, and with the other part he goes himſelf into *Yorkſhire*, where moſt of the Lords had poſſeſſion, which in moſt cruel manner he deſtroyed with Fire and Sword. The Lords being thus on all ſides diſtreſſed, reſolved upon a courſe, neither honourable nor ſafe; yet ſuch as neceſſity made ſeem both; they ſend to *Philip* King of *France*, requiring him to ſend over his Son *Lewis* to their aid, and promiſing they would ſubmit themſelves to be governed by him, and take him for their Sovereign. To this motion of the Lords, King *Philip* was as forward as themſelves; which King *John* underſtanding, ſends

K. John's Army defeated by the *French*, and thereupon a Truce. The Lords require their ancient Liberties.

They deliver him a copy of their demands.

The King reſolutely refuſeth to grant them.

The King promiſeth to grant his Lords their demands.

He ſends to the Pope for help.

The Lords take Arms.

K *John* with the aid of ſtrangers gets all the Barons Caſtles.

The Lords ſend for the K. of *France*'s Son *Lewis* to come and be their King.

ſends again to the Pope, requiring him to uſe his Authority to ſtay the King of *France* from coming. But King *Philip*, though much regarding the requeſt of the Pope, yet nothing ſo much as the acqueſt of *England*, with all ſpeed provides an Army; and with a Fleet of Six hundred ſail, ſends over his Son *Lewis*; who paſſing into *England*, landeth at *Sandwich*, whither many of the Lords and others reſort unto him; and giving Oaths of Allegiance, join themſelves with him. King *John* at that time was at *Dover*, but not daring to ſtay there for fear of the Enemy, he commits the Caſtle to *Hubert Burgh*, and goeth himſelf to *Canterbury*, and from thence to *Wincheſter* in the manner of a Flight; which Prince *Lewis* underſtanding, went ſtrait to *London*, and by a plauſible Oration makes that City ſure unto him; and thither came to him the King of *Scots*, with an Army of choice Soldiers, as alſo the Earls, *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Saliſbury*, with many others. And now Prince *Lewis* paſſeth all the Countrey over without reſiſtance, but not without infinite Outrages committed by his Soldiers, which was not in him to hinder: And then coming to *Norwich*, he takes that City eaſily, but *Dover* coſt him a longer Siege, as being defended by the Valiant and Loyal Captain *Hubert Burgh*. In this mean while King *John* finding his Enemies employ'd in theſe difficult Sieges, ſends about and gathers a Rabble of all raskal people to him; and with them runneth over all the Countrey, ſpoiling and killing in moſt barbarous manner. And now was the Kingdom made the Stage of all the Miſeries of Rapine and Cruelty; two Armies in it on foot at once, each of them ſeeking to prey upon the other, and both of them upon the Countrey. But the King coming to *Walpool* in *Norfolk*, where the Waſhes were to be paſſed over, he ſendeth one to ſearch where the Ford was paſſable, and there himſelf with ſome few paſſed over; but the multitude, with all the carriages, paſſing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned; with which diſaſter the King through anguiſh of mind fell into a Feaver, whereof within a few days he died. And here was an end of all the Troubles of this King; in whom it is obſervable, that loving his Eaſe ſo well as he did, he ſhould run voluntarily into ſuch Troubles, eſpecially at home, upon ſo ſmall occaſions as he did; but it ſhould ſeem there is no greater hindrance to men for accompliſhing their will, than their own wilfulneſs.

1216. Prince *Lewis* cometh into *England*, and is received by the Lords; and by the City of *London*.

King *John* through anguiſh of mind falls ſick and dieth.

Of his Taxations.

TO ſpeak of his Taxations, it may not unproperly be ſaid, that it was but one continued Taxation all his Reign through; yet to divide it into two parts; his firſt was the Taxation of Three Shillings upon every Plough-land through the Kingdom, to pay the Thirty thouſand Marks for his Niece *Blanch*'s Portion; and to mend this Taxation, he ſeizeth upon all the Temporalties of his Brother *Geoffry* Archbiſhop of *York*, for oppoſing it; and for a continuation, he makes a Progreſs ſhortly after, into all the North-parts, where he exacts great Fines of Offenders in his Foreſts. Very ſhortly after ſollicited by the Pope's Legate, he grants a Subſidy of the Fortieth Part of all his Subjects Revenues for one year, to ſuccour the *Holy Land*. Shortly after this, he chargeth his Earls and Barons with the Loſſes he ſuſtaineth in *France*, and thereupon Fines them to pay the ſeventh part of all their Goods; neither ſpared he the Church, or the Commons in this Impoſition. Before this year is ended, another Levy is made at a Parliament in *Oxford*, wherein is granted Two Marks and a half of every Knight's Fee, for Military Aid; neither are the Clergy exempted from paying their part. And before another year is out another Impoſition is laid of the Thirteenth part of all Moveables and other Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. It may be reckoned amongſt his Taxations, that when the Monks of *Canterbury* had diſpleaſed him about the Election of their Archbiſhop, he ſeized upon all their Goods, and converted them to his own uſe: and preſently after this, upon the like diſpleaſure he deputes many Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, and confiſcates all their Revennes. To theſe may be added, that he took Eleven thouſand Marks of Silver of the King of *Scots*, for granting him Peace. Add to theſe alſo great Sums of Money exacted and gathered from the *Jews*, among whom there was one that would not be ranſomed till the King cauſed every day one of his great teeth to be pulled out by the ſpace of ſeven days; and then he was content to give the King Ten thouſand Marks of Silver that no more might be pulled out, for he had but one left. Add to theſe, that at his return out of *Ireland* he ſummoned all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him; of whom he extorted for their Redemption the Sum of an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Add laſtly to theſe, that at his return out of *Wales*, he exacts of every Knight that attended him not in that Expedition, two Marks.

A *Jew*'s teeth pulled out.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE was the firſt that appointed the Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and other Cities, endowing them alſo with their greateſt Franchiſes. The firſt that cauſed Sterling Money to be here coined. The firſt that ordained the Honourable Ceremonies in Creation of Earls. The firſt that ſettled the Rates and Meaſures for Wine, Bread, Cloath, and ſuch other Neceſſaries of Commerce. The firſt that planted *Engliſh* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*. The firſt that enlarged the Royal Style with the Lord of *Ireland*, and both annexed that Kingdom, and faſtened *Wales* to the Crown of *England*.

Sterling money when firſt.

Engliſh Laws when firſt planted in *Ireland*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

AFter the death of *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Monks of that Convent ſecretly in the night elected one *Reginald* their Sub-prior to ſucceed him; and cauſed him to go to *Rome* for Confirmation: but afterward doubting how the King would take it, being done without his knowledge, they crave leave of the

the King to chuſe a fit man; the King is content to allow them the election, but requires himſelf to have the Nomination, and thereupon commends unto them *John Grey* Biſhop of *Norwich*, whom he ſpecially favoured, and accordingly the Monks elect him. But the matter being afterward referred to the Pope, which of theſe two elections ſhould ſtand good, after many allegations of both ſides, the Pope to ſhew himſelf indifferent to both, diſallows them both, and nominates a third man, one *Stephen Langton*, Cardinal of St. *Chryſogone*, an *Engliſh*-man born, and a man of great Learning. The Monks admit him, but the King oppoſeth it. And now as it were, a Prize began to be played between the two Swords, the Spiritual and the Temporal: but he that uſed the Spiritual Sword, proved ſo much the better Fencer, that he diſarmed the other, and took away his Temporal Sword from him. It is true, in the firſt Venue, the King gave the Pope as good as he brought; for as the Pope threatned the King to Excommunicate him, and to interdict the Kingdom; ſo the King threatned the Pope to nullify his authority, and to baniſh the Clergy-men out of the Realm. In the ſecond Venue, as the Pope acted as much as he had threatned (for he interdicted the Kingdom:) So the King performed as much as he had ſpoken, for he drove the Monks out of their Cloiſters) yet at laſt when *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate came into *England*, and made appear to the King in what great danger he ſtood; Firſt, of the King of *France*, by Invaſion; and then of his own Subjects, by Rebellion; for both which, there was no other help but reconcilement with the Pope; he ſo touched him to the quick, that he made him leave his great words, and fall to asking forgiveneſs. So as taking off the Crown from his head, he laid it down at *Pandulphus* feet, to be diſpoſed of as the Pope ſhould pleaſe. And *Pandulphus* ſtuck not to take up his Crown, and to keep it three or four days in his hands before he reſtored it; and did not then neither, but upon condition that he and his Succeſſors ſhould hold the Kingdom of the See of *Rome* at the annual Tribute of a thouſand Marks. And all thoſe three or four days in which *Pandulphus* kept the Crown, it might be truly ſaid the Kingdom was without a King. And upon this, no doubt it was that *Peter* an Hermite in a Prophetical Rapture had given out ſome time before, that by *Aſcenſion-day* there ſhould be no King of *England*. Which though in ſome ſort it was true, yet becauſe in ſome ſort it was not true, and it was in the Prerogative of the King to make his own interpretation, it coſt the poor Hermit and his Son their lives, and they remain as a pillar of Salt to make men take heed of *Ludere cum Sanctis*, and of playing the Criticks in matters of State.

Contention between the Pope and the King about election of a Biſhop.

The King ſurrenders his Crown to the Pope.

Peter the Hermite's prediction of no King to be in *England* by a certain day.

But by this means the Kingdom was releaſed of the Interdiction, which had continued ſix years, three months, and fourteen days: During all which time, there was no publick exerciſe of Religion, no Churches open, no Eccleſiaſtical Sacraments adminiſtred, but only to them that are in danger of death, and baptiſm to children; all that died were buried like Dogs, in Ditches and Corners, but only ſuch as had purchaſed or procured licenſe from the Pope.

The Kingdom Interdicted ſix years together.

In this Kings reign Saint *Dominick* continued his Preaching ten years together againſt the *Albigenſes*; ſo called becauſe they begun firſt in the City of *Alba*: Alſo in his time Saint *Francis* renounced the World; and when a Prieſt, to whom he offered it, would not take his money, he caſt it away, and entred into a vow of perpetual Poverty. Alſo in this Kings time was held the *Lateran* Council, under Pope *Innocent* the third, in which was eſtabliſhed the Pope's power over Princes; and in matters of Faith, Auricular Confeſſion, and Tranſubſtantiation.

Auricular confeſſion and Tranſubſtantiation when firſt.

Of his Irreligion.

I Need not relate a ſpeech of his, tho very unchriſtian; that having been a little before reconciled to the Pope, and then having an overthrow in *France*, in great anger he cried out, That nothing had proſpered with him ſince the time he was reconciled to God and the Pope. Nor another ſpeech of his, which tho ſpoken merrily, was in good earneſt very irreligious; that being on a time a hunting, at the opening of a fat Buck, he ſaid; See how this Deer hath proſpered, and how fat he is, and yet I dare ſwear he never heard Maſs. It is ſufficient to relate one act of his, (if it be true which ſome write) that being in ſome diſtreſs, he ſent *Thomas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz-Nichols*, Knights, in Embaſſage to *Miramumalim* King of *Africk* and *Morocco*, with offer of his Kingdom to him, upon condition he would come and aid him; and that if he prevailed, he would himſelf become a Mahometan, and renounce the Chriſtian Faith. Tho ſome there be that ſay, All theſe were but falſecriminations charged upon him by Monks that did not love him. But though we believe not theſe things of him; yet to ſuffer his Kingdom to ſtand interdicted ſo many years together, upon ſo ſmall occaſion as he did, was certainly no good ſign of Religion in him. Yet one act he did, wherein he ſhewed a reſpect to Religion, by the honour he did to a Religious man. For *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* lying very ſick, he not only went to viſit him; but being dead was one of the three Kings (the other two were *William* King of *Scotland*, and the King of *Southwales*) that carried his Herſe upon their ſhoulders, till they delivered it to the Peers, and the Peers afterward to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to carry it into the Quire.

M. *Pariſ.* fol. 243.

K. *John* helps to carry *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* to burying.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

YET did this King leave more Works of Piety behind him, than all his Subjects that were in his time. For he founded the Abby of *Bowley* in the New-Foreſt in *Hampſhire*: Alſo an Abby of black Monks in the City of *Wincheſter*, and the Monaſtery of *Faringdon*, and the Monaſtery of *Hales-Owen* in *Shropſhire*: he re-edified *Godſtow* and *Wroxwel*, and enlarged the Chappel of *Knaresborough*. Now for his Subjects, only *Richard Prior* of *Bermondſey* builded an Houſe againſt the Wall of the ſaid Houſe of *Bermondſey*, called Almary or Hoſpital of Converts and Children, in honour of St. *Thomas*.

In

The Stone-bridge of *London* finiſhed.

In this Kings time, St. *Mary Overy*'s in *Southwark* was begun to be builded, and the Stone-bridge over the *Thames* was by the Merchants of *London* finiſhed. Alſo *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Founded a Monaſtery at Weſt-*Derham* in *Norfolk*, which upon the diſſolution came to the Family of the *Derhams*, who hold it to this day.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

FROM the Firſt year of the Reign of King *Richard* the Firſt, the City of *London* had been governed by two Bayliffs; but the King in his Tenth year taking diſpleaſure againſt them for denying his Purveyors Wheat, cauſed them to be impriſoned, till 35 of the chief Citizens repaired to him, and acquainting him what ſmall ſtore the City had, how the Commons were ready to make inſurrection about it, he was then ſatisfied; and moreover at their ſuit, granted them to have a Mayor and two Sheriffs to be yearly choſen nine days before *Michaelmas*; which Order hath continued, though with ſome alteration in the time of their Election, to this day. Alſo in this Kings time, five and thirty of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens of *London*, were choſen out, and called the Council of the City. He cauſed the Laws of *England* to be executed in *Ireland*, and money to be coined there according to the weight of *Engliſh* money.

The Common-Council of *London*, when firſt ordained.

Of his Wives and Children.

KING *John* lived to have three Wives. His firſt was *Alice* Daughter of *Hubert* Earl of *Morton*, who left him a Widower without iſſue. His ſecond was *Avice* Daughter and Heir of *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, by whom no iſſue neither; divorced from her by reaſon of Conſanguinity in the third degree. His third Wife was *Iſabel*, Daughter and Heir of *Aymer* Earl of *Angoulesme*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*. By this Wife he had two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Jone*, *Eleanor*, and *Iſabel*: *Henry* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwal*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had Iſſue, *Henry* and *John*, that died without Iſſue; alſo *Edward* Earl of *Cornwal*, and others. *Jone* his eldeſt Daughter married to *Alexander* the Second, King of *Scots*, died without Iſſue. *Eleanor* the ſecond Daughter (married to *Simon* Earl of *Leiceſter*) had iſſue, *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almarick*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* ſlain without iſſue. *Simon* Earl of *Bigorre*, and anceſtor to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick* firſt a Prieſt, after a Knight. *Guy* Earl of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountsford* in *Tuſcany*, and of the Earls of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Richard* remaining privily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford* to *Wellesbourn*, was anceſtor of the *Wellesbourns* in *England*. *Eleanor* born in *England*, brought up in *France*, married into *Wales*, to Prince *Lewis ap Griffith*. *Iſabel*, his youngeſt Daughter, married to the Emperor *Frederick* the ſecond, had iſſue, *Henry*, appointed to be King of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* Wife of *Albert Lantgrave* of *Thurin*. She died in Childbed, after ſhe had been Empreſs ſix years. He had alſo two natural Sons, *Geoffery Fitz-Roy*, and *Richard*, that married the Daughter and Heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, (who built *Childham* Caſtle) and had iſſue by her, of whom ſome Families of good account are deſcended. Alſo one baſe Daughter named *Jone*, married to *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*.

The Family of the *Wellesbourns*, from whence deſcended.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of ſtature indifferent tall, and ſomewhat fat, of a ſower and angry countenance; and concerning his conditions, it may be ſaid, that his Nature and his Fortune did not well agree: For naturally he loved his eaſe, yet his Fortune was to be ever in action. He won more of his enemies by ſurprizes than by battels; which ſhews that he had more of Lightning in him than of Thunder. He was never ſo true of his word as when he threatned, becauſe he meant always as cruelly as he ſpake, not always as graciouſly; and he that would have known what it was he never meant to perform, muſt have looked upon his promiſes. He was neither fit for Proſperity nor Adverſity: For proſperity made him inſolent, and adverſity dejected; a mean fortune would have ſuited beſt with him. He was all that he was by fits; Sometimes doing nothing without deliberation, and ſometimes doing all upon a ſudden: Sometimes very Religious, and ſometimes ſcarce a Chriſtian. His unſatiableneſs of money was not ſo much, as that no man knew what he did with it: gotten with much noiſe, but ſpent in ſilence. He was but intemperate in his beſt temper, but when diſtempered with ſickneſs moſt of all, as appeared at his laſt, when being in a Fever, he would needs be eating of raw Peaches, and drinking of ſweet Ale. If we look upon his works, we muſt needs think him a worthy Prince; but if upon his Actions, nothing leſs: For his works of Piety were very many, as hath been ſhewed before; but as for his actions, he neither came to the Crown by Juſtice, nor held it with Honour, nor left it in Peace. Yet having had many good parts in him, and eſpecially having his Royal Poſterity continued to this day, we can do no leſs but honour his memory.

K. *John*'s intemperance.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

ONE Caſualty we might count diſaſtrous, if it had not had relation to our ſelves: for *Hugh de Bones* coming to aid King *John* with Threeſcore thouſand out of *Britain* and *Flanders*, by misfortune at Sea were all drowned, to whom the King had granted *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the people he had brought with him to inhabit. In this King's time were great Thunders and Lightnings, and ſhowers with hail-ſtones as big as Gooſe-Eggs. Fiſhes of ſtrange ſhape were taken in *England*, armed with helmets and ſhields, and were like unto armed Knights, ſaving that they were far greater in proportion. About *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, a certain Monſter was found ſtrucken with the Lightning, which Monſter had a head like an Aſs,

Hail-ſtones as big as Gooſe-eggs.

A ſtrange Monſter.

Aſs, a belly like a man, and all other parts far differing from any other Creature. Alſo in *Suffolk* was taken a Fiſh in form like to a man, and was kept ſix months upon Land with raw fleſh and fiſh; and then for that they could have no ſpeech of it, they caſt it into the Sea again.

Of his Death and Burial.

WHEN Prince *Lewis* of *France* was come into *England*, and was received by the Lords, and by the *Londoners*, King *John* with an Army went into the *North* parts; and coming to *Walpool*, where he was to paſs over the *Waſhes*, he ſent one to ſearch where the water was paſſable, and there himſelf with ſome few paſſeth over, but the multitude with all his Carriages and Treaſure paſſing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned. With the grief of which diſaſter, and perhaps diſtempered in his body before, he fell into a Feaver, and was let blood; but keeping an ill diet, (as indeed he never kept good) eating green Peaches, and drinking ſweet Ale, he fell into a looſneſs, and grew preſently ſo weak, that there was much ado to get him to *Newark*, where ſoon after he died. Though indeed it be diverſly related; *Caxton* ſaith he was poyſoned at *Swineſheads* Abby by a Monk of that Covent; the manner and cauſe this; The King being there, and hearing it ſpoken how cheap Corn was, ſhould ſay, He would ere long make it dearer, and make a penny loaf be ſold for a ſhilling. At this ſpeech the Monk took ſuch indignation, that he went and put the poyſon of a Toad into a Cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him, There was ſuch a cup of Wine as he had never drank in all his life, and therewithal took the aſſay of it himſelf, which made the King to drink the more boldly of it; but finding himſelf preſently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him, that he was fallen down dead; Then (ſaith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others ſay the poyſon was given him in a diſh of Pears. But the Phyſician that diſ-bowelled his body found no ſign of poyſon in it, and therefore not likely to be true. But howſoever the manner of his death be uncertain, yet this is certain, that at this time and place he died, on the 19th. day of *October*, in the year 1216. when he had reigned ſeventeen years and ſix months; lived one and fifty. He was buried, his Bowels at *Croxton* Abby, his Body at *Worceſter*, under the High Altar, wrapped in a Monks Cowl, which the ſuperſtition of that time accounted ſacred, and a defenſative againſt all evil ſpirits.

K. John thought by ſome to be poyſoned.

A Monks Cowl of great vertue.

Of the Prices of things in his time.

NEither is this unfit to be recorded in Chronicles, to the end compariſon may be made between the time paſt and the preſent: As in the time of King *Henry* the Second, a Quarter of Wheat was ſold for twelve pence, a Quarter of Beans or Oats for a groat. Neither is the price of Silver it ſelf much leſs altered; for an ounce of Silver was then valued at twenty pence, which is now valued at leaſt at five ſhillings. Whereof Philoſophers muſt tell the reaſon; for ſeeing ſcarcity makes things dear, why ſhould not plenty make them cheap?

Of men of ſpecial Note in his time.

IN Military matters there were many famous Men in his time, as *Robert Fitz-Roger*, and *Richard Mount-Fitcher*, with many others; but chiefly two whoſe acts make them ſpecially memorable: The one was *Hubert Burgh*, whom King *John* had left Governor of *Dover*-Caſtle; of whom it is related, that when the Prince *Lewis* of *France* came to take the Town, and found it difficult to be taken by force, he ſent to *Hubert*, whoſe Brother *Thomas* he had taken Priſoner a little before, That unleſs he would ſurrender the Caſtle, he ſhould preſently ſee his Brother *Thomas* be put to death with exquiſite tormens before his eyes: But this threatning moved not *Hubert* at all, who more regarded his own loyalty than his Brother's life. Then Prince *Lewis* ſent again, offering him a great ſum of money; but neither did this move, but he kept his loyalty as inexpugnable as his Caſtle. The other was *Robert Fitz-Water*, of whom it is related, That King *John* being with an Army in *France*, one of his Knights in a great bravery would needs make a challenge to any of the *French* Camp, that durſt encounter him in a Combat; when preſently comes forth this *Rob. Fitz-Water*, and in the encounter threw Horſe and Man down to the ground: Whereof when King *John* heard, By God's tooth (ſaith he) he were a King indeed that had ſuch a Champion; whereupon ſome that ſtood by, ſaid to him, He is, Sir, a ſervant of your own, it is *Robert Fitz-Water*, whom you have baniſhed. Whereupon his Sentence of baniſhment was preſently reverſed, and the King received him, as he well deſerved, into ſpecial favour. In matter of Literature alſo there lived many famous men in this King's Reign, as *Geoffry Vineſauſe*, *Simon Fraxinus*, *alias Aſh*, *Adam Dorenſis*, *John de Oxford*, *Colman* ſurnamed the Wiſe, *Richard Canonicus*, *William Peregrine*, *Alane Tewksbury*, *Gervaſius Dorobernenſis*, *John Hamwil*, *Nigel Worker*, *Gilbert Holland*, *Benet de Peterborough*, *William Parvus* a Monk of *Newburgh*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Hubert Walter* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Theologus*, *Gervaſius Tilburienſis*, *Gyraldus Cambrenſis*, *Johannes Devonius*, *Walter Mapis*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, *Gilbert Legly*, *Mauricius Morganius*, *John de Fordeham*, *William Leiceſter*, *Joceline Brakeland*, *Roger* of *Crowland*, *Hugh White*, *alias Candidus*, who wrote an Hiſtory intituled, *Hiſtoria Petroburgenſis*; *John de Saint Omer*, *Adam Barking*, *John Gray*, an Hiſtoriographer, and Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Walter* of *Coventry*, *Radulphus Niger*; and laſtly, *Simon Thurvay*, who for his pride in Learning, but more for his Blaſphemies againſt *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, became at laſt ſo utterly ignorant, that hardly he could read a letter of the Book. One yet remains that muſt not be forgotten, *Hugo Carthuſianus* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, whoſe Miracles, as *Matthew Paris* writes, made him famous in thoſe days: And the Works he hath left behind him, famous in theſe.

Hubert Burgh a moſt loyal Servant to K. John.

Robert Fitz-Water his valour.

Simon Thurvay of a great Scholar becomes an Idiot.

In his tenth year.
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was firſt Mayor.
Peter Duke, Thomas Neal, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Peter le Joſue, William Blounde, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Adam Whitley, Stephen le Graſs, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
John Fitz-Peter, John Garland, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Randolph Eyland, Conſtantine Joſue, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Martin Fitz-Alice, Peter Bate, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Solomon Baſing, Hugh Baſing, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeeth year,
William Hardel was Mayor.
John Travers, Andrew Newland, Sheriffs.

THE

THE LIFE and REIGN of King HENRY III.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of Acts done in his Minority.

An. Dom. 1216.

KING *John* being dead, his eldeſt Son *Henry* was next to Succeed: Who being but Nine years old, though he were capable of having his Right, yet he was ſcarce capable of underſtanding his right; eſpecially there being another at that time, to whom a great part of the Kingdom had ſworn Allegiance. But thoſe Lords who had been conſtant to the Father, notwithſtanding his faults, were more tender of the Son, who was altogether innocent, and whoſe gracious aſpect gave no ſmall hope of a better diſpoſition. Amongſt all which Lords, there was none ſo eminent in worthineſs, none ſo near him in Alliance, as *William Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke*, who had Married his Aunt; and he drawing the reſt of the Lords together, with a ſolemn Oration in behalf of the young Prince, ſo confirmed them, and ſo ordered the matter, that on the twenty eighth day of *October*, in the year 1216. he was Crowned at *Gloceſter*, by *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Joceline* Biſhop of *Bathe*, in the preſence of *Guallo* the Pope's Legate, and many Lords and Biſhops. Where beſides the Oath uſually taken by all Kings at their Coronation, to bear Reverence and Honour to God, and to his Holy Church, and to do Right and Juſtice to all his People, he did Homage beſides to the Church of *Rome*, and to Pope *Innocent*, for his Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*; and took his Oath for the true payment of the Thouſand Marks which his Father had granted to the Church of *Rome*. This done, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, by a general conſent was aſſigned Protector of the Realm during the King's Minority. In which place the firſt thing he did, was to give notice of the new King's Coronation to all the Countries round about; and to proclaim pardon to all offenders that within a time limited ſhould come and ſubmit themſelves to him. In the mean time Prince *Lewis* of *France*, who at his hearing of King *John*'s death, thought himſelf then ſure of enjoying the Kingdom quietly, and that he ſhould need to fear no more oppoſition. Now that he hears of the new King's Crowning, and that ſo ſolemnly, and with ſo unanimous a conſent, he begins to think himſelf in worſe caſe than before; and to grow jealous of the *Engliſh* Lords that had adhered to him, what they would do in this new world. And indeed a conflict was already grown in their minds, which of the two obligations ſhould be the greater, either that of their Oath to Prince *Lewis*, or that of their Allegiance to King *Henry*. They could not but think it extream ungratefulneſs to forſake Prince *Lewis*, whom they had themſelves invited to come; and they could not but think it extream undutifulneſs to ſtand out in oppoſition againſt King *Henry* their natural Sovereign. And that which added no ſmall weight to this ſcale, was a diſcovery lately made by the Viſcount *Melon* a *French* Lord, at the time of his death, who confeſſed, as a matter of conſcience, That Prince *Lewis* had vowed, if once he got the Kingdom, utterly to extirpate all the *Engliſh* Nobility, and to admit none but *French* to any place of Dignity. Neither was it perhaps the leaſt cauſe that moved many to leave the party of Prince *Lewis*, that *Guallo* the Pope's Legat had threatned to Excommunicate him, and as many as ſhould adhere unto him. But whether any of theſe Reaſons, or any other, were their motives, certain it is, that many of them, of whom were principal, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warren*, *Saliſbury*, and *William* the eldeſt Son of the Protector, ſhrunk from Prince *Lewis*, and went to King *Henry*, as thinking no obligation ſo great as Allegiance: And many again continued conſtant to Prince *Lewis*, as thinking no obligation ſo great as an Oath. And now Prince *Lewis*, to caſt the dice of fortune before his Enemies, though they had gotten them a Head, ſhould gather to a head, and draw more Forces together, ſtaying himſelf at *London*, ſent his Lieutenants with an Army of Twenty thouſand, to take in as many Towns as they could; and many they took with ſmall oppoſition; But coming to *Lincoln*, where though they had the Town it ſelf, yet the Caſtle ſtood out, and had been defended by a Noble Lady a whole year before, they found ſuch reſiſtance, that their proceedings was there arreſted. For thither came preſently, *William* the Protector, with his Son *William*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Saliſbury*, and *Cheſter*; the Earls of *Saliſbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albemarle*, *William de Albinet*, *William de Cantilup*, *Falcaſius*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *Rob. Vipont*, *Brent de Liſle*, *Geoffry Lacy*, and many other Barons, with all the power of the young King; who with wonderful violence aſſault the City. At which time it was propounded by the *French*, to ſally forth and give them Battel, but conceiving their Army to be greater than indeed it was (for the *Engliſh* had ſet double Enſigns to every company, which made a ſhew

K. *Henry* is Crowned.

The Lords doubt to whom they would adhere.

Many Lords ſhrink from Prince *Lewis*.

a ſhew of twice as many as they were) they forbear that courſe, and kept themſelves within the Town: By which means being cooped up, and ſtraitned in place, ſo as they could not make uſe of their Forces, as otherwiſe they might, they were in concluſion all defeated; and all the principal men of the *Engliſh* that had adhered to Prince *Lewis* were taken priſoners; as namely, *Saer* Earl of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gaunt*, lately made Earl of *Lincoln* by Prince *Lewis*; *Robert Fitz-Water*, *Richard Mount-Fitchet*, *William Mowbray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Maudet*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Roger de Creſſey*, *William Solvile*, *William de Roſs*, *Robert de Ropeſly*, *Ralph Chenduit*, Barons; beſides four hundred Knights, or men at Arms. Only the Earl of *Perch* their General, being compaſſed about, and willed to render himſelf, ſwore he would never become a priſoner to any *Engliſh*; and thereupon was run through the ſight of his Helmet into the Brains, and inſtantly died. This was a main blow to Prince *Lewis*, and the laſt of his Battels in *England*; and becauſe the City was very rich in Merchandiſe, the *Engliſh* in deriſion called it *Lewis* Fair. But Prince *Lewis* was not yet diſcouraged, for he had ſent to King *Philip* his Father to ſend him new ſupplies out of *France*; and new ſupplies were indeed ſent, but *Hubert de Burgh* Governor of *Dover*, being as vigilant as he was valiant, watched their coming, and in a Sea-fight defeated them all, of whom but few eſcaped. And now this blow at Sea was ſo much greater than that at Land; that where that made him only doubt, this made him deſpair, at leaſt made him malleable, and fit to be wrought upon by compoſition. Whereupon it was at laſt concluded, That Prince *Lewis* ſhould have fifteen thouſand Marks for the charges he had been at, and abjure his claim to any intereſt in the Kingdom; and withal to work his Father for reſtitution of ſuch Provinces in *France* as appertained to this Crown; and that when himſelf ſhould be King, he ſhould reſign them in a peaceable manner. On the other part, King *Henry* takes his Oath; and from him the Legate *Guallo*, and the Protector, to reſtore unto the Barons of the Realm, and other his Subjects, all their Rights and Priviledges, for which the diſcord began between the late King and his People. After this Prince *Lewis* is honourably attended to *Dover*, and departs out of *England* about *Michaelmas*, above two years after his firſt arrival.

The chief men that adhered to Prince *Lewis* are taken Priſoners.

Lewis Fair.

1217.

Prince *Lewis* ſupplies defeated at Sea.

Prince *Lewis* is compounded with to depart the Realm.

Prince *Lewis* departs.

And now the Kingdom is come to unity within it ſelf, one King and one People; and for a year or two there was but little to be done, only ſome few there were, whom the corruption of the times had engendred, and who being born in a ſtorm, could not live in a calm; of whom the principal were the Earl of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Vipount*, *Fowke de Brent*, *Brian de Liſle*, and *Hugh de Baliol*. Who buſtling about, got poſſeſſion of Caſtles: With what intention all men knew, but with what hope of effecting their intention, no man could imagine; for being but a handful of men to the Body of the Realm, they were eaſily ſuppreſſed; and either brought to acknowledge their faults, or elſe puniſhed for not acknowledging them. It was

Some Lords ſtand out ſtill.

now the fourth year of King *Henry*'s Reign; at which time *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Protector of the Realm died, and was buried in the new Temple at *London*, in whoſe place came the Biſhop of *Winchester*. And now was the King the ſecond time Crowned, and had granted him by Parliament for Eſcuage, two Marks of Silver of every Knights Fee, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, and recovery of his Tranſmarine Dominions, which is now deſigned: And *Malleon de Savoroy*, the *Poictovin*, with *William Long-Sword* Earl of *Salisbury*, ſent over to try the affections of that People, whom they find for the moſt part inclinable to the obedience of this Crown. But the King of *France* being required peaceably to deliver them, made anſwer, That having gotten them by the Sword, by the Sword he would hold them. But now the King being come to ſome years of underſtanding, was in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in mind by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* of the Oath he had taken for the confirmation of the Liberties of the Kingdom; which though oppugned by ſome (and eſpecially by *William Brewer*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, whom the King had now made his chief Juſticiar) as having been an Act of conſtraint; Yet the King then again ratified, and Twelve Knights, or other Legal men of every Shire, by Writs, were charged to examine what the Laws and Liberties were which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grandfather, and that they ſhould return them by a certain day. And here the King by Parliament reſumeth into his hands ſuch Alienations as had been made by his Anceſtors of any Crown Land. The next year after, another Parliament is held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all the Moveables, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the recovery of thoſe parts in *France*, with-held from the Crown by *Lewis*, now King, contrary to his Oath and Promiſe made here in *England* at his departure; which though it concerned the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom, and the Eſtates of moſt of the Nobility; yet would it not be yielded to, but upon confirmation of their Liberties, which in the end was obtained, in the ſame words and form as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters before: And Twelve Knights are choſen in every Shire to diſpart the old Foreſts from the new, and the new to be laid open and ploughed, and improved, to the great comfort and benefit of the Subject; and two years they were accordingly enjoyed.

An. Reg. 4. 1220.

The Protector dieth. In his place the Biſhop of *Winchester* is choſen. K. *Henry* is the ſecond time Crowned.

K. *Henry* confirms the Liberties of the Kingdom.

He reſumeth Crown Lands.

An. Reg. 9. 1225.

He confirms the two Charters granted by K. *John*, *Magna Charta*, and *Charta Foreſta*.

Of his Acts after he came to be of Age.

IT was now the Tenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, and being about Nineteen years of age, he claimed to take the Government of the Kingdom into his own hands, and no longer to be under a Protector: And now will preſently appear the difference between a Prince that is ruled by good Counſel, and a Prince that will do all of himſelf, and take no advice. For thirteen years he was ruled by a Protector, all paſſed as it were in a calm, without noiſe or clamour; but as ſoon as he took upon him the Government himſelf, there grew preſently ſtorms and tumults; no quietneſs either to the Subject or

An. Reg. 10. 1226.

He takes the Government upon himſelf.

or to himself: nothing but grievances all the long time of his Reign. For at the Parliament now holden at *Oxford*, as soon as he was Crowned again, he presently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Forests, as granted in his Nonage; and therefore he not bound to observe it: and then not using any longer the Seal which the Protector had used, he makes a new, and causeth Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would enjoy any benefit of Grants under his Seal, should come and have them signed by his new Seal; by which course he drew much money from many; and this was the first grievance.

He annuls the Charters which he granted before.

He makes a new Seal.

Shortly after, he commits the keeping of *Barkhamstead* Castle, to one *Walleran* a *Dutch*man, which Castle belonged to his Brother *Richard* of *Cornwal*; but when Earl *Richard* required to have the possession, as of right he ought, it was then plotted by *Hubert Burgh* Chief Justice, and the Kings chief Counsellor, to commit him to prison; which the Earl understanding, or at least suspecting, flies presently to *Marleborough*, where he finds *William* Earl Marshal his vowed Friend, with whom he hastens to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earls of *Chester*, *Gloucester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwick*, and divers other Barons; who all confederate together, and send to the King, That unless he restore the Castle to his Brother, and to them the Liberties of Forests, which he had lately cancelled at *Oxford*, they would seek to recover them by the Sword. Hereupon King *Henry* to pacify his Brother, not only renders the Castle to him, but gives him besides all that his Mother had in Dower; and also great possessions which the Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Boleign* lately deceased, had in *England*: but to the Petition of the Lords he made a Dilatory answer: and this was another grievance.

The Lords confederate against K. *Henry*, and why.

Not long after, King *Henry* is persuaded by *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, who had married his Mother, to make a Journey into *France*, for recovery of his right there: but the Earl persuaded it for ends of his own, which to have discovered, had been no way to compass them: He must therefore lay some colours upon his work; and it was colour enough that the action would be of great benefit to the King, if it might succeed; and the likelihood of succeeding was most apparent, by reason of the great inclination of the people to King *Henry*, and their great averseness from King *Lewis*. Upon these colours King *Henry* undertaking the action, raiseth great sums of money from the Clergy, and from the *Londoners*, for redemption of their Liberties, and takes the third part of all the Goods of the *Jews*; but when he returned home a year after, without having done any thing but spent his Treasure and his time, and that which was more worth than both these, the lives of many Noblemen and others; this was another grievance.

K. *Henry* makes a Journey into *France*, but without success.

And now King *Henry* bringing many *Poictovins* over with them, who had served him in his Wars, he was to reward them here; which he could not do, but by displacing and spoil of his Officers. First therefore he calleth *Ralph Britton*, Treasurer of his Chamber, to account, and grievously fines him for defrauding him in his Office. Then likewise is *Hubert de Burgh*, Chief Justiciar, and his chief Counsellor, called to account for such Treasure as passed his Office; who being further charged with crimes of Treason, flies to the Church of *Merton* for sanctuary: from whence when the King commanded him to be drawn out by violence, the Bishop of *London* hearing of it, commanded him to be returned back to Sanctuary, upon pain of Excommunication: but the King commanding him to be kept from sustenance, hunger at last enforced him to render himself to the King's Mercy: all his goods, which were very great, confiscate. Also *Walter* Bishop of *Carlisle* is thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon* Knight, from his place of Marshal of the King's House; and all the chief Counsellors, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom are removed as distrusted, and only strangers preferred to their rooms. Of which course, *Peter de Rupibus*, a *Poictovin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis*, the King's special Favourite, were said to be the Authors: and this was another grievance.

He displaceth many of his great Officers.

Poictovins placed in their rooms.

Nine years had thus passed, with divers grievances in his Government; and being now about eight or nine and twenty years old, a Consultation was had for a fit Wife for him. There was propounded a Sister of *Alexander* King of *Scots*; but it was not thought fit the King should marry the younger Sister, when *Hubert de Burgh* had married the elder: he therefore takes one of his own choosing, and marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*; by which match he neither had portion by his Wife, nor strength of alliance by Friends; or if any were, it was all made vain by distance; only he had by her a number of poor kindred, who to his great cost lay hanging upon him: yet was the Marriage solemnized with as great charges, as if he had been to have Mountains with her: and this was another grievance.

An. R. 19. 1235.

K. *Henry* marries to more charge than benefit.

And now is the score of these grievances called upon to be paid; for the Lords could no longer endure so many indignities, to see themselves slighted, and only strangers advanced, as *Foulk de Brent*, who held the Earldoms of *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, and others the like: and to see their persons exposed to danger, and their estates to ruin; for which no remedy could be, but only the King's confirming their Charter of Liberties: wherein it is strange to observe upon what different grounds the King and the Lords went. It seems the King thought, to confirm that Charter were to make himself to be less than a King; and the Lords thought, that as long as it was denied, they were no better than slaves: and as the King could endure no diminution, so the Lords could endure no slavery; but the King might keep his own with sitting still, the Lords could not recover their own but by motion. And seeing their strength must be in their number, by commotion, hereupon they confederate together; and of this confederacy, *Richard*, now Earl Marshal, upon the death of his Brother *William*, is chief; who repair to the King, and boldly shew him his error, and require satisfaction. Hereupon the King sends presently

The Lords confederate again for their Charters.

The Lords summoned to a Parliament, refuse to come.

They threaten to chuse a new King.

The Lords proclaimed Out-laws, and their Estates seised on.

Earl Marshal by a train drawn into *Ireland*, is there by treachery slain.

The Bishops threaten to excommunicate the King. The King calls home the Lords, and removes strangers.

sently over for whole Legions of *Poictovins*, and withal summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuse to come. After this, a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, whither likewise they refuse to come, unless the King would remove the Bishop of *Winchester* and the *Poictovins* from the Court: and more than this, they send him word, that unless he did this, they would expel both himself and his evil Counsellors out of the Land, and create a new King. Upon this threatning, Pledges are required of the Nobility for securing their Allegiance, and Writs are sent out to all who held by Knights-service to repair to the King at *Gloucester* by a certain day; which the Earl-Marshal and his associates refusing, the King without the judgment of his Court and their Peers, causeth them to be proclaimed Out-Laws, seiseth upon all their Lands, which he gives to his *Poictovins*; and directs out Writs to attach their bodies whersoever in the Kingdom. But now of these confederare Lords, the Bishop of *Winchester* won the Earls of *Chester* and *Lincoln* with a thousand Marks; and the King had so pleased his Brother the Earl of *Cornwal*, that he likewise left them. Whereupon they withdrew into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*; whither also came *Hubert de Burgh*, escaped out of Prison, and joins with them; taking intermutual Oaths, That no one without other should make their accord. Hereupon the King goeth himself in person into *Wales*, where not prevailing, he returns to *Gloucester*, implores new Forces of strangers, but all without success. At last a Frier is imployed to persuade the Earl-Marshal to submit himself to the King, but all in vain; till at length a train is laid to draw him over into *Ireland*, to defend his state there, being seised upon by the King; where by treachery circumvented he lost his life, *Militia flos temporum modernorum*, saith *Matth Paris*. Yet the King disavows the sending of any such Commission into *Ireland*, protesting he never knew thereof; and lays the fault upon his Officers. An easy way for Princes never to be found in any fault.

After two years affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishops admonish the King by his Father's example to be at unity with his people, and to remove from him strangers, and to goven the Kingdom by Natives of the Realm, and by the Laws: otherwise they would proceed by Ecclesiastical censure, both against his Counsellors and himself. The King seeing no way to subsist but by temporizing, consents to call home those Lords out of *Wales*; restores them to their places and possessions; removes all strangers from about him; and calls his new Officers to account. Hereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave*, take Sanctuary; but afterward by mediation they obtained with great Fines their Liberty, dearly paying for their two years greatness. After this, a Parliament is again called, which the King would have to be kept in the *Tower*, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place of more freedom is appointed; in which Parliament, order is taken for removing all Sheriffs from their places, upon complaint of corruption: and here the King displaceth his Steward, and offers to take from the Bishop of *Chichester*, then Chancellor, the great Seal, which he refuseth to deliver, as having received it by the Common-Council of the Kingdom: and now *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave*, are received again into grace, by which may appear the vicissitude of fortune in Princes favours. After this, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, another Parliament is held at *London*, where the King requires the thirteenth part of all the moveables as well of the Clergy as Laity; which being directly opposed, the King promiseth by Oath, never more to injure the Nobility, so they would but relieve him at that present. After four days Consultation, the King promising to use only the Counsel of his natural Subjects, and protesting against the Revocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inviolable observation of their Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, a Subsidy is granted him; but so, that four Knights be appointed in every Shire to receive and deliver the same, either to some Abby or Castle, where it may be safely kept; that if the King fail in performance of his Grants, it may be restored to the Country from whence it was collected. And now the King to make a shew of true reconciliation for his part, suddenly calls the Earls *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz-Geoffery*, to be sworn his Counsellors: yet was neither of the points either for removing of strangers, or for disposing the money observed afterward by the King; for the money he made bold to take at his pleasure; and for strangers, they were so far from removing, that they were drawn nearer to him. For now *William Valentine*, Uncle to the Queen, is grown the most inward man with him, and nothing done but by his counsel; also the Earl of *Provence*, the young Queens Father, a poor Prince, had a good share of the money that was collected: and *Simon de Mountford*, a *French*-man born, is entertained by the King, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Eleanor* the King's Sister, Widow of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, the great Marshal, and is made Earl of *Leicester*, by right of his Mother *Avis*, Daughter of *Blanchman* Earl of *Leicester*. Which courses so incense the Nobility, that it put them out into a new commotion; and *Richard* the King's Brother becomes one of the party, whom the other Lords make their spokesmen to the King, to aggravate his breach of promise, and to acquaint him with all the Disorders of the Kingdom; with whose remonstrance the King is so moved, that after he had tried the *Londoners*, and found them also to partake with the Lords, he calls a Parliament at *London*, whither the Lords came armed for their own safety. Where after long debating, the King taking his Oath to refer the matter to certain grave men of the Kingdom, Articles are drawn, sealed, and publickly set up to the view of all, with the Seals of the Legate, and divers great men: but before it came to be effected, the Earl of *Cornwal*, by the working of *Simon Mountford*, hath his edge rebated, and is brought to be unwilling to meddle in the matter any more; which the other Lords seeing

The Chancellor refuseth to deliver the Seal.

Anno Dom. 1237. *An. R.* 21.

The King grants their Liberties, and thereupon hath a Subsidy granted, but with conditions.

But the conditions not performed.

The Lords thereupon confederate again.

They come Armed to the Parliament.

ing

ing, they also grew cold, and so for that time it rested, and no more was done in it. About this time a certain fanatick fellow had got into the King's Chamber in the night, having a naked knife in his hand, with a resolved purpose to kill him: but finding him not there, (for the King lay that night with the Queen) he then went looking about to find him out: but being taken, and confessing who were his accomplices, he was afterward drawn in pieces with wild Horses. So provident a care hath God to protect his Anointed.

An. R. 22. 1238.

The King opposeth the Lords.

And now is the King's turn to play his part in using his Authority, which he fails not to do to the uttermost; for upon a small occasion he causeth the Gates of *Gilbert* now Earl of *Pembroke* (the third Son of *William* the great Marshal) to be shut against him at *Winchester*: whereupon the Earl retires into the North. Also *Simon Norman*, Master of the King's Seal, and his greatest Favourite, is thrown out with disgrace, and his Brother *Geoffery* a Knight Templar, is put out of the Council; both of them for not yielding to pass a Grant from the King made unto *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders* the Queen's Uncle, of four pence upon every sack of Wool. And now that load enough is laid upon those of the Laity, comes a new load to be laid upon the Clergy. For the Pope nothing dainty to make use of the Power he had in the King, sends over three hundred *Romans*, requiring to have the first Benefices that should be vacant bestowed upon them: which seemed so unreasonable a request, and to the Clergy of *England* so damageable, that it made *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give over all, and betake himself to a voluntary exile in the Abby of *Pontiniac* in *France*; yet to shew his respect to the Pope, gave him eight hundred Marks before his departure. And to lay more weight upon the Clergy, great sums are also required of them for maintenance of the Pope's War against the Emperor; which though the Clergy opposed, and shewed many good reasons of their oppositions both to the King and the Legat; yet by promises or threatnings, they were won or forced to yield unto it. And now comes the Earl of *March*, and once again solicits the King to make another Journey into *France*; which being yielded to by the King, and assented to in Parliament, aid presently was demanded towards it: but this demand was not only opposed, but all the King's Taxations and Aids before granted, were now repealed; and thereupon an absolute denial to grant any more. Upon this, the King comes to the Parliament himself in person; earnestly, and indeed humbly craving their aid for this once: but all prevailed not, they had made a vow to the contrary; and the King is driven to get what he could of particular men, of whom partly by gift, and partly by loan, he gets so much, that he carries over with him thirty Barrels of Sterling money. This expedition had no better success than the former; for after a whole years stay, the King was driven to make a dishonourable Truce with the King of *France*, and return home. At his return he put the *Jews* to another redemption, and the *Londoners* to another exaction; and to help on his charge, his Wives Mother, the Countess of *Provence*, comes now to visit him, who bringing her Daughter *Zaiccha* with her, a marriage is solemnized between her and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, whose Wife was lately dead, and he returned from the Holy Wars. The old Countess at her return, is presented with many rich gifts, having besides received an annual pension of four thousand Marks out of *England*, for five years past, in consideration of a pact made, That King *Henry* after her decease should have the Earldom of *Provence*: but shortly after her return she disappoints him of that, and bestows it upon her youngest Daughter *Beatrix*, married to *Charles* the *French* King's Brother, who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicily*; so as this Countess lived to see all her four Daughters Queens: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, coming after to be elected King of the *Romans*. Upon these profusions, a consultation is had for new supplies, and no way thought so fit as by Parliament; hereupon a Parliament is again assembled at *Westminster*, whither the King comes again himself in person, urging his necessities; yet nothing would be granted without the assurance of reformation and due execution of the Laws. And here they desire to have it ordained, That four of the most grave and discreet Peers should be chosen as Conservators of the Kingdom, and sworn of the King's Council; both to see Justice administred, and the Treasure issued; and these, or two of them at least, should ever attend about the King. Also that the Lord Chief Justicar, and the Lord Chancellor, should be chosen by the general voices of the States assembled, or else be one of the number of those four. Besides they propounded, that there might be two Justices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer, and one Justice for the *Jews*; and those likewise to be chosen by Parliament. But while these things were in debating, comes one *Martin*, a new Legate from the Pope, with a larger Commission than ever any before, to exact upon the State; but at the same time, Letters coming from the Emperor *Frederick*, to entreat that the Pope might have no more supplies out of *England*, the Pope's Mandate is rejected, and his Agent *Martin* disgracefully sent home. This business took up so much time, that nothing else was done in this Parliament, but only an Aid granted to the King for the marriage of his Daughter to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, Twenty shillings of every Knights Fee, and that with much ado, and repetition of his former Aids.

The Pope sends over 300 *Romans* to have the first Benefices vacant.

The King again in person demands a Subsidy, but is denied, without granting the Lords demands.

That the Chief Justice and L. Chancellor should be chosen by the Parliament.

The Pope's Legate for money rejected.

Aid to marry the King's daughter granted.

The King once again makes a Journey into *France*.

He comes to the Parliament to demand a Subsidy, but is denied.

The Winter following he assembles another Parliament, wherein he moves for an Aid upon a design he had upon *Wales*, and to pay his debts, which were urged to be so great, that he could not appear out of his Chamber for the infinite clamor of such to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessaries of his house; but they all to his face refused to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent courses are taken; an ancient Quarrel is found out against the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fifteen thousand Marks; and *Passeleve* the Clerk is imployed, with others, in a most peremptory Commission, to enquire of all such Lands as had been inforested, and either

The King shewth his necessity, and requires relief, but is denied.

He returns out of *France* without success.

Hereupon he raiseth money by violent courses.

to fine the occupiers thereof at their pleaſure, or elſe to take it from them, and ſell the ſame to others; wherein ſuch rigor was uſed, that multitudes of people were undone. But now to ſhew the King the eſtate of his Kingdom, and the oppreſſion of Popes, inquiry was made of the Revenues which the *Romans* and *Italians* had in *England*; which were found to be annually ſixty thouſand Marks; being more than the yearly Revenues of the Crown. Which ſo moved the King, that he cauſed the ſame to be notified, with all other exactions, to the General Council now aſſembled at *Lions*. And this (with the ill uſage of his Agent *Martin*) ſo vexed the Pope, that he is ſaid to have uttered theſe words, It is time to make an end with the Emperor, that we may cruſh theſe petty Kings; for the Dragon once appeaſed, or deſtroyed, theſe leſſer Snakes will ſoon be trodden down. But upon the Pope's rejecting the conſideration of theſe grievances of *England*, and deſpiſing the King's meſſage (who he ſaid began to *Frederize*) it was abſolutely here ordained under great Penalty, that no contribution of money ſhould be given to the Pope by any Subject of *England*: And the King for a time aſſents unto it. But being of an irreſolute and wavering nature, and afraid of threats, he ſoon gave over what he undertook, ſo as the Pope continued his former rapine; and though he had promiſed never to ſend any more Legats into *England*, yet ſent he other Miniſters under the title of Clerks, that had as great power as Legats, and effected as much.

The King aſſents that no more contribution be given to the Pope. But ſoon revokes.

And now for the other part of the State; new occaſions alſo of complaint were offered. *Peter* of *Savoy*, Earl of *Richmond*, comes into *England*, bringing with him certain Maids to be married to young Noblemen of this Country, the King's Wards, of whom *Edmund* Earl of *Lincoln* hath one, and *Richard de Bourgh* another; and the ſame year three of the King's Brothers by the Mother, *Guy de Luſignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar Clark*, are ſent over to be provided of Eſtate in *England*. Alſo *Thomas* of *Savoy* (ſometimes Earl of *Flanders*, by right of his Wife) comes with his Siſter *Beatrix* Counteſs of *Provence*, the Queen's Mother, who are again feaſted, and gifted; for whom the King is Taxed the next Parliament in *Candlemas* Term, and beſides ſharply reprehended for his breach of promiſe, having Vowed and declared by his Charter never more to injure the State in that kind: alſo for his violent taking up of Proviſion of Wax, Silk, Robes, and eſpecially of Wine, contrary to the will of the Sellers, and many other grievances they complain of. All which the King patiently hears, in hope to obtain his deſire; but yet nothing is effected: and the Parliament being prorogued till *Midſummer* following, and the King growing more obdurate than before, it afterward brake up in diſcontent. But the Parliament not ſupplying him, he is adviſed to furniſh his wants with ſale of his Plate, and Jewels of the Crown, being told, that though they were ſold, yet they would revert again unto him; and having with great loſs received money for them, he asks who had bought them: anſwer is made, the City of *London*. That City (ſaid he) is an inexhauſtible Gulph, if *Octavius*'s Treaſure were to be ſold, they ſurely would buy it. In his two and fortieth year a Parliament was held, which by ſome was called, *Inſanum Parliamentum*, the Mad Parliament; for that, at this Parliament (to which the Lords came with great Retinues of armed men) many things were enacted contrary to the King's pleaſure, and his Royal Prerogative.

The King furniſheth his wants with ſale of his Plate and Jewels.

And now to vex them, he appoints a Fair to be kept at *Weſtminſter*, forbidding under great penalty all exerciſe of Merchandize within *London* for fifteen days, and all other Fairs in *England*; and namely that of *Ely*: but this Novelty came to nothing; the inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and foulneſs of the weather, brought more affliction than benefit to the Traders. That *Chriſtmas* alſo he requires New-years-Gifts of the *Londoners*; and ſhortly after writes unto them his Letters imperiouſly deprecatory to aid him with money; and thereby gets of them Twenty thouſand pounds, for which the next year after he craves pardon of them. And notwithſtanding his continual taking up all Proviſions for his houſe, yet he leſſens his houſe-keeping in no honourable manner. And then ſeeing he could get nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes unto every Nobleman a part, declaring his poverty; and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of thirty thouſand pounds to thoſe of *Bourdeaux*, and his *Gaſcoyns* (who otherwiſe would not have ſuffered him to depart home) at his laſt being in *France*: but failing herein of Temporal Lords, he addreſſeth his Letters to the Prelates, of whom he finds as little relief; by much importunity and his own preſence, he got of the Abbot of *Ramſey* a hundred pound, but the Abbot of *Burrough* had the face to deny him, though the King told him, It was more Alms to give money to him than to a Beggar that went from door to door. The Abbot of Saint *Albans* yet was more kind, and gave him Threeſcore Marks. To ſuch lowneſs did the neceſſity of this indigent King (through his profuſion) bring him. The *Jews* ever expoſed to his Will, feel the Weight of theſe his wants. One *Abraham*, found a Delinquent, redeems himſelf for ſeven hundred Marks; and *Aaron*, another *Jew* proteſts, the King had ſince his laſt being in *France* taken from him at times, Thirty thouſand Marks of Silver, beſides two hundred Marks of Gold given to the Queen.

He tries to get money of particular men. But fails in it.

The *Jews* moſt of all taxed.

But now the Lords aſſemble again at *London*, and preſs him with his promiſe made unto them, That the Chief Juſticiar, Chancellor and Treaſurer, ſhould be appointed by the General Council of the Kingdom; but by the abſence of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, (which was thought to be done of purpoſe) they return fruſtrate of their deſire. And now the Biſhoprick of *Winchester* falling void, the King ſends preſently to the Monks of the Cathedral Church, to elect his Brother *Athelmar*; and becauſe he would not be denied, he goes thither himſelf in perſon, and there enters the Chapter-houſe as a Biſhop or Prior, gets up into the Preſidents Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes his Text, *Juſtice and Peace have kiſſed each other*; and thereupon uſed theſe words: To me and other Kings

The King preacheth to have his Brother *Athelmar* choſen Biſhop of *Winchester*.

King, who are to Govern the People, belongs the rigor of Judgment and Juſtice; to you who are men of Quiet and Religion, Peace and Tranquility; and this day I hear you have (for your own good) been favourable to my requeſt, with many ſuch like words; whereby the Monks finding the earneſtneſs of his deſire, held it in vain to deny him, and *Athelmar* is elected; But with this reſervation, if the Pope allow it. Shortly after follows the memorable Caſe of Sir *Henry de Bathe*, a Juſticiar of the Kingdom, and a ſpecial Councellor to the King, who by corruption had attained to a mighty Eſtate, and is ſaid in one Circuit to have gotten Two hundred pound Land *per annum*. He is accuſed by Sir *Philip Darcy* of falſhood in the King's Court; and the King is ſo incenſed againſt him, that in the Parliament at this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made, That whoſoever had any Action or Complaint againſt *Henry de Bathe*, ſhould come and be heard. One of his Juſticiars accuſed him of acquitting a Maleſactor for a bribe. The King ſeeing *Hen. de Bathe*'s Friends to be many and ſtrong, breaks out into a rage, proteſting, That whoſoever would kill *Henry de Bathe*, ſhould be acquitted for the deed. But afterward by the interceſſion of the Earl of *Cornwal*, and the Biſhop of *London*, the King becomes pacified; and Sir *Henry* is releaſed, paying two thouſand Marks; and after is reſtored to his former place and favour. The King keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *York*, the Marriage is ſolemnized between *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter; to the Feaſt of which ſolemnity it is ſaid the Archbiſhop gave ſix hundred fat Oxen, which were all ſpent at one Meal; and beſides, the Feaſt coſt him four thouſand Marks.

Henry de Bathe chief Juſtice fined for corruption. Yet afterward reſtored to his place. A bountiful Feaſt.

About this time the Pope ſolicits King *Henry* to undertake the Croſs, and ſo doth *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, offering to accompany him in Perſon, to reſcue the King of *France*, who was now held Priſoner by the *Souldan*; and becauſe a Ranſome collected for him in *France* was by tempeſt caſt away at Sea, the Captive King offers to reſtore *Normandy* to the King of *England*, ſo he would come to his reſcue. Upon this ſolicitation of the Pope, and the Grant of the tenth of the Clergy and Laity for three years to come, the King undertakes the Croſs; rather, it ſeems, to get the money, than with any purpoſe to perform the Journey: Which had it been collected (ſaith *Paris*) would have amounted to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, to the utter impoveriſhing of the Kingdom. And now the King by Proclamation calls the *Londoners* to *Weſtminſter*, and there cauſeth the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chichеſter* to declare his intentions, and to exhort the people to undertake the Croſs, and attend him: But few are moved by their perſwaſions, only three Knights of ſmall note, whom thereupon the King in open view, imbraceth, kiſſeth, and calls his Brethren, checking the *Londoners* as ignoble Mercenaries; and there himſelf takes his Oath for performing it, and to ſet forth upon *Midſummer*-day next. In taking his Oath, he lays his right hand on his breaſt, according to the manner of a Prieſt; and after on the Book, and kiſs'd it as a Lay-man. About this Tenth (granted by the Pope, but not by the People) a Parliament is called at *London*, where the Biſhops are firſt dealt withal, (as being a work of Piety) and they abſolutely refuſe it; then the Temporal Lords are ſet upon, and they anſwer as the Biſhops; which put the King into ſo great a rage, that he drove out all that were in his Chamber, as if he had been mad. Then he falls to perſuade them apart, ſending firſt for the Biſhop of *Ely*, and deals with him in all kind manner, recounting the many favours he had done him. The Biſhop replies, diſſwading him from the Journey by Example of the King of *France*; and to that purpoſe uſeth many good reaſons: Which the King hearing, in great paſſion commanded his Servants to thruſt him out of door, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the reſt, and thereupon falls upon his former violent courſes. And firſt the City of *London* is compelled to the Contribution of a Thouſand Marks; and the *Gaſcoyners* being upon revolt, unleſs ſpeedy ſuccour be ſent them, general Muſters are made, and commandment given, That whoſoever could diſpend Thirteen pounds *per annum*, ſhould furniſh out a horſeman. This occaſions another Parliament, wherein, it ſeems, the State began wiſely to conſider, that all their oppoſitions did no good, the King's turn muſt be ſerved, one way or other. Therefore they agreed to relieve him rather by the uſual way, than force him to thoſe extravagant courſes which he took; but yet ſo, as the Reformation of the Government, and the ratification of their Laws and Liberties, might once again be ſolemnly confirmed. And after fifteen days conſultation, to ſatisfie the King's deſire for his Holy Expedition, a Tenth is granted by the Clergy, and Scutage, three Marks of every Knight's Fee, by the Laity; and thereupon thoſe often-confirmed Charters are again ratified: And that in the moſt ſolemn and ceremonial manner that State and Religion could poſſibly deviſe. The King with all the great Nobility of *England*, all the Biſhops in their reverent Ornaments with burning Candles in their hands, aſſemble to hear the terrible ſentence of Excommunication againſt the infringers of the ſame. And at the lighting of thoſe Candles, the King having received one in his hand, gives it to the Prelate that ſtood by, ſaying, It becomes not me, being no Prieſt, to hold this Candle, my heart ſhall be a greater teſtimony; and withal laid his hand ſpread upon his Breaſt all the time that ſentence was read, which was thus pronounced, *Auctoritate Dei Omnipotentis, &c.* Which done, he cauſeth the Charter of King *John* his Father, granted by his free conſent, to be openly read. In the end, having thrown away their Candles, which lay ſmoaking on the ground, they cried out, So let them who incur this Sentence, be extinct, and have no better favour than theſe ſnuffs: And the King, with a loud voice ſaid, As God help me, I will as I am a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, a King Crowned and Anointed, inviolably obſerve all theſe things: And therewithal the Bells rung out, and the people ſhouted for joy.

K. *Henry* undertakes the Croſs.

But can get no money.

There-upon falls again to violent courſes.

For preventing whereof the Parliament grants him a Subſidy; but upon conditions to confirm their Charters.

Which are confirmed with the greateſt ſolemnity that could be deviſed.

Yet was not all ſo quieted by this Grant, but that there were grievances ſtill, whereof the firſt falls upon his Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*: For the King having ſeven and twenty

years before given him the Province of *Gascoine*, now that he had a Son of his own, he would take it from his Brother and give it to his Son; and the Earl refusing to deliver his Charter, it is plotted to imprison him; but he escaping out of *Burdeaux*, comes over into *England*. The King to win the Nobility of *Gascoine* to turn to him, promiseth them Thirty thousand Marks, which they accept, so as he bindeth himself by Oath and Charter to perform it. This request of theirs the King takes in ill part, and thereupon sends *Simon Mountford* Earl of *Leicester*, a stern man, to be their Governor, who with his insolent Government so discontents them, that after three years suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, with other great men, to complain of his Insolencies. Whereupon *Mountford* is sent for, and because the Lords took part with him, the King takes part with the *Gascoiners*, which *Mountford* took so ill, that he upbraids the King with breaking his promise. To whom the King in great rage replied, That no promise was to be kept with an unworthy Traitor: At which word *Mountford* riseth up, protesting that he lyed; and were he not protected by his Royal Dignity, he would make him repent those words. The King commands his Servants to lay hold on him, but the Lords would not permit it. Yet after this great affront to the King, is *Mountford* sent over again into *Gascoine*, though with a more limited Authority; and shortly after the King with a Fleet of Three hundred Ships goes thither himself, and soon composeth all differences in the Countrey.

Mountford giveth *K. Henry* the lye to his face.

Yet soon reconciled.

But now the King of *Spain* pretends a Title to *Aquitaine*; and to take him off, King *Henry* sends to treat of a Marriage between Prince *Edward* and his Sister *Eleanor*: Which being accepted by the King of *Spain*, the Marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* Knights the Prince, and quits his claim to *Aquitaine* for him and his Successors for ever: And King *Henry* invests the Prince and Wife in it, and gives unto him besides, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Brisow*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*. And from hence it came that ever after this, the King's eldest Son was immediately upon his birth Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester*. After this King *Henry* prepares to return home, and well he might, having spent in this and his former Journeys into those parts, the sum of seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds; more than all the Lands if they had been sold were worth: Which when the King was told, he desired there might be no words made of it for his credit. And now being to return, he is desirous, with the King of *France*'s leave, to pass through *France*: And coming to *Paris* with a Thousand Horse, where he stayed eight days, is there most royally feasted by the King of *France*; and he as royally feasts the King of *France* again. But it is the *Londoners* and the *Jews* that are like to pay for all. For coming home about *Christmas*, when the *Londoners* presented him with a hundred pounds in money, and afterwards with two hundred pounds in plate, it was so slighted, and so ill taken, that a hole was presently found in their coat, for an escape of a Prisoner, which cost them Three thousand Marks: Yet was not this enough, but he takes good Fleeces from the *Jews*, and then lets them out to Farm to his Brother *Richard* for a great sum of money, and he to make what more of them he could.

K. Henry's eldest Son Edward Marries Eleanor the King of *Spain's* Sister.

The King's eldest Son immediately Prince of *Wales* from this time.

K. Henry spent seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds in his Journeys to *France*.

The King lets the *Jews* out to Farm.

Yet after all this he complains of his Debts, which he saith are at least Three hundred thousand Marks, which must needs be the heavier to him, because he had diminished his own means, by the allowance of Fifteen thousand Marks *per annum* to his Son the Prince. The only hope is in the Parliament; but a Parliament being called, they fall presently upon their old grievances, complaining upon the King for breach of Charter; and renewing their claim, to have the chief Justiciar, the Chancellor, and Treasurer, to be chosen by themselves. So nothing was done for the King at this time, and the Parliament being prorogued till *Michaelmas* after, as little then, by reason many of the Peers came not, as not being summoned according to the tenor of *Magna Charta*. And now while the King was using means to wind himself out of debt, there happened occasions to put him further in; for now *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queens Brother, being at War with the City of *Thurin*, must be supplied with money towards it by the King of *England*. Now the Elect Bishop of *Toledo*, the King of *Spain*'s Brother, comes into *England*, and must be sumptuously Feasted, and have great gifts presented him. Now *Eleanor* the Prince's Wife arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and must all be entertained at the King's charge, and have no small presents given them at their departure. Now comes *Rustandus* from the Pope, with power to collect the Tenth of the Clergy, for the Pope's use and the King's, and to absolve him from his Oath of the Holy War, so he would come to destroy *Manfred*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*, now in possession of the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed upon him, besides a rich Prebend in *York*. But the Pope by too much seeking his profit, loseth credit and all; for the Clergy slights him, and will give him nothing: And when he would have borrowed of the Earl of *Cornwal* five hundred Marks, the Earl answered, He liked not to lend his money to one upon whom he could not distrain. But King *Henry*'s greatest charge was his purchasing a Kingdom for his Son *Edmund*; for now comes the Bishop of *Benonia* from the Pope, with a Ring of Investiture to Prince *Edmund* in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which he pretends to be at his disposing: And King *Henry* takes it in good earnest, that after this he calls his Son *Edmund* by no other name than King of *Sicily*. But all this was done by the Pope but to angle away King *Henry*'s money, as indeed upon this hope he had drawn the King into the engagement of an hundred and fifty thousand Marks. For to draw the King on, it was given out, That the Pope had defeated all *Manfred*'s Forces, and was thereby in possession of the Kingdom; when truth was, that *Manfred* had defeated the Pope's Forces, and was thereby himself established in the Kingdom.

The Parliament requires to have the choosing of the chief Justice, Chancellor, and Treasurer.

The Earl of *Cornwal* likes not to lend the Pope money, and why. The Pope promiseth to make the King's younger Son King of *Sicily*.

The year 1257. the King keeps his *Christmas* at *Wenchester*, where new grievances arise. The Merchants of *Gascoine* having their Wines taken from them by the King's Officers without satisfaction,

satisfaction, complain to their Lord the Prince, he to his Father; and his Father having been informed beforehand by his Officers, that their clamor was unjust, as relying upon the Prince's favour, he falls into a great rage with the Prince, and breaks out into these words; See! now my Blood, and my Bowels impugn me: but afterwards pacified, he gives order the Injuries should be redressed. And now the Prince's followers themselves come to be a grievance, who relying upon their Master, commit many outrages, and spoil and wrong men at their pleasure; and the Prince himself is not altogether free, of whom it is said, that meeting a young man travelling by the way, he caused one of his ears to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be put out. And many such pranks plaid by him and his followers in *Wales*, made the *Welch* break out into open Rebellion, which the Prince would fain have suppressed, but there was no money to be had towards the doing it. And now the King falls to shifts, he comes into the Chequer himself, and there lays penalties upon Sheriffs that return not their moneys in due time; then he falls upon measures of Wine and Ale, upon Bushels and Weights, and something he gets; but *London* is his best Chequer, and every year commonly he hath one quarrel or other to the *Londoners*, and they are sure to pay. And now falls out an accident, seeming of great honour, but certainly of no profit to the Kingdom. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal* the King's Brother is elected King of the *Romans*; for although *Alphonsus* King of *Spain*, the great Mathematician were his Competitor, yet Earl *Richard*'s money wrought more than his Learning, and the Archbishop of *Colen* comes over to fetch him, and Crowned he is at *Aquisgrane*. This Earl of *Cornwal* is reported able to dispend a hundred Marks a day for ten years, besides his Revenues in *England*. But now a man that pays dear for an Office, looks that his Office should pay him again: so Earl *Richard* having given infinitely to compass his advancement, looked to help himself again by the Place; and this, and the desire he had to revenge himself upon those that had opposed his Election, made him take such violent courses, that he came soon to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to return into *England* a poorer King than he went out an Earl.

Disorders committed by the Prince and his followers.

The Earl of *Cornwal* is chosen King of the *Romans*.

The Earl of *Cornwal*'s great estate.

He returns into *England* in a poor estate.

Acts done in the Contention between the King and his Barons.

NOW King *Henry* very proud to have his younger Son a King as well as his Brother, calls a Parliament, wherein he brings his Son *Edmund* clad in *Sicily* habit; and tells the Parliament, That for advancing this Son of his to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, he had bound himself under a covenant of losing his Kingdom, in the sum of an hundred and forty thousand Marks: and hoped they would not think much to aid him with money for so great an advancement. But the Parliament stood firm to their usual condition of *Magna Charta*; so as that might be confirmed, they were content to give Two and fifty thousand Marks: but this gave the King no satisfaction. The year after, another Parliament is holden at *London*, wherein upon the King's pressing them again for means to pay his debts to the Pope, the Lords tell him plainly, they will not yield to give him any thing for any such purpose; and give their reasons, and withal repeat their own grievances, his breach of promise, the insolency of his Brothers, and especially *William de Valence*, who had given the lye to the Earl of *Leicester*, and no right done him in it; and many such things. Which the King hearing, and not able to deny, humbles himself, and tells them how he had often by ill counsel been seduced; but promiseth by his Oath which he took on the Tomb of St. *Edward*, to reform all those errors. But the Lords not well knowing how to deal in this business, as being divided between a desire to satisfy the King, and a desire to be satisfied themselves; and knowing withal the variableness of the King's nature, they get the Parliament to be adjourned to St. *Barnaby*'s day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In which mean time the Earls *Gloucester*, *Leicester*, *Hereford*, the Marshal, *Bigot*, *Spencer*, and other great Men, confederate, and provide by Arms to effect their desire; and here is the foundation laid of those bloody Wars that ensued between King *Henry* and his Barons.

The Lords confederate again.

And now the King being put to his shifts for money, gets the Abbot of *Westminster* to put his Seal, and that of his Covent, to a Deed Obligatory, as a surety for two hundred Marks, making account, that by his example others would be drawn to do the like; but his trusty servant *Simon Passelewe*, being imployed to other Monasteries, and telling them amongst other reasons to persuade them, That the King was Lord of all they had; They only answered, They acknowledged indeed the King to be Lord of all they had, but yet so, as to defend, not to destroy the same; and this was all he could get of them. The Prince also in no less want than his Father, is driven to mortgage his Town of *Stamford*, *Brabant*, and many other things, to *William de Valence*, a *Poictovin*, whereby appeared the disorder of the time when the Prince was in want, and strangers had such plenty. And now is the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, whither the Lords come attended with large Trains; and here they begin with the expostulation of the former Liberties, requiring that the chief Justiciar, the Chancellor, and Treasurer, may be ordained by publick choice; and that the Twenty four Conservators of the Kingdom may be confirmed, Twelve by the election of the Lords, and Twelve by the King: some write there were but Twelve in all, and were called, the *Douze Peers*, the Twelve Peers, who ruled all things at their pleasure withour controlment. The King seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, swears solemnly again to the confirmation of them; and causeth the Prince to take the same Oath. But the Lords left not here, the King's Brethren, the *Poictovins*, and other strangers must presently be removed; and this also, though with some little opposition, was at last concluded: and thereupon the King's Brethren and their followers are dispoiled of all their fortunes, and exiled by proscription under the

K. *Henry* useth shifts to get money.

The Lords require that the Chief Justice, the Chancellor and Treasurer may be chosen by Parliament.

The King and Prince swear unto it.

The *Poictovins* are removed.

K. *Henry* can get no money of the Parliament to make his Son *Edmund* a King.

the King's own hand directed to the Earls of *Hereford* and *Surrey*. But now ſickneſs and mortality happening to many great ones, it is imputed by poiſons, ſuppoſed to have been prepared by thoſe ſtrangers proſcribed. The Earl of *Gloceſter* in a ſickneſs ſuddenly loſt his hair, his teeth, his nails; and his Brother hardly eſcaped death: which made many to ſuſpect their neareſt ſervants, and their Cooks. *Walter Scoyny*, the Earl's Steward, is ſtrictly examined, committed to Priſon, and afterward without confeſſion, is upon preſumptions only, executed at *Wincheſter*. *Elias*, a converted *Jew*, is ſaid to have confeſſed, That in his houſe the poiſon was confected, but it was when he was a *Jew*, and not a Chriſtian. Every man that had received any wrong by thoſe ſtrangers, now put out their complaints, and are heard. *Guido de Rochfort*, a *Poictovin*, to whom the King had given the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, is baniſhed, and all his goods confiſcate. *William Buſſey*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the *Tower* of *London*, and moſt reproachfully uſed. *Richard Grey*, whom the Lords had made Captain of *Dover* Caſtle, is ſent to intercept whatſoever the *Poictovins* conveyed that way out of *England*: and much Treaſure of theirs, and of the elect of *Wincheſter* is by him taken, beſides great ſums committed to the new Temple are found out, and ſeiſed for the King.

And now the chief Juſticiar, *Hugh Bigot*, Brother to the Earl Marſhal (choſen this laſt Parliament by publick voice) procures that four Knights in every Shire ſhould enquire of the oppreſſions of the poor, done by great Men, and certify the ſame, that redreſs might be made. Alſo order was taken againſt corrupting of Juſtice: when yet notwithſtanding this pretended care of the publick, it is noted by the Writers and Records of that time, how the Lords were themſelves but as *totidem tiranni*, enforcing the ſervices of the King's Tenants that dwelt near them. But to make their cauſe the more popular, it was rumoured, that the King ſtood upon it, that his neceſſity might be ſupplied out of the Eſtates of his people, whether they would or no: which the King hearing, ſends forth Proclamation, declaring how certain malicious perſons had falſly and ſeditiouſly reported, That he meant unlawfully to charge his Subjects, and ſubvert the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and by theſe falſe ſuggeſtions averted the hearts of his people from him: and therefore deſires them not to give credit to ſuch perturbers: for that he was ready to defend all Right and Cuſtoms due unto them: and that they might reſt of this ſecured, he cauſed his Letters to be made Patents. But now *Mountford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spencer*, inforce the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where they get the Authority of the Twenty four to be eſtated wholly upon themſelves, and they alone to diſpoſe of the cuſtody of the Caſtles, and other buſineſſes of the Kingdom: and here they bind the King to loſe their Legal obedience whenſoever he infringed this Charter.

The Lords themſelves tirannize.

The liberty of the Subject.

Four and twenty choſen to be Governors of the Kingdom; but *Mountford* and *Gloceſter* get all the authority to themſelves.

Richard King of the *Romans* returning.

At this time intelligence was given to the Lords, that *Richard* King of the *Romans* had a purpoſe to come into *England*; and the Lords ſuſpecting he would come with power to aid the King his Brother, take order for guarding the Ports, with intent to hinder his landing: but finding his Train to be but ſmall, for he was accompanied only with his Queen, two *German* Earls, and eight Knights, upon his promiſe to take their propounded Oath, they admit him to Land; but would neither permit the King (who came thither to meet him) nor himſelf to enter into *Dover* Caſtle. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter-houſe, where the Earl of *Gloceſter* ſtandeth forth in the midſt, calls out the Earl, not by the name of King, but *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*; who in reverent manner coming forth, taketh his Oath in theſe words; *Hear all men, That I* Richard, *Earl of* Cornwal, *do here ſwear upon the holy Evangeliſts, that I ſhall be faithful and diligent to reform with you the Kingdom of* England, *and be an effectual Coadjutor to expel all Rebels and diſturbers of the ſame; and this Oath will inviolably obſerve, under pain of loſing all the land I have in* England: *So help me God.* But though this Earl came home both weak and poor; yet upon his return the King takes heart, and ſeeks all means to vindicate his power; and firſt ſends Meſſengers ſecretly to *Rome*, to be abſolved from his enforced Oath. And to have the more aſſurance from the King of *France*, he makes an abſolute reſignation of all his Right to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Tourene*, and *Main*; in regard whereof the King of *France* gives him Three hundred thouſand pounds (ſome ſay Crowns) of *Anjovin* money, and grants him to enjoy all *Guyen*, beyond the River of *Garonne*, all the Country of *Xaintoigne* to the River of *Charente*, the Country of *Limouſin* and *Quercy*, for him and his Succeſſors, doing their homage to the Crown of *France* as Duke of *Aquitain*.

Swears to aſſiſt the Lords.

K. *Henry* ſends to *Rome* to be abſolved of his oath.

He reſigns his right in *Normandy* for a ſum of money.

And now was the King of *France* made Arbiter of the difference between King *Henry* and his Barons, who gives ſentence againſt the Barons concerning the Proviſions of *Oxford*; but of their ſide concerning King *John*'s Charter; by which nice diſtinction, though he did but leave the matter as he found it (for thoſe Proviſions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter) yet did his ſentence draw many away from the party of the Barons, amongſt whom was *Henry* Son to the Earl of *Cornwal*, *Roger Clifford*, *Roger de L'eisbourn*, *Haimo L'eſtrange*, and many others. But the Earl of *Leiceſter*, notwithſtanding this revolt, recovers the Town and Caſtle of *Gloceſter*, conſtrains the Citizens to pay a thouſand pounds for their redemption; goes with an Army to *Worceſter*, poſſeſſeth himſelf of the Caſtle, thence to *Shrewsbury*, and comes about to the Iſle of *Ely*, ſubdues the ſame, and grows exceeding powerful. The King doubting his approach to *London*, falls to treat of a Peace, and a Peace is concluded upon theſe conditions; That all the Caſtles of the King ſhall be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the Proviſions of *Oxford* ſhould inviolably be kept; All ſtrangers by a certain time ſhould avoid the Kingdom, except only ſuch as were licenſed to ſtay. The Prince had fortified *Windſor* Caſtle; but *Leiceſter* coming to beſiege it, he treats with him for Peace, which

The King of *France* is made Arbiter of the difference between the King and his Barons.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* takes many Caſtles. The King concludes a Peace with his Barons.

which is refuſed, and the Caſtle is rendred to him.

Many Lords return to the King for Peace, but are denied.

The King at this time, to win time, convokes another Parliament at *London*; wherein he won many Lords to take his part; as namely, the Prince *Richard* his Brother, *Henry* his Son, *William Valence*, with the reſt of his Brothers lately returned; and with them the King marched to *Oxford*, whither divers Lords of *Scotland* repair to him, as *John Commin*, *John Baliol*, Lords of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce*, and others: alſo many Barons of the North, *Clifford*, *Piercy*, *Baſſet*, and others. From *Oxford* he goes to *Northampton*, where he took priſoners, *Simon Montford* the younger, with fourteen other principal Men; thence to *Nottingham*, making ſpoil of ſuch poſſeſſions as pertained to the Barons in thoſe parts. And now the King's ſide grows ſtrong; which the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter* ſeeing, they write to the King, proteſting their Loyalty; and how they oppoſed only ſuch as were enemies to him and the Kingdom, and had belyed them. The King returns anſwer, That themſelves were the perturbers of him and his State, and ſought his and the Kingdoms deſtruction; and therefore defies them. The Prince likewiſe, and the Earl of *Cornwal* ſend Letters of defiance to them. Yet the Barons continue to mediate a Peace, and ſend the Biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter*, with offer of Thirty thouſand Marks to the King for the damages done in theſe Wars, ſo as the Statutes of *Oxford* may be obſerved; but this offer is not accepted. The Earl ſeeing no remedy, but it muſt be put to a day, takes his time to be earlier ready than was expected; and ſupplies his want of ſtrength with policy, placing on the one ſide of a hill near *Lewis*, where the Battel was fought, certain Enſigns without men, in ſuch ſort, as they might ſeem afar off to be ſquadrons of Succors to ſecond thoſe he brought to the encounter: whom he cauſed all to wear white Croſſes, both for their own notice, and the ſignification of his cauſe, which he would have to be thought for Juſtice. Here the fortune of the day was his; the King, the Prince, the Earl of *Cornwal*, and his Son *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Hereford*, with all the *Scottiſh* Lords, are taken priſoners; and of the *Engliſh*, five and twenty Barons and Bannerets: only the Earl *Warren*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Luſignan*, the King's Brother, with *Hugh Bigot*, Earl Marſhal, ſave themſelves by flight: five thouſand (ſome ſay twenty thouſand) are ſlain in the Battel. A year and a half is *Simon Montford* in poſſeſſion of his priſoner, carrying the King about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten all the ſtrongeſt Caſtles in the Kingdom.

The Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Stratagem.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* takes the King, the Prince, and divers other Lords priſoners.

Variance between the Earls of *Leiceſter*, and *Gloceſter*.

Gloceſter joins with the Prince.

And now comes *Erinnis* and ſets debate between the two great Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, about their Dividend. *Leiceſter* is Taxed to do more for his own particular, than the common good; his Sons alſo preſuming upon his greatneſs, grew inſolent: whereupon *Gloceſter* diſcontented, forſakes that ſide, and betakes him to the Prince, who lately eſcaping out of the Caſtle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him to try the fortune of another Battel. The revolt of this Earl being great in it ſelf, was greater by its example; for now many others revolted likewiſe; and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſeeing the improvement of the Prince's Forces, who was now with his Army about *Worceſter*, tho he ſaw his own diſadvantage, yet imbattels in a Plain near *Eveſham* to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of the Prince's Army, ſaid to thoſe about him, Theſe men come bravely on, they learn it not of themſelves, but of me. And ſeeing himſelf likely to be beſet, and overlaid with multitude, he adviſed his friends *Hugh Spencer*, *Ralph Baſſet*, and others, to ſhift for themſelves; which when they refuſed to do, Then (ſaith he) let us commend our Souls to God, for our Bodies are theirs; and ſo undertaking the main weight of the battel, periſhed under it, and with him are ſlain his Son *Henry*, eleven Barons, with many Thouſands of common Soldiers. And thus ended *Montford* the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, highly honoured in his life, and more highly ſhould have been after his death, if the people might have had their will, who talkt of Miracles enough to make him a Saint.

Montford the great Earl of *Leiceſter* ſlain.

Miracles reported of him being dead.

And now is King *Henry* by this victory of his Son, at liberty; who together repair to *Winchceſter*, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to Earl *Montford*, are diſinherited, and their Eſtates conferred on others at the King's pleaſure; the *Londoners* alſo have their Liberties taken from them. But though the death of *Montford* gave a great wound to the party of the Barons; yet it was not mortal, at leaſt not mortal preſently; for there remained reliques that kept it alive a good while after. *Simon* and *Guy de Montford*, Sons of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and other of the Barons, take and defend the Iſle of *Ely*. The Caſtle of *Killingworth* held out half a year, till their Victuals failed; and then yielded upon conditions to have their lives and goods ſaved: and many others there were, reſolute and deſperate perſons, ſtrongly knit and faſtned together, though now ſhortly upon diſſolving. For after the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the King with an Army going againſt them, and being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Montford* ſubmit themſelves to him: but when the Earl of *Gloceſter* oppoſed the reſtoring them to their eſtates, they were fain to fly the Kingdom, and make their fortunes in other Countries, as indeed they did; the younger in *Italy*, the elder in *France*, where they were propagators of two great Families. Their Mother was baniſh'd ſhortly after the battel of *Eveſham*. A Lady of eminent note, as being the Daughter and Siſter of a King, and yet of more note for her patient bearing of adverſity, or rather for her making a benefit of Adverſity; for by this means ſhe took her ſelf to the veil of Piety, and died a Nun at *Montarges* in *France*. About this time a great ſlaughter was made of *Jews* in *London*: and the quarrel was, becauſe a *Jew* would have forced a Chriſtian to give him more than two pence a week for the uſe of twenty ſhillings; two pence only being then allowed by the Law.

Montford's Sons flie the Kingdom.

Three years after this, the diſinherited Barons held out: till at length, conditions of render are propounded; but here the Council are divided in opinion: *Mortimer* and others ſtated in the poſſeſſions of the diſinherited, are againſt reſtauration, alledging it were injuſtice to take

take from them the rewards of their ſervice. *Gloceſter*, and twelve ordained to deal for the peace of the State, are earneſt for reſtauration; alledging, It were hard meaſure to grant them their lives, and not their livelihoods: but not prevailing, in great diſcontentment *Gloceſter* retires from Court, ſends Meſſengers to warn the King to remove ſtrangers from his Council, and obſerve the Proviſions at *Oxford*, as he promiſed at *Eveſham*: otherwiſe that he ſhould not marvel if himſelf did what he thought fit. Hereupon *John de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are ſent to the Earl of *Gloceſter*; who though they could not perſuade him to ſubmit to the King; yet thus much they got of him under his Hand and Seal, that he would never bear arms againſt the King, or his Son *Edward*, but only defend himſelf, and purſue *Roger Mortimer*, and his other enemies. And now a Parliament is convoked at *Bury*, wherein many demands are made by the King and the Legat, and all for money from the Clergy, but all denied, that nothing but denials are done in this Parliament. After this, the Legat imploys Solicitors to perſuade the diſinherited Lords, which held the Iſle of *Ely*, to return to the faith and unity of the Church, and to the Peace of the King, according to the form propounded at *Coventry*. To which the Lords made anſwer, That they never oppoſed the unity of the Church, but the avarice of Churchmen that were put in authority; and that they never oppoſed the King, but for the good of the Kingdom: and then required, that the Proviſions at *Oxford* might be obſerved, and pledges be given them for their ſecurity. Hereupon the year after, the King prepares a mighty Army, and Prince *Edward* with Bridges entring the Iſle of *Ely*, ſhuts them up, ſo that he conſtrains them at laſt to yield. Alſo the Earl of *Gloceſter* coming to *London* with an Army, is by the Legat once again perſuaded to render himſelf to the King; and upon forfeiture of twelve thouſand Marks, if ever he ſhould raiſe any commotion, is again reconciled. Now remains *Lewellin* and the *Welch* to be chaſtned for aiding of *Simon Mountford*; but the King going againſt them with an Army, they gave him Two and thirty pounds ſterling, and ſo make the peace; And here was an end of the firſt Wars between the Kings of *England* and their Barons.

The King's Sons *Edward* and *Edmund* undertake the Holy War.

The next year after, the Pope's Legat *Athobon*, ſigns with the Croyſado both the King's Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*; the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and divers Noblemen induced to undertake the Holy War by the ſolicitation of him and the King of *France*; who notwithſtanding his former calamities endured in that action, would once again adventure it. And becauſe Prince *Edward* wanted means to furniſh himſelf out, the King of *France* lends him Thirty thouſand Marks upon a mortgage of *Gaſcoyn*. And now whilſt this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to eſtabliſh the Peace of the Kingdom, and to reform the exceſſes which the War had bred: and the ſame year aſſembles his laſt Parliament at *Marlborough*, where the Statutes of that Title were enacted. Near two years it ſeems to have been after the undertaking of the Croſs, before Prince *Edward* ſet forth; but then taking his Wife *Eleanor* with him, though young with child, he ſet forward, and in the voyage, when many of his people ſeemed deſirous to leave him and return home, he is ſaid to have ſtrucken his breaſt, and ſworn, That if all his followers forſook him, he would yet enter *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, though but only with his Horſekeeper *Fowin*. Shortly after *Richard* King of the *Romans* died, and the year following King *Henry*.

The Statutes of *Marlborough*.

Prince *Edward's* reſolutions to the Holy War.

Of his Taxations, and ways for raiſing of Money.

NEVER Son was more like a Father in any thing, than King *Henry* was like his Father King *John*, in this point, for raiſing of money; for he trod directly in all his ſteps, if he added not ſomething of his own. King *John* had great Subſidies granted him by Parliament for any great action he undertook, ſo had King *Henry*. King *John* reſumed the Lands aliened from the Crown, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of the vacancy of Biſhopricks and Abbies, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* took great Fines of many for crimes not proved, but only ſuppoſed, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of a new Seal, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* extorted great ſums from the *Jews*, ſo did King *Henry*. And one way more he had to get money, which perhaps his Father had not; and that was by begging, as he told the Abbot of *Borough*, It was more Alms to give money to him, than to the Beggar that went from door to door. Indeed Taxations in this King's Reign may be reckoned amongſt his annual Revenues, for ſcarce any year paſſed without a Parliament; and ſeldom any Parliament without a Tax: or if any ſometimes without, it was then cauſe of the greater Taxation ſome other way; as when he took of the *Londoners* for having aided the Barons, twenty thouſand Marks.

K. *Henry* gets money by begging.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN this King's Reign were ratified and confirmed the two great Charters of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*. Alſo in his time were enacted the Statutes called of *Merton*, of *Oxford*, and of *Marlborough*. Alſo ſtealing of Cattel, which before was but pecuniary, he made capital; and the firſt that ſuffered for the ſame, was one of *Dunſtable*, who having ſtolen twelve Oxen from the inhabitants of *Colne*, and being purſued to *Redburn*, was by a Bailiff of St. *Albans*, according to the King's Proclamation, condemned and beheaded. And it may ſeem ſtrange, that in theſe times ſo much blood ſhould be ſhed in the field, and none upon the Scaffold; for till the twenty ſixth year of the King, that one *William Maraiſe*, the Son of *Geoffery Maraiſe*, a Nobleman of *Ireland*, being condemned for Piracy and Treaſon, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered, there is no example of that kind of puniſhment to be found in our Hiſtories. Particularly in this King's Reign was made that Statute, by which the Ward and marriage of the Heirs of Barons within Age is given to the King. Alſo in this King's Reign the Pleas of the Crown were pleaded in the *Tower* of *London*. All Wears in the *Thames* are in this King's time ordained to be pluckt up and deſtroyed. Alſo the Citizens

Wardſhips of Barons given to K. *Henry*.

Citizens of *London* are allowed by Charter, to pass Toll-free through all *England*, and to have free Warren about *London*: Also to have and use a common Seal. Also it is ordained that no Sheriff of *London* should continue in his Office longer than one year, which they did before for many. In the five and twentieth year of this King, were Aldermen first chosen within the City of *London*, which then had the rule of the City, and of the Wards of the same, and were then yearly changed, as now the Sheriffs are. It was in this King's time allowed to the City of *London* to present their Mayor to the Barons of the Exchequer to be sworn: Which before was to be presented to the King, wheresoever he were. In his time the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up by the King in his Grants and Writings. Also in this King's time, *William* Bishop of *Salisbury* first caused that custom to be received for a Law, whereby the Tenants of every Lordship are bound to owe their suit to the Lord's Court of whom they hold their Tenements. Also in the 32d. year of this King's Reign, the Wharf of *London*, called *Queen-Hithe*, was let to farm to the Citizens for fifty pounds the year, which is since grown scarce worth fifteen. In this King's time a Proclamation was set forth, that all such as might dispend fifteen pound in Land, should receive the Order of Knighthood; and those that would not, or could not, should pay their Fines.

Aldermen of *London* when first ordained.

Suit of Court when first brought up.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

AFFAIRS of the Church for matter of Doctrine, were never more quiet than in this King's Reign; for now all Heresies accounted of the time, especially the *Albigenses*, were in a manner suppressed by the Arms of the King of *France*, not without the vote of the King of *England*, who forbore to make war upon them in tenderness to his service. But for matter of manners they were never more turbulent; for now Abbies were fleeced, Sanctuaries violated, Clergy-men outraged, Bishops themselves not spared. And all for greediness of money, or for revenge.

Otbobone the Pope's Legat here in *England* lying at the Abby at *Oseney*, there happened a difference between his servants and the Scholars at *Oxford*, in which contention a brother of his was slain, and the Legat himself fain to flie into the steeple for the safeguard of his life. Whereupon afterwards being gotten thence by the King's safe conduct, he thundered out curses against the Scholars, and interdicted the University; so as the Colledges grew desolate, and the Students were dispersed abroad into other places for the space of half a year, till the Monks of *Oseney*, and the Regent Masters of *Oxford* were fain to go bare-footed and bare-headed through *London*, as far as *Durham*-house, where the Legat lay, and there upon their humble submission, and great Mens intercession, they were absolved, and the University restored to its former estate. But of this *Otbobone* it may not be impertinent to relate a little further; that going afterward out of *England*, he came by degrees, after the death of *Innocent* the fifth, to be Pope of *Rome* himself, by the name of *Adrian* the fifth, and dyed within fifty days after his Election. Amongst the affairs of the Church, may be reckoned the Ulcers of any member of the Church; such a one as in this King's time broke out most loathsome. For one procuring five wounds to be made in his body, in resemblance to the five wounds in Christ's body, took upon him to be Christ; and had gotten a Woman, that took upon her to be the Virgin *Mary*: Who continuing obstinate in their madness, were adjudged to be immured and shut up between two walls, to the end (no doubt) the contagion of this filthiness should spread no further. In this King's time a little novelty was brought in by Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who ordained that Cardinals should wear red Hats: Something perhaps for mystery, and something for distinction. Also in this King's time the *Grecians* forsook their obedience to the Church of *Rome*; and the Archbishop of *Antioch* claims to have precedence and authority above the Bishops of *Rome*, because the Apostle *Peter* had first Governed the Church of *Antioch* seven years together. Also in the fifth year of this King, the Friers Minors (as some write) came first into *England*; but it is not like they came so soon, for they were Gray Friers of the Order of St. *Francis*: and St. *Francis* had no grace till Pope *Honorius* the third, which was some years after. And it is miraculous which is related here of St. *Francis*, that fifteen days before his death appeared wounds in his hands and feet, like to those which Christ received there upon the Cross; and that as soon as he was dead, there remained not so much as any marks of the said wounds upon him.

Otbobone the Pope's Legat in fear at *Oxford*.

He interdicteth the University, and how pacified.

One takes upon him to be Christ.

Cardinals red Hats when first ordained.

Works of Piety by this King, or by others in his time.

THIS King caused a chest of Gold to be made for laying up the Reliques of King *Edward* the Confessor, in the Church of *Westminster*. He builded a Church for converted *Jews* in *London*; also an Hospital at *Oxford*, for Passengers, and diseased persons; also the new Conventual Church and the Chappel of our Lady at *Westminster*, whereof he laid himself the first stone; also the house of *Black-Friers* in *Canterbury*. In his time, *Elo* Countess of *Salisbury* founded the Abby of *Lacock* in *Wiltshire*: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, founded *Hailes*, a Monastery of Cistercian Monks near to *Winchcomb* in *Gloucestershire*: *Reginald de Moun*, Earl of *Somerset*, and Lord of *Dunster*, founded the Abby of *Newham* in *Devonshire*: *Ranulph* the third Earl of *Chester*, and Lord of *Little Britain*, builded the Castles of *Chartley*, *Beston*, and the Abby of *De la Cross*: Sir *John Mansel*, the King's Chaplain, founded the house of Regular Canons near to *Rumbery* in *Kent*: *William de Albineto*, Earl of *Arundel*, founded the Priory of *Wimondham*: *William Brune*, a Citizen of *London*, and *Rosia* his Wife, founded the Hospital of our Lady without *Bishopsgate* in *London*: And *Isabel* Countess of *Arundel* founded the Nunnery of *Marran*, near to *Lynne*. *Friers Minors* first arrived at *Dover*, nine in number; whereof five remained at *Canterbury*, and there builded the first Covent of *Friers Minors* that ever was in *England*; the other four came to *London*, who encreasing in number, had a place assigned them in Saint *Nicholas Shambles*; which *John Iwyn*, Mercer of *London*, appropriated to the use of

Friers Minors when first in *England*.

the ſaid Friers, and became himſelf a Lay-brother. Alſo in this King's time the new work of Saint *Paul's* Church in *London* was begun. If it were piety in the *Jew*, who falling into a Privy upon a Saturday, would not be taken out that day, becauſe it was the *Jews* Sabbath; it was as much piety in the Earl of *Gloceſter*, that would not ſuffer him to be taken out the next day, becauſe it was the Chriſtian Sabbath; and when the third day was come, he was taken out dead. Whoſe piety was the greater? A ſtrange accident upon an act of piety is related in this King's time; which if true, is a Miracle; if not true, is yet a Legend, and not unworthy to be read; that in a time of dearth, one man in a certain Pariſh, who allowed Poor People to relieve themſelves with taking Corn upon his ground, had at Harveſt a plentiful crop, where others that denied them had their Corn all blaſted, and nothing worth. In this King's time alſo, *Hugh Baſſamus*, Biſhop of *Ely*, founded St. *Peter's* Colledge in *Cambridge*. *Hubert de Burgh* Earl of *Kent*, was buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers in *London*, to which Church he gave his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, which afterward the Archbiſhop of *York* bought, and made it his Inn; ſince commonly called *York*-place, now *White-Hall*.

A *Jew* falling into a Privy, would not be taken out on the Sabbath-day.

Charity rewarded from Heaven.

St. *Peter's* Colledge in *Cambridge* by whom founded.

Whitehall to whom it anciently belonged.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

AT one time there fell no Rain in *England* from the firſt of *March* to the *Aſſumption* of our Lady; and at another time there fell ſo much Rain, that *Holland* and *Holderneſs* in *Lincolnſhire* were overflowed and drowned. In the 17th. year of his reign were ſeen 5 Suns at one time together; after which followed ſo great a dearth, that people were conſtrain'd to eat Horſeflesh, and barks of Trees; and in *London* 20000 were ſtarved for want of food. Alſo in his time the Church of St. *Mildred* in *Canterbury*, and a great part of the City was burnt. Alſo the Town of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine* was burnt, Bridge and all. And though it may ſeem no fit place to tell it, yet here or no where it muſt be told, That in this King's time there was ſent by the King of *France* the firſt Elephant that ever was ſeen in *England*. In this King's time, *Mat. Paris* relates of a Maid in *Leiceſterſhire*, that being exactly watched, was found in ſeven years together neither to eat nor drink, but only that on Sundays ſhe received the Communion, and yet continued fat and in good liking. Which if it be true, we may well believe that in the Reſurrection our life may be maintained without meat or drink. Alſo in this King's time there was found a plentiful Mine of Tinn in *Germany*, which before this time was never known to be any where found but only in *Cornwal*, which much abated the price of Tinn in *England*. In his time alſo the Sea by the ſpace of four or five days flowed not up to her uſual height, which was never known to happen at any time before. Alſo in his time a Child was born in *Kent*, that at two years old cured all diſeaſes. Alſo in his 56th. year a Lamb was yeaned at *Greenwich* beſide *London*, that had two perfect bodies and but one head. Alſo in his time a child was born in the Iſle of *Wight*, who at 18 years old was ſcarce grown to be three foot high; and therefore brought to the Queen, ſhe carried him about with her as a Monſter of Nature.

The firſt Elephant brought into *England*.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE Married *Eleanor*, the ſecond of the five daughters of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, who lived his Wife 37 years, his Widow 19, died a Nun at *Aimsbury*, and was buried in her Monaſtery. By her he had ſix ſons and three daughters: Of his ſons, the four youngeſt died young, and were buried, three of them at *Weſtminſter*, and the fourth in the new Temple by *Fleetſtreet*. His eldeſt ſon *Edward*, ſurnamed *Longſhank*, of his tall and ſlender body, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. His ſecond ſon *Edmund*, ſurnamed *Crouchback*, of bowing in his back, (as ſome ſay) but more likely of wearing the ſign of the Croſs, (anciently called a *Crouch*) upon his back, which was uſually worn of ſuch as had vowed voyages to *Hieruſalem*, as he had done. He was inveſted titular King of *Sicilie* and *Apulia*, and created Earl of *Lancaſter*; on whoſe perſon originally the great contention of *Lancaſter* and *York* was founded. He had two wives, the firſt was *Avelin*, daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no iſſue. The ſecond was Queen *Blanch*, daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, Brother of St. *Lewis* King of *France*, widow of *Henry* of *Champaigne* King of *Navarre*; by her he had iſſue three ſons and one daughter. His eldeſt ſon *Thomas*, who after his father was Earl of *Lancaſter*, and having Married *Alice* daughter and heir of *Henry Lacie* Earl of *Lincoln*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without iſſue. His ſecond ſon *Henry* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his brother's death was Earl of *Lancaſter*, and Father of *Henry* the firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*; his third ſon *John*, who died unmarried. His daughter *Mary* married to *Henry* Lord *Piercie*, Mother of *Henry* the firſt Earl of *Northumberland*. This *Edmund* died at *Bay* in *Gaſcoin*, in the year 1296. when he had lived fifty years, whoſe body half a year after his death was brought over into *England*, and entombed at *Weſtminſter*. Of King *Henry's* three daughters, the eldeſt, *Margaret*, was married to *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, by whom ſhe had iſſue two ſons, *Alexander* and *David*, who died both before their father without iſſue; and one daughter *Margaret* Q. of *Norway*, wife of K. *Ericke*, and mother of *Margaret* the Heir of *Scotland* and *Norway*, that died unmarried. The ſecond daughter of King *Henry* was *Beatrice*, born at *Bourdeaux*, Married to *John* the firſt Duke of *Britain*, and had iſſue by him *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, *John* Earl of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip* ſon of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*; *Eleanor* a Nun at *Aimsbury*, and *Mary* Married to *Guy* Earl of St. *Paul*, ſhe deceaſed in *Britain*, and was buried at *London*, in the Quire of the Gray-Fryers within *Newgate*. The third daughter of K. *Henry* named *Katherine*, died young, and lies buried at *Weſtminſter*, in the ſpace between the Chappels of King *Edward* and St. *Benet*.

Edmund Crouchback the firſt anceſtor of the houſe of *Lancaſter*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of ſtature but mean, yet of a well compacted body, and very ſtrong, one of

of his eye-lids hanging down, and almoſt covering the black of his eye. For his inward endowments it may be ſaid, he was wiſer for a man, than for a Prince; for he knew better how to govern his life than his Subjects. He was rather Pious than Devout, as taking more pleaſure in hearing Maſſes than Sermons, as he ſaid to the King of *France*, He had rather ſee his Friend once, than hear from him often. His mind ſeemed not to ſtand firm upon its Baſis, for every ſudden accident put him into paſſion; He was neither conſtant in his love, nor in his hate; for he never had ſo great a Favourite whom he caſt not into diſgrace, nor ſo great an Enemy whom he received not into favour. An example of both which qualities was ſeen in his carriage towards *Hubert de Burgh*, who was for a time the greateſt Favourite, yet caſt out afterward in miſerable diſgrace; and then no man held in greater hatred; yet received afterward into grace again. And it is memorable to hear with what crimes this *Hubert* was charged at his arraignment, and ſpecially one: That to diſſwade a great Lady from Marriage with the King, he had ſaid the King was a ſquint-eyed Fool, and a kind of Leper, deceitful, perjured, more faint-hearted than a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Ladies company. For which, and other Crimes laid to his charge in the King's Bench, where the King himſelf was preſent, he was adjudged to have his Lands confiſcate, and to be deprived of his Title of Earl; yet after all this, was reſtored to his Eſtate again, and ſuffered to live in quiet. He was more deſirous of money than of honour, for elſe he would never have ſold his Right to the two great Dukedomes of *Normandy* and *Anjou* to the King of *France* for a ſum of money. Yet he was more deſirous of honour than of quietneſs; for elſe he would never have contended ſo long with his Barons about their Charter of Liberty, which was upon the matter but a point of honour. His moſt eminent vertue, and that which made him the more eminent, as being rare in Princes, was his continency; for there is nothing read, either of any baſe Children he had, or of any Concubine he kept.

A ſtrange affront to a King.

Of his Death and Burial.

THough he had lived a Troubleſome life, yet he died a quiet death; for he had ſetled peace in his Kingdom, and in his Conſcience. For being at St. *Edmunds-Bury*, and finding himſelf not well at eaſe, he made the more haſt to *London*, where calling before him his Lords, and ſpecially *Gilbert de Glaré*, Earl of *Glocester*, he exhorted them to be true and faithful to his ſon Prince *Edward*, who was at that time far from home; and therefore had the more need of their care, which conſiſted chiefly in their agreement one with another. And then his ſickneſs encreaſing, he yeilded up his Soul to God on the ſixteenth day of *November*, in the year 1272. when he had lived threeſcore and five years, reigned ſix and fifty, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, which he had newly built.

1272.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Martial men famous in his time there were many, but three eſpecially who obſcured the reſt; the firſt was *William Marſhal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, memorable for the great care he had of King *Henry* in his minority, and more memorable for the little care that Deſtiny had of his Poſterity; for leaving his five Sons behind him, they all lived to be Earls ſucceſſively, yet all died without iſſue: So as the great Name and numerous Family of the *Marſhals* came wholly to be extinct in that Generation. And this happened (if we may believe *Matthew Paris*) by reaſon of a curſe of an *Iriſh* Biſhop, from whom he had taken two Manors belonging to his Biſhoprick; and neither he, nor all his Sons, upon any intreaties would be gotten to reſtore them. The ſecond was *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Glocester*, who in a Battel againſt *Baldwin de Giſnes*, a valiant *Flemming*, employed by King *Henry*, himſelf alone encountred twelve of his enemies; and having his horſe ſlain under him, he pitch'd one of them by the leg out of the ſaddle, and leap'd into it himſelf, and continued the fight without giving ground, till his Army came to reſcue him. An act, that may ſeem fitter to be placed among the Fictions of Knights Errant, than in a true Narration. The third was *Simon Montford*, a man of ſo audacious a Spirit, that he gave King *Henry* the lie to his face; and that in preſence of all his Lords, and of whom, it ſeems, the King ſtood in no ſmall fear. For paſſing one time upon the *Thames*, and ſuddenly taken with a terrible ſtorm of Thunder and Lightning, he commanded to be ſet on ſhore at the next ſtairs, which happened to be at *Durham* Houſe, where *Montford* then lay; who coming down to meet the King, and perceiving him ſomewhat frighted with the Thunder, ſaid unto him, Your Majeſty need not fear the Thunder, the danger is now paſt: No *Montford* (ſaid the King) I fear not the Thunder ſo much as I fear thee. Of men famous for ſanctity of life, there were likewiſe many in his time, but three more eminent than the reſt, *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and *Thomas* Arch-Deacon of *Hereford*; all three either Canonized, or at leaſt thought worthy to be Canonized for Saints. To theſe may be added *Robert Groſs-head* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who tranſlated the Teſtaments of the Twelve Patriarchs out of Greek into Latine; which through envy of the Jews never came to the knowledge of Saint *Hierome*, wherein are many Prophecies of our Saviour Chriſt. Of men famous for Learning there were likewiſe many in his time; of whom ſome left Works behind them for Teſtimonies of their knowledge in divers kinds, as *Alexander Hales*, a Frier minor, who wrote many Treatiſes in Divinity; *Ralph Coggeſhal*, who wrote the Appendix to the Chronicle of *Ralph Niger*; *Ranulph Glanvile*, the Earl of *Cheſter*, the third and laſt of that name, who compiled a Book of the Laws of *England*; *Hen. Bracton*, who wrote the Book commonly called by his name, *de Conſuetudinibus Angliæ*. And beſides theſe, *Hugh Kirkſtead*, *Richard* of *Ely*, *Peter Henham*, *John Gyles*,

The numerous Family of the *Marſhals* ſuddenly extinct.

The notable valour and activity of *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Glocester*.

The audacious ſpirit of *Simon Montford*.

Bracton wrote a Book of the Law.

Gyles, and *Nicholas Fernham*, excellent Phyſitians; *Richard* ſurnamed *Theologus*, and *Robert Bacon*, two notable Divines; *Stephen Langton*, *Richard Fiſaker*, *Simon Stokes*, *John* of *Kent*, *William Shirwood*, *Michael Blampain*, *John Godard*, *Vincent* of *Coventry*, *Alberick Veer*, *Richard Wich*, *John Baſing*, *Roger Walcham*, *William Seningham*, and others.

The Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Reign.*

In his firſt year,
William Hardel was Mayor.
John Travers, *Andrew Newland*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Robert Serl was Mayor.
Thomas Bockerel, *Ralph Holyland*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
Bennet Senturer, *William Blundivers*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
John Wail, or *Veil*, *Joſue le Spicer*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
Richard Wimbleton, *John Wail* or *Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
Richard Renger, *John Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
Richard Joyner, *Thomas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Richard Renger was Mayor.
William Joyner, *Thomas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Richard Renger continued Mayor.
John Travers, *Andrew Bokerel*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Richard Renger continued Mayor.
John Travers, *Andrew Bokerell*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Richard Renger continued Mayor.
Roger Duke, *Marvin Fitz-Williams*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Roger Duke was Mayor.
Stephen Bokerel, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Mayor.
Stephen Bokerel, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Mayor.
William Winchester, *Robert Fitz-John*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Mayor.
Richard Walter, *John de Weborn*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel was Mayor.
Michael of St. *Helen*, *Walter de Enfield*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeeth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
Henry de Edmonton, *Gerard Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
Simon Fitz-Mary, *Roger Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
Ralph Aſtway, *John Norman*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
Gerard Bat, *Richard* or *Robert Hardel*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty firſt year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
Henry Cobham, *Jordan Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſecond year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
John Tolaſon, *Gervais* the Cordwainer, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Richard Renger was Mayor.
John Cadas, *John Wilhall*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
William Joyner was Mayor.
Reymond Bongy, *Ralph Aſtway*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Gerard Bat was Mayor.
John Giſors, *Michael Tony*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſixth year,
Reymond Bongy was Mayor.
Thomas Dureſm, *John Voyl*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſeventh year,
Reymond Bongy continued Mayor.
John Fitz-John, *Ralph Aſtway*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Ralph Aſtway was Mayor.
Hugh Blunt, *Adam Baſing*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Michael Tony was Mayor.
Ralph Foſter, *Nicholas Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
John Giſors was Mayor.
Robert Carnbil, *Adam* of *Bewly*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty firſt year,
John Giſors continued Mayor.
Simon Fitz-Mary, *Lawrence Frowick*, Sheriffs.

In

In his thirty second year,
Peter Fitz-Alwin was Major.
John Voil, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Michael Tony was Major.
Nicholas Fitz-Josue, Geoffery Wincheſter, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Roger Fitz-Roger was Major.
Richard Hardel, John Tolaſon, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
John Giſors was Major.
Humphrey Bat, William Fitz-Richard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſixth year,
Adam Baſing was Major.
Lawrence Frowick, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſeventh year,
John Tolaſon was Major.
William Durham, Thomas Wimbourn, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Richard Hardel was Major.
John Northampton, Richard Pichard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Ralph Aſhuy, Robert of *Limon,* Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Stephen Doe, Henry Walmond, Sheriffs.

In his forty firſt year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Michael Bokerel, John the *Minor,* Sheriffs.

In his forty ſecond year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Richard Orwel, William Aſhuy, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Robert Cornhil, John Adrian, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year,
John Giſors was Major.
John Adrian, Robert Cornhill, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,
William Fitz-Richard was Major.
Adam Browning, Henry Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his forty ſixth year,
William Fitz-Richard continued Major.
John Northampton, Richard Pichard Sheriffs.

In his forty ſeventh year,
Thomas Fitz-Richard was Major.
John Taylor, Richard Walbroke Sheriffs.

In his forty eighth year,
Thomas Fitz-Richard continued Major.
Robert de Mountpeter, Osbert de Suffolk, Sheriffs.

Yet *Fabian* ſaith, that from this 48 year to the end of his Reign, there were no Majors of *London,* but only Guardians of the City.

In his forty ninth year,
Thomas-Fitz-Thomas-Fitz-Richard was Major.
George Rokeſley, Thomas de Detford, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,
Thomas-Fitz-Thomas-Fitz-Richard continued Major.
Edward Blum, Peter Anger, Sheriffs.

In his fifty firſt year,
William Richards was Major.
John Hind, John Warlaren, Sheriffs.

In his fifty ſecond year,
Alen de la Souch was Major.
John Adrian, Lucas de Batencourt, Sheriffs.

In his fifty third year,
T. Wimbourn, Cuſtos, Sir *Stephen Edward.*
Walter Harvey, William Dureſm, Sheriffs.

In his fifty fourth year,
Hugh Fitz-Ottonis Cuſtos of *London,* and Conſtable of the *Tower.*
Thomas Baſing, Robert Cornhil, Sheriffs.

To this time the Major and Sheriffs had been choſen, but now the King grants the choice of them to the City it ſelf.

In his fifty fifth year,
John Adrian was Major.
Walter Potter, Philip Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his fifty ſixth year,
John Adrian continued Major.
Gregory Rocheſs, Henry Wallie, Sheriffs.

In his fifty ſeventh year,
Sir *Walter Harvey* was Major.
Richard Harris, John de Wodely Sheriffs.

THE

THE LIFE and REIGN of King EDWARD I. Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

Of his coming to the Crown.

AS ſoon as King *Henry* was dead and buried, the great Lords of the Land cauſed his eldeſt Son Prince *Edward* to be proclaimed King: and aſſembling at the new Temple in *London*, they there took order for the quiet Governing of the Kingdom till he ſhould come home. For at this time he was abſent in the Holy Land, and had been there above a year when his Father died. But we cannot bring him home without telling what he did, and what he ſuffered in all that time, and in his return. For at his firſt coming thither he reſcued the Great City of *Acon* from being ſurrendred to the *Souldan*; after which out of envy to his Valour, one *Anzazim*, a deſperate *Saracen*, who had often been imployed to him from their General, being one time, upon pretence of ſome ſecret meſſage, admitted alone into the Chamber, with a poiſoned Knife gave him three wounds in the body, two in the arm, and one near the armpit, which were thought to be mortal, and had perhaps been mortal, if out of unſpeakable love the Lady *Eleanor* his Wife had not ſuck'd out the poiſon of his wounds with her mouth; and thereby effecting a cure, which otherwiſe had been incurable. It is no wonder, that love ſhould do wonders, which is it ſelf a wonder. And now being diſappointed of aids that were promiſed to be ſent him, and leaving Gariſons in fit places for defence of the Countrey, he with his Wife *Eleanor* takes his journey homewards. And firſt paſſing by *Sicily*, was there moſt kindly received by *Charles*, King of that Iſland, where he firſt heard of his Father's death; which he took more heavily far, than he had taken the death of his young Son *Henry*, whereof he had heard a little before. At which when King *Charles* marvelled, he anſwered, That other Sons might be had, but another Father could never be had. From hence he paſſeth through *Italy*, where much honour is done him by the Pope, and other Princes; and then deſcends into *Burgoigne*, where by the Earl of *Challoun*, a ſtout man at arms, he is challenged at a Turnament, with a pretence to ſolemnize his preſence: but with a purpoſe indeed to diſgrace his perſon. And though Prince *Edward* in many reſpects might juſtly have refuſed it; yet the nobleneſs of his mind would not ſuffer him to paſs by any occaſion of ſhewing his Valour: and in this encounter he ſo foiled the Earl, as he made it appear, that Fame had been no liar in the report it had made of him. And here a great part of his *Engliſh* Nobility met him, from whence he paſſed into *France*, where the King *Philip*, his near Couſin (as being Siſters Sons) entertains him with great ſolemnity, and graceth his ſolemnity with ſo much courteſy, that it won Prince *Edward* voluntarily to do him homage for the Territories he held in *France*: And this voluntarineſs in Prince *Edward* won the King of *France* again to grant quietly unto him all the Lands in *France* that belonged to him; and ſo theſe two great Kings by reciprocal courteſy, effected that which their Predeceſſors by force could never effect. From hence he paſſed through *Aquitain*, and having there taken homage of his Subjects, and ſet all things in order, he ſet ſail and arrived in *England*, above a year after the death of his Father: a long time for plotting of miſchief, and a ſtrong temptation to plotters of miſchief, if all cauſes of quietneſs had not concurred: but ſuch was the worthineſs of Prince *Edward*'s perſon, and ſuch the undoubtedneſs of his Title, that as there could be no Competitor, ſo there would be no oppugner. And indeed the Divine Providence had ſhewed a ſpecial care over him from his Childhood; whereof one or two examples will not be unfit to be related. One was this, that being yet but young, and playing one time at Cheſs with a Friend, in the midſt of his Game, without any apparent occaſion, he removed himſelf from the place where he ſate, when ſuddenly there fell from the roof of the houſe a great ſtone, which if he had ſtayed in the place but never ſo little, had beaten out his brains. Another example of the Divine Providence over him (though it happened afterwards) was this: Having prepared a great Fleet of Ships for a Journey into *Flanders*, and being at *Winchelſey*, where the Ships were to meet; it happened, that riding about the harbor, his horſe frighted with the noiſe of a Wind-mill, which the wind drove violently about, ſcrambled up and leap'd over the mud-wall of the Town, ſo as neither the King nor the Horſe was to be ſeen, but every one judged the King could not chuſe but be thrown and killed; yet ſuch was the Divine Providence over him, that the Horſe lighted

Prince *Edward* poiſoned in the *Holy-Land*.

The poiſon ſuck'd out of his wounds by his Wife.

He takes the death of his Father more heavily than of his Son.

Prince *Edward*'s Valour.

Reciprocal courteſies between K. *Edward* and the K. of *France*.

K. *Edward* protected by the Divine hand from his childhood.

lighted upon his feet, and the King keeping the Saddle returned safe. And under the wing of this Divine Providence, he had now passed all the dangers of this tedious Journey; and being safely come to *London*, was on the fifteenth day of *August*, in the year 1274. Crowned at *Westminster*, together with his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, by *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, where five hundred great Horses were let loose for any that could take them; and yet the outward solemnity was not more great than the inward joy was universal; every man rejoicing, not only at a change, which of it self is pleasing: but at a change so much for the better as this was like to be.

1274.

He is Crowned.

Of his Acts done after he was Crowned.

THE Acts of this King after he was Crowned, may not unfitly be divided into five parts: His Acts with his Temporal Lords, His Acts with his Clergy: then with *Wales*; then his Acts with *Scotland*: and lastly with *France*. And first concerning his Lords, he gave them good contentment in the beginning of his reign by enlarging their liberties, and granting them easier Laws; for which purpose he called a Parliament, wherein were made the Statutes called of *Westminster* the first: so as he had no difference with them till toward the end of his Reign, as shall be shewed hereafter. In the next place, concerning his Acts with his Clergy, he began with them betimes; for having lived to be of good age, three or four and thirty years old, in his father's reign, he observed in that time, that their power was too predominant, and therefore thought fit to clip their wings, at least to keep them farther from growing: which he did by these means. First, in the sixth year of his Reign he deprived many chief Monasteries of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Covent of *Westminster*, the return of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father King *Henry* the third. The next year after, he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmain*, to hinder the increase of their Temporal possessions. In the second Statute of *Westminster*, he defaulked the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Judges; and growing more upon them, he required the moiety of all their Goods, as well Temporal as Spiritual, for one year. Then calls he a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admission of any Churchmen in it. And it is worth the noting, that *Marchian* his Treasurer, acquainting him that in Churches and Religious Houses there was much Treasure to be had, if it might be taken, he made no scruple of it, but caused it to be taken and brought into his Exchequer. But finding his Prelates not well contented with it, to please them again, he bids them ask something of him, wherein they should see how much he favoured them. And they asking of him to repeal the Statute of *Mortmain*, that had been made so much to their hinderance; He answered, that this was a Statute made by the whole body of the Realm, and therefore was not in his power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undo that which all the Members together had done. And perhaps whatsoever they should have asked else, he would have had an answer to redeem his offer. And thus much concerning his Clergy.

He gives contentment to his Lords.

He abates the power of the Clergy.

The Statute of *Mortmain* enacted.

A Parliament without any Clergymen admitted.

The King cannot undo a Statute.

In the next place are the *Welch*, who had themselves begun with the King. For their Prince *Leolin* being summoned to attend at his Coronation, refused to come; and afterwards at more leisure, being required to come and do him homage, he stood upon terms of safe conduct, pretending doubt to be used as his Father *Griffin* had been, who upon hard usage in the *Tower*, seeking to make escape, fell from the Walls and brake his neck. But indeed it was always a custom with this Nation, at every change of Princes in *England*, to try conclusions, hoping at one time or other to have a day of it, and to change their yoke of Bondage into Liberty: For which they were never better provided than now, (especially which is the greatest matter in War) having a valiant Prince to their Leader. But there happened an accident which took off their edge at this time. For the Lady *Eleanor*, a Daughter of the late Earl *Simon Montford*, whom Prince *Leolin* extreamly loved, passing out of *France* into *Wales*, was by the way upon the Sea taken by *English* Ships, and brought to King *Edward*; and for the love of her, Prince *Leolin* was content to submit himself to any conditions; which besides subjection of his State, was to pay fifty thousand pounds sterling, and a thousand pounds *per annum* during his life. And upon these conditions the marriage with his beloved Lady was granted him, and was solemnized here in *England*; whereat the King and Queen were themselves present. Three years *Leolin* continued Loyal, and within the bounds of obedience; in which time *David*, one of his Brothers, staying here in *England*, and found by the King to be of a stirring spirit, was much honoured by him, Knighted, and matched to a rich widow, daughter of the Earl of *Derby*; and had given him by the King besides, the Castle of *Denbigh*, with a thousand pounds *per annum*: though (as it was afterwards found) he lived here but in the nature of a spy. For when Prince *Leolin*'s Lady was afterward dead, and that he (contrary to his Conditions formerly made) brake out into Rebellion, then goes his Brother *David* to him, notwithstanding all these favours of the King; and they together enter the *English* Borders, surprize the Castles of *Flent* and *Ruddlan*, with the person of the Lord *Clifford*, sent Justiciar into those parts: and in a great Battel overthrew the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*, with the slaughter of Sir *William Lindsey*, Sir *Richard Tanny*, and many others. King *Edward* advertised of this Revolt and Overthrow, being then at the *Vizes* in *Wiltshire*, prepares an Army to repress it; but before his setting forth, goes privately to his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, lying at the Nunnery of *Aimsbury*, with whom whilst he conferred, there was one brought into the Chamber, who feigned himself (being blind) to have received his sight at the Tomb of King *Henry* the third. Assoon as the King saw the man, he remembred he had seen him before, and knew him to be a most notorious lying Villain, and wished his Mother in no case to believe him: but his Mother, who much rejoiced

Prince *Leolin* delays to do his homage.

For the love of his Lady he submits himself

She dead, he falls to rebellion.

An impostor discovered by the King.

to

to hear of this Miracle, for the Glory of her Husband, finding her Son unwilling that his Father ſhould be a Saint, grew ſuddenly into ſuch a rage againſt him, that ſhe commanded him to avoid her Chamber: Which the King obeys; and going forth, meets with a Clergyman, to whom he tells the ſtory of this Impoſtor, and merrily ſaid, He knew the juſtice of his Father to be ſuch, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of ſuch a wicked wretch, than reſtore them to their ſight. In this mean time the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had gone of himſelf to Prince *Leolin*, and had laboured to bring him and his Brother *David* to a re-ſubmiſſion, but could effect nothing; for beſides other reaſons that ſwayed Prince *Leolin*, the conceit of a Propheſy of *Merlin*, that he ſhould ſhortly be Crowned with a Diadem of *Bruſe*, ſo overweighed him, that he had no ear for peace, and ſhortly after no head. For after the Earl of *Pembroke* had taken *Bere*-Caſtle, which was the ſeat of Prince *Leolin*, he was himſelf ſlain in Battel; and his head, cut off by a common Soldier, was ſent to King *Edward*, who cauſed the ſame to be crowned with Ivy, and to be ſet upon the *Tower* of *London*. And this was the end of *Leolin*, the laſt of the *Welch* Princes, betrayed (as ſome write) by the men of *Buelth*. Not long after his Brother *David* alſo is taken in *Wales*, and judged in *England* to an ignominious death; firſt drawn at a Horſe tail about the City of *Shrewsbury*; then beheaded, the trunk of his Body divided, his heart and bowels burnt, his head ſent to accompany his Brother's on the *Tower* of *London*, his four quarters to four Cities, *Briſtow*, *Northampton*, *York*, and *Wincheſter*. A manifold Execution, and the firſt ſhewed in that kind in this Kingdom, in the perſon of the Son of a Prince, or any other Nobleman that we read of in our Hiſtory. It is perhaps ſomething which ſome here obſerve, that at the ſealing of his Conqueſt, King *Edward* loſt his eldeſt Son *Alphonſus*, of the age of 12 years, (a Prince of great hope) and had only left to ſucceed him his Son *Edward*, lately born at *Carnarvan*, and the firſt of the *Engliſh* intituled Prince of *Wales*, but no Prince worthy of either *Wales* or *England*. And thus came *Wales* to be united to the Crown of *England*, in the eleventh year of this King *Edward*'s Reign; who thereupon eſtabliſhed the Government thereof, according to the Laws of *England*, as may be ſeen by the Statute of *Rutland*, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

1283.

Prince *Leolin* deceived by a Propheſy, ſtands out, and is ſlain.

The laſt of the *Welch* Princes.

His Brother *David*'s Ignominious death.

Wales united to the Crown of *England*.

The work of *Wales* being ſetled, King *Edward* paſſeth over into *France*, upon notice of the death of *Philip* the *Hardy*, to renew and confirm ſuch conditions as his ſtate in thoſe parts required with the new King *Philip* the fourth, intituled *Fair*; to whom he doth homage for *Aquitain*, having before quitted his claim to *Normandy* for ever. After three years and a half, being away in *France*, he returns into *England*; and now in the next place comes the buſineſs with *Scotland*, and will hold him work at times as long as he lives, and his Son after him. *Alexander* the third, King of *Scots*, as he was running his Horſe, fell Horſe and Man to the ground, and brake his neck, and died immediately; by reaſon whereof (he leaving no iſſue, but only a Daughter of his Daughter *Margaret*, who died alſo ſoon after, there fell out preſently great contention about ſucceſſion. Ten Competitors pretend Title, namely, *Erick* King of *Norway*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Anandale*, *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *John de Haſtings* Lord of *Abergavenny*, *John Cummin* Lord of *Badenagh*, *Patrick de Dunbarre* Earl of *March*, *John de Veſcy*, *Nicholas de Sules*, *William de Roſs*; all or moſt of them deſcending from *David* Earl of *Huntington*, younger Brother to *William* K. of *Scots*, and great Uncle to the late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes upon him to decide, pretending a Right of Superiority from his Anceſtors over that Kingdom, and proving it by authority of old Chronicles, as *Marianus Scotus*, *William of Malmsbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*, and others; which though the *Scottiſh* Lords who ſwayed the *Inter-regnum* oppoſed, yet are they conſtrained for avoiding of further inconveniences, to make him Arbiter thereof, and the ten Competitors bound to ſtand to his award. Two are eſpecially found, between whom the right lay, *John de Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*; the one deſcended from an elder Daughter: the other from a Son of a younger daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldeſt Daughter of this *David*, Brother to King *William*. The controverſy held long. Twelve of either Kingdom learned in the Laws are elected to debate the ſame at *Berwick*, all the beſt Civilians in the Univerſities of *France* are ſolicited to give their opinions; all which brought forth rather doubts than reſolutions. Whereupon King *Edward* the better to ſway this buſineſs by his preſence, takes a journey Northward, where being come as far as *Lincolnſhire*, he loſt his beloved Wife Queen *Eleanor*, and thereupon went back to ſee her Funeral performed at *Weſtminſter*. That done, he returns preſently to his *Scottiſh* buſineſs. And now ſix years were paſſed ſince the death of King *Alexander*, and yet nothing concluded in this controverſy; whereupon King *Edward* deals privately with *Bruce*, (who had the weaker title, but the more friends) and promiſeth him if he would ſwear fealty and homage to the Crown of *England*, he would inveſt him in that of *Scotland*. But *Bruce* anſwers, he was not ſo deſirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the liberties of his Country. Whereupon with the like offers he ſets upon *Baliol*, who having better right, but leſs love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdom than Honour, accepts the condition; and thereupon is Crowned King at *Scone*, hath fealty done him by all the chief Nobility, except *Bruce*; comes to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, where King *Edward* then lay; and there with many of his Nobles, ſwears fealty, and doth homage to him as his Sovereign Lord. Which act done to ſecure him, overthrew him; for being little beloved before, hereby he became leſs. Such as ſtood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (tender of the preſervation of their Countries Liberty) took ſtomach againſt him; and not only for this, but ſhortly after for his injuſtice in the caſe of the Earl of *Fife*, one of the ſix Governors in the time of the *Inter-regnum*

The Competitors for the Crown of *Scotland*.

K. *Edward* arbiter in whom is the Right.

1291.

K. *Edward*'s Queen *Eleanor* dieth.

K. *Edward* arbitrateth the Crown to *Baliol*.

regnum, who had been slain by the Family of *Alberneth*, the Brother of which Earl prosecuting Law before King *Baliol*, in his High Court of Parliament, and having no right done him, (King *Baliol* giving judgment of the side of the *Albernethi*) he appeals to the Court of the King of *England*. Whereupon *Baliol* is summoned, appears, sits with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his cause was to be heard, and then is cited by an Officer to arise, and to stand in the place appointed for pleading; then he craves to answer by a Procurator, but is denied, and thereupon descends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause himself. Which indignity (as he took it) so incenseth him, that he returns home with a breast full charged with indignation, meditates revenge, renews the ancient League with *France*, confirms it with marriage of his Son *Edward* to a Daughter of *Charles*, Brother to King *Philip*, glad in regard of late offences taken against the King of *England*, to embrace the same: which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*, renounceth his Allegiance, as unlawfully done, being not in his power, without consent of the State, to do any such act. Hereupon brake out the mortal dissention between the two Nations, which consumed more Christian Blood, and continued longer than ever quarrel we read of did between any two people in the world. For he that began it, could not end it; but it lasted almost three hundred years, and was never throughly abolished, till the late blessed Union wrought by him, in whom Wisdom and Virtue, Right and power concurred all to make it firm. And now the fatal Chair in which the Kings of *Scotland* used to be inaugurated, seems to recover its secret operation, according to ancient Prophecy, That whithersoever that Chair should be removed, the Kingdom should be removed with it: and this Chair King *Edward* caused to be brought out of *Scotland* to *Westminster*, and to be placed there amongst the Monuments, where it still continues. But now King *Baliol* being summoned to appear at *Newcastle*, and refusing to come, King *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an army consisting of four thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, besides five hundred horse and one thousand foot of the Bishop of *Durham*. *Berwick* is first won, with the slaughter of fifteen thousand *Scots*, (our Writers say more) and after that, the Castles of *Dunbar*, *Roxborough*, *Edenburgh*, *Sterling*, and St. *Johns-Town*: and King *Baliol* sues for Peace, submits himself, takes again his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward* as his Soveraign Lord. Which done, a Parliament for *Scotland* is held at *Berwick*, where the Nobility likewise did homage to him, confirming the same by their Charter under their hands and seals; only *William Douglass* refuseth, content rather to endure the misery of a Prison, than yield to the subjection of the King of *England*. But King *Baliol*, notwithstanding his submission, is sent prisoner into *England* after his four years Reign in *Scotland*; and King *Edward* returns home, leaving *John Warren*, Earl of *Sussex*, and *Surrey*, Warden of all *Scotland*; *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *Ormesley* Chief Justice, with Commission to take in his name the Homages and Fealties of all such as held Lands of that Crown. But this continued not long; for King *Edward* being absent in *France*, the *Scots* fell upon the Officers he had left, slew Sir *Hugh Cressingham* with six thousand *English*, recovered many Castles, and regained the Town of *Berwick*; and all by the animation and conduct of one *William Walleys*, a poor private Gentleman, (tho Nobly descended) who seeing his Country without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in captivity, or subjection), assembles certain of as poor and desperate estate as himself, and leads them to attempt upon whatsoever advantages they could find to annoy the *English*; and having therein good success, it so increased both his courage and company, that he afterward came to be the general Guardian of the whole Kingdom, and was in possibility to have absolutely redeemed his Country from the subjection of the *English*, if the speedy coming of King *Edward* had not prevented him. For now King *Edward*, to bring his work near together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to *York*, where they continued above six years; and thither he calls a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knight's service, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptory day: where they assemble three thousand men at Arms on barded horses, and four thousand other armed men on horse without bards, with an Army of Foot answerable, consisting most of *Welch* and *Irish*, besides five hundred men at Arms out of *Gascoin*. And with this power he makes his second expedition into *Scotland*; the Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, with the Earl of *Lincoln*, led his Vant-guard at the famous Battel of *Fonkirk*, where the shouts of the *Scots* were so great, that King *Edward*'s horse frighted withal, cast him off, and brake two of his ribs, which notwithstanding he gets up again, goes on, and gets victory; wherein are reported to be slain two hundred Knights, and forty thousand Foot of the *Scots*: but *William Walleys*, with some few, escaped to make more work. And here again that Kingdom might seem as if quite overthrown. Most of the Estates of the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* (with their Titles) that had stood out, were bestowed on the *English*; and a Parliament is called at St. *Andrews*, where all the great men of the Kingdom, except only *Walleys*, once again swear Fealty to the King of *England*. It seems swearing of Fealty was with the *Scots* but a ceremony without substance, as good as nothing; for this is now the third time they swore Fealty to King *Edward*: yet all did not serve to make them Loyal. For not long after comes the news of a new King made and Crowned in *Scotland*. *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, son to that *Bruce* who was competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes Head to the confused Body of that Kingdom, and perceiving *John Cummin* (who had a Title himself) to go about to bewray his intentions to King *Edward*, he finding him at *Dumfrays*, sets upon him, and murthers him in the Church. Whereof as soon as King *Edward* heard, he sends *Aymer de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lords *Clifford* and *Piercy* with a strong power to revenge the death of *Cummin*, and to relieve his Wardens of *Scotland*; who upon *Bruce*'s revolt, were all retired to *Berwick*, whilst himself prepares an Army to follow: wherein to be the more nobly attended, he caused Proclamation to be

Baliol is incensed against *Edward*, and why.

The fatal Chair of *Scotland* brought into *England*.

Baliol sues for Peace, and submits himself.

Baliol is sent prisoner into *England*.

William Walleys opposeth K. *Edward*.

The Exchequer and Courts of Justice removed to *York*.

1298.

The Battel of *Fonkirk*.

The *Scots* swear fealty to K. *Edward*.

Robert Bruce attempts for the Crown.

made, That whosoever ought by their Paternal succession, or otherwise had means of their own for service, should repair to *Westminster*, at the Feast of *Pentecost*, to receive the Order of Knighthood, and a Military ornament out of the King's Wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the day appointed, and receive Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarfs wrought with Gold or Silver, according to every man's Estate. For which train (because the King's house was too little, by reason a part of it had been lately burnt) room is made, and the Appletrees cut down at the *New-Temple* for their Tents, where they attire themselves, and keep their Vigil. The Prince (whom the King then likewise Knighted, and gave him the Dutchy of *Aquitain*) kept his Vigil with his Train at *Westminster*; and the next day he girded these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in such manner as he himself had received it. Which done, the King before them all, makes a Vow, that alive or dead he would revenge the death of *Cummin* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured *Scots*: Adjuring his Son and all the Nobles about him, upon their Fealty, that if he died in his journey, they should carry his Corpse with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred till they had vanquished the Usurper, and absolutely brought the Country to subjection. The Prince and all the Nobles promise upon their faith, to imploy their utmost power to perform his Vow: and herewithal he sets forth with a potent Army presently after *Whitsuntide*, and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, in the four and thirtieth year of his Reign, at which time he made above two hundred Knights.

The Order of Knighthood imposed upon men of means.

K. *Edward* makes a Journey into *Scotland* to revenge the death of *Cummin*.

1306.

The Earl of *Pembroke*, with that power sent before, and aid of the *Scottish* party, had before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a battel near St. *Johns-Town*, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his person; but he escaping in disguise, and sheltring himself in obscure places, was reserved for greater Battels: his Brothers *Nigel*, *Bruce*, and shortly after *Thomas* and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and executed after the manner of Traitors at *Berwick*. And now K. *Edward* had done for fighting, all was now for Executions; and indeed his desire of revenge made him inexorable, and vowed to spare none of what degree soever. The Earl of *Athol* (though of Royal Blood, and allied unto him) was sent to *London*, where all his preferment was, to have a higher pair of Gallows than the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Ross*, is sent prisoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countess of *Boughan*, who had been aiding at *Bruce*'s Coronation, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the Wall of *Berwick* for people to gaze on. But tho *Bruce*'s party was thus dejected, and himself at this time appeared not, but shifted privily from place to place in a distressed manner, (attended only with two Noble Gentlemen, who never forlook him in his misfortunes, the Earl of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet gives he not over, but gathers new Forces, with which he suddenly assails the Earl of *Pembroke* at unawares, gives him a great defeat, and within three days after chaseth the Earl of *Gloucester* into the Castle of *Aire*, where he besieged him, till by the King's forces he was driven again to his former retire. Whereupon K. *Edward*, who had spent his Winter at *Carlisle*, in *July* following, with a fresh Army enters *Scotland* himself; but falling into a Dysentery or Bloody-flux at *Borough* upon the Sands, he ended his life. And thus ended King *Edward*'s troubles with *Scotland*, but not *Englands* troubles, which are more to come than yet are past.

He defeats the *Scottish* Army.

The Countess of *Boughan*'s ignominious punishment.

K. *Edward* enters *Scotland*, and there dieth.

But tho this business of *Scotland* never left King *Edward* till his dying day, yet it had been upon him but as an Ague, sometimes putting him into violent heats, and sometimes leaving him in a quiet temper with such a vicissitude, that when he had quietness with *Scotland*, he had troubles with *France*, whereof the time is now to speak. It is well known that *Philip* King of *France*, father of the present King, and *Edward* King of *England* were near Cousins, the Sons of two Sisters; and it hath been shewed before at King *Edward*'s returning from the *Holy-Land*, and passing through *France*, what extraordinary kindness and mutual courtesy passed between them, that one would have thought neither they nor theirs should ever have fallen out: and perhaps never should, if they had been private men, and not Princes. For private men may easily continue friends, as having none to consider but themselves; but Princes hardly, as having besides themselves, their Subjects to consider. And though they be the Subjects oftentimes that make the quarrel, yet they are the Princes that must maintain it. And besides, between Princes there can never be but jealousies, and where jealousies are, every trifle makes a quarrel. And this was the case of these two Kings. Certain of the King of *England*'s Subjects had upon the Coast of *Normandy* done spoil to some Subjects of the King of *France*: And this difference of the Subjects made a difference between the Kings, while each of them standing in defence of his own, fall out themselves; and for a beginning the King of *France* summons King *Edward*, as owing homage to that Crown, to appear and answer it in his Court. And King *Edward*, tho voluntarily before he had done it in a way of courtesy, yet being now imperiously commanded, he refuseth it; upon which refusal, all his Territories in *France* are condemned to be forfeited, and an Army is presently sent to seise upon the same, led by *Charles Valois*, and *Arnold de Neal*, Constable of *France*. *Bourdeaux*, with divers other places of importance, are taken from him. And now King *Edward* well knowing what danger it was to have so powerful an adversary, endeavours first to strengthen himself with friends abroad, seeks to match his Son *Edward* with a daughter of *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*; marries one of his daughters to the Duke of *Barre*, who pretended title of *Campaigne*; another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, sends fifteen thousand pounds sterling to *Adolph de Nassau*, the Emperor, for recovery of certain Lands which he claimed in *France*; and with all these and many other confining Princes, he set upon the King of *France*, and then sends over his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Richmond*, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Arms,

The King of *England* and *France* fall out, and why.

and a Navy of three hundred and ſixty ſail. In the mean time the King of *France* having had intelligence of the intended alliance between King *Edward*, and *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, ſends for the ſaid Earl (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter, to make merry with him at *Paris*; where inſtead of feaſting him, he makes him priſoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he ſought (being his Vaſſal) to match her with his capital Enemy. The Earl excuſeth it the beſt he could; and by much mediation is releaſed himſelf, but not his Daughter. Whereupon the Earl preſuming upon aid from King *Edward*, takes Arms and defies the King of *France*. Who thereupon comes with an Army of ſixty thouſand againſt him; which cauſed King *Edward* with all ſpeed poſſible to relieve this diſtreſſed Earl: and ſo leaving the Government of the Kingdom in his abſence to the Biſhop of *London*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lords *Raynold*, *Gray*, and *Clifford*, with five hundred ſail, and eighteen thouſand men at Arms, he paſſed over into *France*. But finding the Country diſtracted into many popular factions, and the King of *France* daily getting upon them (having already won *Lile*, *Dowey*, *Courtray*, *Bruges*, and *Dam*) and the Emperor *Adolph* failing to ſend him aid as he had promiſed, he fell into great perplexity, and having ſtaid the whole Winter at *Gaunt*, where by reaſon of many outrages committed by his Soldiers, he was ſo affronted by the *Gauntois*, that his own perſon was not without ſome danger. He thereupon in the Spring of the year concludes a Truce with the King of *France* for two years, takes his Siſter *Margaret* to wife, and affianceth the daughter of the ſame King to his Son Prince *Edward*; and ſo returns into *England*. And theſe were all the troubles King *Edward* had with *France*.

A Truce is concluded between them.

K. *Edward* marries his Son *Edward* to a Daughter of the King of *France*.

But now muſt ſomething be ſpoken of the Troubles with his Lords at home, whereof this was the beginning. In a Parliament at *Saliſbury* the five and twentieth year of his Reign, the King requires certain of his Lords to go to the Wars in *Gaſcoin*, which needed a preſent ſupply, by reaſon of the death of his Brother *Edmund*: but the Lords make all their excuſes, every man for himſelf: Whereupon the King in great rage threatned they ſhould either go, or he would give their Lands to others that ſhould. Upon this *Humphrey Bohune*, Earl of *Hereford*, High-Conſtable, and *Roger Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, Marſhal of *England*, make their Declaration, That if the King went in perſon they would attend him, otherwiſe not. Which anſwer offended the King more; and being urged again, the Earl-Marſhal proteſted he would willingly go thither with the King, and march before him in the Vantguard, as by right of Inheritance he ought to do: But the King told him plainly, He ſhould go with any other, tho he went not himſelf in perſon. I am not ſo bound (ſaith the Earl) neither will I take that Journey without you. The King ſwore, By God, Sir Earl, you ſhall either go or hang. And I ſwear by the ſame Oath (ſaid the Earl) I will neither go nor hang; and ſo without leave departs. Shortly after the two Earls aſſemble many Noblemen, and other their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets; ſo as they were fifteen hundred men at Arms, well appointed, and ſtood upon their guard. The King like a prudent Prince, who knew his times, proſecutes them not as then; but lets the matter paſs, in regard that his buſineſs called him preſently into *Flanders*. When being ready to take ſhip, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons and the Commons, ſend him a Roll of the grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subſidies, and other Impoſitions, with his ſeeking to force their ſervices by unlawful courſes: To which the King ſends anſwer, That he could not alter any thing without the advice of his Council, who were not now about him: and therefore required them, ſeeing they would not attend him in his Journey (which they abſolutely refuſed to do, tho he went in perſon, unleſs he had gone into *France* or *Scotland*) that they would yet do nothing in his abſence prejudicial to the peace of the Kingdom; and that at his return he would ſet all things in good order to their contentment. But having taken his Journey, and being held there with long delays, to his exceeding great expences, he was forced to ſend over for more ſupply of Treaſure; and thereupon gave order for a Parliament to be held at *York* by the Prince, and (becauſe of his Minority, for he was then but ſixteen years of age) by ſuch as had the managing of the Kingdom in his abſence: and to the end he would not be diſappointed of aid, he condeſcends to all ſuch Articles as were demanded, concerning the great Charter: promiſing from thenceforth never to charge his Subjects otherwiſe than by their conſents in Parliament, and to pardon all ſuch as had denied to attend him in this Journey. After this, in the 27 year of his Reign, a Parliament is called at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the promiſed confirmation of the two Charters, and the allowance of what diſafforeſtation had heretofore been made, was earneſtly urg'd, and in the end with much ado granted; and that with omiſſion of the clauſe, *Salvo Jure Coronæ noſtræ*, which the King laboured to have inſerted, but the people by no means would agree; and the perambulation of the Foreſts of *England* was then committed to three Biſhops, three Earls, and three Barons. But ſome years after, in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King *Edward* began to ſhew his reſentment of the ſtubborn behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times paſt; and ſo terrifies *Roger Bigot*, Earl-Marſhal, that to recover his favour the Earl made him his Heir in poſſeſſion; (tho he had a Brother of his own living) reſerving only to himſelf a thouſand pounds *per annum* during his life. Of others likewiſe he got great ſums for the ſame offence. The Earl of *Hereford* eſcaped his fine by death; but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (whom he accuſed to have diſturbed his Peace in his abſence) he ſends over to Pope *Clement* the fifth, (who ſucceeded *Boniface*) that he might be cruſh'd with a double power. This Pope was Native of *Bourdeaux*, and ſo the more regardful of the King's deſire, and the King the more confident of his favour; which to entertain and increaſe, K. *Edward* ſends him a whole furniſh of all Veſſels for his Chamber of clean Gold: which great gift ſo wrought with the Pope, that he untied the King from the Covenant made with his Subjects concerning their Charters, con-

The Lords refuſe to attend the King, unleſs he went himſelf in perſon.

K. *Edward* condeſcends to the Lords demands.

K. *Edward* confirms two Charters.

Is releaſed of his grant by the Pope.

confirmed unto them by his laſt three Acts of Parliament, and abſolved him from his Oath. A ſafe time for Princes, when they might tie themſelves by any Obligation to their Subjects, and afterward for a bribe to the Pope be untied again.

His Taxations and ways for raiſing Money.

IF Taxations may ſuffer degrees of compariſon, it may not unfitly be ſaid of theſe three laſt Kings, That King *John* was in the Poſitive; his Son *Henry* the Third, in the Comparative; and this King *Edward* in the Superlative. For not only he far exceeded the two former, but he hath left a ſpell to all that come after, for ever coming near him: But then under the name of Taxations, we muſt include the ways he took for raiſing of profit: but firſt in the way of Parliament. In the firſt year of his Reign was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy for two years, beſides a fifteenth of them and the Temporalty. In his fifth year, a twentieth of their goods towards the *Welch* Wars. In his ſeventh the old money was called in, and new coined; in regard it had been much defaced by the *Jews*, for which 297. were at one time executed in *London*: and this brought in profit of no ſmall value. In his eleventh year he had a thirtieth of the Temporalty, and a Twentieth of the Clergy, for his Wars in *Wales*. In the thirteenth, Eſcuage, forty ſhillings of every Knight's Fee. In his fourteenth year, he had a Thouſand Marks of certain Merchants fined for falſe weights. In his nineteenth, the eleventh part of all moveables of the Clergy, and ſhortly after a Tenth for ſix years. In his twentieth, *William Marchian*, then Lord Treaſurer of *England*, perceiving great riches to be in Churches and Religious Houſes, put it ſo into the King's head, that they were all brought into the King's Treaſury. In the eighth year of his Reign, he ſent out his Writ *Quo Warranto*, to examine by what Title men held their Lands, which brought him in much Money; till *John* Earl of *Warren*, being called to ſhew his Title, drew out an old ruſty Sword, and then ſaid he held his Land by that, and by that would hold it to death: which tho it made the King deſiſt from his project, yet he obtained at that time a fifteenth part of the Clergy. In his ſeventeenth year he fined all his Judges for corruption: Sir *Ralph de Hengham* Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, in ſeven thouſand Marks; Sir *John Lovetot*, Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, in three thouſand Marks: Sir *William Brompton*, in ſix thouſand Marks: Sir *Solomon Rocheſter*, in four thouſand Marks: Sir *Richard Boyland*, in four thouſand: Sir *Walter Hopton* in two thouſand: Sir *William Saham*, in three thouſand: *Robert Lithbury* Maſter of the Rolls, in one thouſand: *Roger Leiceſter*, in one thouſand: *Henry Bray*, Eſcheator, and Judge for the *Jews*, in one thouſand: but Sir *Adam Stratton* chief Baron of the Exchequer, in four and thirty thouſand: and *Thomas Wayland* (found the greateſt Delinquent, and of the greateſt ſubſtance) had all his Goods and whole Eſtate confiſcated to the King, and himſelf baniſhed out of the Kingdom. In his eighteenth year he baniſhed the *Jews*; of whom there was at that time above fifteen thouſand in the Kingdom, who had all their Goods confiſcate, leaving them only means to bear their charges in going away.

John Earl of *Warren* oppoſeth the Writ of *Quo Warranto*.

The Judges fined for corruption.

He baniſheth the *Jews*.

In his four and twentieth year, he commanded a Subſidy to be levied upon all Sarplars of Wooll going out of *England*; as likewiſe with Fells and Hides. In his five and twentieth year he calls a Parliament at St. *Edmondsbury*, where is granted the eighth part of the Goods of good Towns, and all other people the twelfth. As for the Clergy they deſire to be excuſed, and refuſe to contribute, in regard of their many late payments; as in the two and twentieth year of his Reign, they payed the moiety of their Goods. And in his three and twentieth year he ſeiſeth into his hands all Priories Aliens, and their Goods; beſides he had a loan of the Clergy, which amounted to a hundred thouſand pounds: but notwithſtanding upon this refuſal of the Clergy, the King puts all Clergymen out of his Protection, whereby they were to have no Juſtice in any of his Courts; (A ſtrain of State beyond any of his Predeceſſors) which ſo amazed them, that in the end, the Archbiſhop of *York* with the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, and *Lincoln*, yielded to lay down in their Churches the fifth part of all their goods towards the maintenance of the King's Wars; whereby they appeaſed his wrath, and were received into grace. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by whoſe animation the reſt ſtood out, had all his Goods ſeiſed on, and all the Monaſteries within his Dioceſs taken into the King's hands; and Wardens appointed to miniſter only neceſſaries to the Monks, converting the reſt to the King's uſe: at length by much ſuit, the Abbots and Prieſts giving the fourth part of their Goods, redeem themſelves and the King's favour. In the ſix and Twentieth year of his Reign, at a Parliament holden at *York*, is granted him the ninth penny of the Goods of the Temporalty: the tenth penny of the Clergy of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, and of *York* the fifth; and in this year alſo he raiſed the Impoſition upon every ſack of Wooll, from a Noble to forty Shillings. In his two and thirtieth year he ſends out a new Writ of Inquiſition, called *Trailbaſton*, for intruders on other mens Lands: who to oppreſs the right owner, would make over their Land to great men; Batterers hired to beat men, for breakers of Peace, for Raviſhers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, falſe Aſſiſers, and other ſuch Malefactors: Which Inquiſition was ſo ſtrictly executed, and ſuch Fines taken, that it brought in exceeding much treaſure to the King. As likewiſe did another Commiſſion at the ſame time, ſent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice; wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. At this time alſo he called his Lords to account for their ſtubbornneſs ſome years before, in denying to attend him into *Flanders*; which brought him in profit anſwerable to their greatneſs that were called. After all this, in his four and thirtieth year there is granted him the thirtieth penny of both Clergy and Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants towards his journey into *Scotland*. And this may be ſufficient to ſhew his

The Clergy is put out of the King's protection.

The Writ of *Trailbaſton* ſent forth.

Taxa-

Taxations to have been in the superlative degree. And yet besides these, he had no small benefit by Silver Mines, which in his time were found in *Devonshire*.

Silver Mines found in *Devonshire*.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

IN the first year of his Reign were made the Statutes called *Westminster* the first. In his twelfth year made the Statutes of *Acton Burnel*. In the fourteenth year of his Reign were made Statutes called *Additamenta Gloecestriæ*. He ordained such men to be Sheriffs in every County as were of the same County where they were to be Sheriffs. He ordained that *Jews* should wear as cognizance upon their upper garment, whereby to be known, and restrained their excessive taking of Usury. In his time was also enacted the Statute of *Mortmain*.

In his time new pieces of money were coined, and half-pence of Silver, which were before of base metal. In his time, three men for rescuing of a prisoner, arrested by an Officer, had their right hands cut off by the wrists. In his time all *Jews* were banished out of the Realm. This King by Proclamation prohibited the burning of Sea-Coal in *London* and the Suburbs, for avoiding the noisom smoak. In his eleventh year the Bakers of *London* were first drawn upon Hurdles, by *Henry Walleys*, Major, and Corn was then first sold by weight. In this King's time, the Title of Baron which had before been promiscuous to men of estate, was first confined to such only as by the King were called to have voice in Parliament. In the sixth year of this King, *Michaelmas* Term was kept at *Shrewsbury*. In his twelfth, he divided *Wales* into Shires, and ordained Sheriffs there as are used in *England*.

Sea-Coal prohibited to be burned in *London*.

The title of Barons confined to such only as were called by Writ to the Parliament.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time, at a Synod holden at *Reading* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it was ordained according to the Constitutions of the General Council, That no Ecclesiastical person should have more than one Benefice, to whom belonged the Cure of Souls: and that every person promoted to any Ecclesiastical living, should take the order of Priesthood within one year after. In his time lived and died Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, of whom his Predecessor had Prophesied: *Ascendes ut Vulpes, regnabis ut Leo, morieris ut Canis.*

No Ecclesiastical person to have more than one Benefice.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THIS King founded the Abby of the Vale-Royal in *Cheshire*, of the *Cisteaux* Order. In his time *John Baliol* King of *Scots*, builded *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxford*: Also in his time, *Walter Merton* Lord Chancellor of *England*, and after Bishop of *Rochester*, founded *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, who was drowned passing over the water at *Rochester*, there being at that time no Bridge, as now there is. In his time was finished the new Work of the Church at *Westminster*, which had been threescore and six years in building. In his time was laid the foundation of the *Black-Friers* beside *Ludgate*, by *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: Also in his time, his second Wife Queen *Margaret* began to build the Quire of the *Grey-Friers* in *London*. In his time was begun to be made the great Conduit in *London*, standing against the Church called *Acres* in *Cheap*. In his time *Henry Walleys*, Major of *London*, caused the *Ton* upon *Cornhil*, to be a prison for Nightwalkers; and also builded a house called the *Stocks*, for a Market of fish and flesh, in the midst of the City. In this King's time, *Edmund* Earl of *Leicester*, the King's Brother, founded the *Minories*, a Nunnery without *Aldgate*. This King builded the Castle of *Flint* in *Wales*, and the Castle of *Beaumaris* in the Isle of *Anglesey*, and the Castle of *Carnarvan* by *Snowdon*. Also in this King's time, *John Pickham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Colledge of Canons at *Wingham* in *Kent*.

Baliol Colledge in *Oxford* by whom builded.

Merton Colledge in *Oxford* by whom builded.

The *Stocks-Market* for Fish and Flesh when made.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN the second year of this King's Reign, there happened the greatest rot of Sheep in *England* that ever was known, which continued five and twenty years; and came (as was thought) by one infected Sheep of incredible greatness, brought out of *Spain* by a *French* Merchant into *Northumberland*. In the fifteenth year of this King's Reign, Wheat was sold for ten groats a Quarter; where the next year after there was so great a dearth, that it was sold for eighteen pence the Bushel. In the seventeenth year of his Reign there fell so much rain, that Wheat was raised from three pence the Bushel, to sixteen pence; and so increased yearly, till at last it was sold for twenty shillings the Quarter. And this year the City of *Carlisle*, and the Abby, with all the Houses belonging to the Friers Minors, was consumed with fire. In his one and twentieth year a great part of the Town of *Cambridge*, with the Church of our Lady, was also burnt. In the seven and twentieth year of his Reign his Palace at *Westminster*, and the Monaster yadjoining were consumed with fire. The Monastery of *Gloecester* also was burnt to the ground. In this year also an Act of Common-Council by consent of the King, was made concerning Victuals, a fat Cock to be sold for three half pence, two Pullets for three half pence, a fat Capon for two pence half penny, a Goose four pence, a Mallard three half pence, a Partridge three half pence, a Pheasant four pence, a Heron six pence, a Plover one penny, a Swan three shillings, a Crane twelve pence, two Woodcocks three half pence, a fat Lamb from *Christmas* to *Shrovetide*, sixteen pence, and all the year after for four pence; and Wheat was this year so plentiful, that a Quarter was sold for ten groats. In his sixteenth year it chanced in *Gascoin*, that as the King and Queen sate in their Chamber, upon a Bed talking together, a Thunderbolt coming in at the Window behind them, passed betwixt them, and slew two of their Gentlemen that stood before them.

A rot of Sheep five and twenty years together, and how caused.

The price of Victuals at this time ordained.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, his first was *Eleanor*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* the third King of *Spain*;

Spain; and was married to him at *Bures* in *Spain*; who having lived with him six and thirty years, in a journey with him towards *Scotland* at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnshire* she died. In whose memory, and as monuments of her virtue, and his affection, King *Edward* caused Crosses with her Statue to be erected in all chief places where her Corpse in carrying to *Westminster* rested: as at *Stamford*, *Dunstable*, St. *Albans*, *Waltham*, *Cheapside*; and lastly at the place called *Charing-Cross*. She was buried in *Westminster*, at the feet of King *Henry* the third, under a fair Marble Tomb, adorned with her Pourtraicture of Copper gilt. By this Wife King *Edward* had four sons, and nine daughters; his eldest Son, *John*; his second, *Henry*; his third, *Alphonsus*; died all young in their Father's time: his fourth Son, *Edward*, called of *Carnarvan*, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. Of his daughters, the eldest named *Eleanor*, was first married by Proxy to *Alphonsus* King of *Arragon*; but he dying before the marriage solemnized, she was afterward married at *Bristow* to *Henry* Earl of *Bury* in *France*; by whom she had Issue sons and daughters. *Joan* the second daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, born at *Acon* in the *Holy-Land*, and thereof called *Joan de Acres*, was married to *Gilbert Clare*, called the Red Earl of *Gloucester* and *Hereford*, by whom she had Issue sons and daughters. She survived her Husband, and was re-married to the Lord *Ralph Montbermere*, Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom the now Viscount *Montacute* is descended. *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, was married to *John* Duke of *Brabant*. *Berenger* and *Alice* their fourth and fifth daughters, dying young and unmarried. *Mary* their sixth daughter, at ten years of age, was made a Nun in the Monastery of *Amisbury* in *Wiltshire*, at the instance of Queen *Eleanor* her Grandmother, who lived there. *Elizabeth* their seventh daughter, was first married to *John* Earl of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and Lord of *Freezland*; he dying within two years, she was afterward married to *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Brecknock*, and High-Constable of *England*, by whom she had issue sons and daughters. *Beatrice* and *Blanch*, their eighth and ninth daughters, died young and unmarried. King *Edward*'s second Wife was *Margaret*, eldest daughter of *Philip* King of *France*, called the *Hardy*, and sister to *Philip* called the *Fair*. At eighteen years old she was married to King *Edward*, being above threescore; yet at these unequal years she had Issue by him two sons and a daughter. Their eldest Son was born at a little Village in *Yorkshire* called *Brotherton*, and was thereof called *Thomas* of *Brotherton*. He was created Earl of *Norfolk*, and Earl Marshal of *England*, after *Roger Bigot*, who died without Issue. Their second son *Edmund* was born at *Woodstock* in *Oxfordshire*, and of the place was so called. He was created Earl of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* daughter of *John*, and sister and sole Heir of *Thomas* Lord *Wakes*, of *Lydel* in the County of *Northampton*, by whom he had Issue two sons and one daughter. His sons *Edmund* and *John* died without issue. His daughter *Joan* for her beauty called the Fair Maid of *Kent*, was married first to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*; and from him divorced, was re-married to Sir *Thomas Holland*, in her Right Earl of *Kent*, and Father of *Thomas* and *John Holland*, Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Huntington*; and lastly, she was the Wife of *Edward* of *Woodstock*, the Black Prince of *Wales*, and by him Mother of King *Richard* the Second. This Earl *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester*, in the fourth year of King *Edward* his Nephew. *Eleanor* the Daughter of King *Edward* by his second Wife *Margaret*, died in her childhood.

Monuments ordained in memory of Queen *Eleanor*.

The now Viscount *Montacute* from whence descended.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of Stature, higher than ordinary men by head and shoulders, and thereof called *Longshank*; of a swarthy complection, strong of body, but lean; of a comely favour; his eyes in his anger sparkling like fire; the hair of his head black and curled. Concerning his conditions, as he was in War peaceful, so in Peace he was warlike, delighting especially in that kind of hunting, which is to kill Staggs or other wild Beasts with Spears. In continency of life he was equal to his Father; in acts of valour, far beyond him. He had in him the two Wisdoms not often found in any single; both together seldom or never: An ability of judgment in himself, and a readiness to hear the judgment of others. He seemed to be a great observer of opportunity (a great point of Wisdom in any, in Princes greatest) and that he could bear an injury long, without seeking to revenge it; as appeared by his carriage toward the Earl *Roger Bigot*, whom when he saw his time, he called to account for an affront he had offered him divers years before. He was not easily provoked into passion; but once in passion, not easily appeased; as was seen by his dealing with the *Scots*, towards whom he shewed at first patience, and at last severity. If he be censured for his many Taxations, he may be justified by his well bestowing them; for never Prince laid out his money to more honour of himself, or good of his Kingdom. His greatest unfortunateness was in his greatest blessing; for of four sons which he had by his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, three of them died in his own life-time who were worthy to have outlived him: and the fourth outlived him, who was worthy never to have been born.

K. *Edward* called *Longshank*, and why.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN his last Expedition into *Scotland*, being at *Carlisle*, he fell sick; and lying in his death-bed, he sent for his son *Edward*: to whom, besides many admonitions to piety, he commended three things specially; That he should carry his bones about with him through *Scotland*, till he had subdued it; that he should send his heart into the *Holy-Land* with Sevenscore Knights to that War, and the two and thirty thousand pounds he had provided for that purpose; and that he should never recall *Gaveston* from banishment: and soon after of a Dissentery, or Bloody-flux he died at *Burough* upon the Sands,

K. *Edward*'s Admonition to his Son.

1307. Sands, the ſeventh of *July*, in the year 1307. when he had reigned four and thirty years, and ſeven months, lived threeſcore and eight years. Being dead, his Corps was brought to *Waltham* Abbey, and there kept the ſpace of ſixteen weeks, and after on *Simon* and *Jude*'s day buried at *Weſtminſter*.

Men of Note in his Time.

OF Martial men there were many, theſe eſpecially; *John* Earl of *Warren*, who oppoſed the King's Inquiſition by *Quo Warranto*: And *Roger Bigot*, who gave the King an affront to his face. Of learned men alſo many, eſpecially theſe; *John Breton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, who compiled a Book of the Laws of *England* called *le Breton*. *Thomas Spot* a Chronographer: *John Everſden* a Writer alſo of Annals, and of this King's Reign. *Gregory Cairugent* a Monk of *Gloceſter*, and a Writer alſo of Annals. *John Peckham* a Franciſcan Frier made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who writ many Excellent Works: *John Reed* an Hiſtoriographer. *Thomas Bungey* a Frier Minor, an excellent Mathematician: *Roger Bacon* a Franciſcan Frier, an excellent Philoſopher and Mathematician. *Robert Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and after made a Cardinal: Alſo *Ralph Baldock* Biſhop of *London*, who writ a Chronicle of *England* in the *Latine* Tongue: But above them all, though of another Countrey, *Thomas Aquinas*, born of a noble Family, whoſe Works are too famous to be ſpoken of, who going to the Council holden at *Lyons* by Pope *Gregory* the Tenth, died by the way.

Breton, who made a Book of the Law.

Thomas Aquinas when he died.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Walter Harvey* was Mayor.
John Horn, *Walter Potter*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Henry Walleys was Mayor.
Nicholas Wincheſter, *Henry Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Gregory Rokeſly was Mayor.
Lucas Battencourt, *Henry Frowicke*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Gregory Rokeſly continued Mayor.
John Horn, *Ralph Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
Robert de Arar, *Ralph L. Fevre*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
John Adrian, *Walter Langley*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
Robert Baſing, *William le Meyre*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Gregory Rokeſly continued Mayor.
Thomas Box, *Ralph Moore*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
William Farendon, *Nicholas Wincheſter*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Henry Walleys was Mayor.
William le Meyre, *Richard Chigwel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Walleys continued Mayor.
Ralph Blunt, *Hawkin Betuel*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Walleys continued Mayor.
Jordan Goodchep, *Martin Box*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year.
Gregory Rokeſly was Mayor.
Stephen Cornehil, *Robert Rokeſly*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich was Mayor.
Walter Blunt, *John Wade*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Thomas Croſs, *Walter Hawteyne*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
William Hereford, *Thomas Stanes*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeeth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
William Betaine, *John* of *Canterbury*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Fulk of St. *Edmund*, *Solomon Langford*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Thomas Romain, *William de Lyre*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Ralph Blunt, *Hamond Box*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty firſt year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Elias Ruſſel, *Henry Bole*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſecond year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Robert Rokeſley, *Martin Aubery*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Sir *Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.
Henry Box, *Richard Glouceſter*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
Sir *John Briton* was Mayor.
John Dunſtable, *Adam de Halingbery*, Sheriffs.

In

In his twenty fifth year,
Sir *John Briton* continued Mayor.
Thomas of *Suffolk*, *Adam* of *Fulham*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,
Henry Walleys was Mayor.
Richard Refham, *Thomas Sely*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,
Elias Ruſſel was Mayor.
John Armentor, *Henry Fingene*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Elias Ruſſel continued Mayor.
Lucas de Havering, *Richard Champnes*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Sir *John Blunt* was Mayor.
Robert Collor, *Peter de Beſenho*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
Hugh Pourte, *Simon Paris*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty firſt year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
William Combmartin, *John de Burford*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſecond year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
Roger Paris, *John de Lincoln*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
William Cawſon, *Reginald Thunderly*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
Geoffry at the Conduit, *Simon Billet*, Sheriffs.

THE

THE LIFE and REIGN of King EDWARD II.

Of his Acts before and at his Coronation.

1307.

EDWARD of *Carnarvon*, eldeſt Son of King *Edward* the firſt, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and never did Prince come to a Crown with more applauſe of Nobility and People: And there was good cauſe for it, for he had been trained up in all good courſes for Piety and Learning; he had ſeen the Government of his Father, from whoſe Example he could not but have learned many good Leſſons; he had been initiated in the ways of State, having been left Governor of the Realm, and preſiding in Parliament in his Father's abſence; and he was now three and twenty years old, a fit age for bearing the weight of a Scepter. And yet for all theſe advantages, there wanted not fears of him in the minds of many, who could not but remember what pranks he had played not long before; how he had broken the Biſhop of *Cheſter*'s Park, and in moſt diſorderly manner had killed his Deer, for which both himſelf had been committed to Priſon, and his friend *Pierce Gaveſton* baniſhed the Realm; and if he did ſuch things being but Prince, What might not be feared of him coming to be King? For ſeldom doth advancement in honour alter men to the better; to the worſe often, and commonly then when it is joyned with an authority that ſets them above controulment. Neither yet was their fear more out of what they had ſeen, than out of what they ſaw; for where he ſhould have endeavoured to accompliſh the charge his Father had given him on his death-bed, he ſeemed to intend nothing leſs, nothing more than wholly to break it; for he preſently called home *Pierce Gaveſton* from baniſhment: And the two and thirty thouſand pounds which his Father had ſpecially appointed for the Holy War, either all, or the moſt of it he beſtowed upon *Gaveſton*. And for carrying his Fathers bones with him about *Scotland*, it had been well if he had ſuffered them quietly to be laid at reſt in *England*. For after the Corps had been kept above ground ſixteen weeks in the Abbey of *Waltham*, and that the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Walter Langton*, the then Lord Treaſurer, and the Executor of his Father's Will, was buſie in preparing for his Funeral, he ſent the Conſtable of the *Tower* to arreſt him, and impriſon him at *Wallingford*, ſeiſing upon all his Goods, and giving them to *Gaveſton*; and all for old grudges. And (that which ſeemed a high ſtrain of incongruity) before he had ſeen performed his Father's Funerals, which was not till the 27th. of *October* following, he entred into a Treaty of his own Nuptials; for going over to *Boloigne* on the two and twentieth of *January*, he married *Iſabel*, the Daughter of *Philip* the *Fair*, King of *France*: Which marriage was honoured with the preſence of four Kings, the King of *France* himſelf, the King of *Navarre* his Son, the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Sicily*; and three Queens, beſide the Bride, *Mary* Queen of *France*, *Margaret* the Dowager Queen of *England*, and the Queen of *Navarre*: and yet did *Gaveſton* exceed them all in bravery. This was obſerved by the Lords of *England*; and thereupon when his Queen and he came afterward to be Crowned, they went unto him, ſignifying what a heinous tranſgreſſion of his Father's Will it was to call home *Gaveſton*; and ſeeing the charge was no leſs given to them than to him, if he did not perform it, they would; and therefore unleſs he would remove *Gaveſton* from the Court and Kingdom, they would hinder his Coronation from proceeding; which ſtruck ſuch a damp to Prince *Edward*'s ſpirits, to think what diſgrace it would be to him, if ſo many of his great friends being preſent, *Charles* of *Valois* the King of *France*'s Brother, the Dukes of *Britain* and *Brabant*, the Count of *Luxemburg*, who was afterward Emperor, the Duke of *Savoy*, the two Dutcheſſes of *Brabant* and *Artois*, with many other Princes and great Ladies, if now his Coronation ſhould be called in queſtion, that he ſolemnly ſwore he would do what they deſired in the next Parliament, ſo they would be quiet now. And thereupon on the 24th. day of *February*, in the year 1307. his Queen and he were both Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, by the hands of *Henry* Biſhop of *Winchеſter*, by Commiſſion from *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being then in exile, and out of the Kingdom: At which ſolemnity there was ſo great a preſs of people, that Sir *John Blackwel*, Knight, was crowded to death. And now in the very act of his Coronation, there was given another provocation to the Lords againſt *Gaveſton*; for the King had appointed him to carry the Crown of Saint *Edward* before him, (the greateſt honour could be done to a Subject) which added to the other honours the King had done him, (for he had made him Earl of *Cornwal*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlain) ſo incenſed the Lords, that they entered into conſultation how to ſuppreſs this violence of the King's affection; which ſhortly after they put in execution. Portion in money, King *Edward* had none with his Wife; but the King of *France* gave him the Duchy of *Guyenne*,

The diſorders of K. *Edward* when he was Prince.

He breaks his Father's admonitions in all things.

He Marries *Iſabel* the King of *France*'s Daughter.

The Lords threaten to hinder his Coronation, unleſs he baniſh *Gaveſton*.

1307.

He and his Queen are Crowned.

To carry Saint *Edward*'s Crown at the Coronation the greateſt honour a Subject could have done him.

Gaveſton's advancement into honours.

Guyenne, which he had ſeiſed upon before, as confiſcate to him; and thereupon King *Edward* did him Homage for that Duchy, and for the County of *Ponthieu*.

Of his differences with his Lords about Gaveſton.

WE ſhall have here no *Quinquennium Neronis*, No ſuch five years as *Nero* afforded in the beginning of his Reign; but this King at the firſt entrance will ſhew what he is, and what he will continue to be as long as he lives; for though he took ſome great and grave men to be of his Council, yet (as appeared afterward) he did it rather to the end they ſhould be pliant to him, than that he had any meaning to apply himſelf to them. For let them ſay what they would, *Gaveſton* muſt be the Oracle; all the King's actions were but *Gaveſton*'s impreſſions. And now *Gaveſton* preſently after the Coronation, to let the world be a witneſs of his worthineſs, and that the King had not beſtowed his favours upon him without cauſe, cauſed to be publiſhed a Turnament at *Wallingford*, whither came all the great Lords of the Kingdom, as *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Humphry* Earl of *Hereford*, *Aymer* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Warren*, with many others, all valiant men at Arms: Yet none had the honour of the day like to *Gaveſton*. And thus far he did well, if he could have ſtayed here, if having gotten true glory, he had not fallen into vain-glory. For the Lords envied him not ſo much for his advancement in honours, as they hated him for his inſolency in Manners; for in a ſcornful pride he would be caſting ſcoffs upon them all, calling *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Stage-Player; the Earl of *Lincoln* Burſten-belly; *Aymer de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, *Joſeph* the *Jew*; and *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, the black Dog of *Arden*, Which ſcoffs, together with his other inſolencies, drew ſuch a party upon him, that in the next Parliament the whole Aſſembly obtains of the King to draw Articles of their grievances, of which the chief were; That the great Charter of *Magna Charta* ſhould be obſerved; that all ſtrangers ſhould be baniſhed the Court and Kingdom; that the buſineſſes of the State ſhould be treated of by the Council of the Clergy and the Nobles; and that the King ſhould not begin any War, nor go out of the Kingdom without conſent of the Parliament. Which Articles, though ſeeming harſh to the King, yet for avoiding of further inconvenience, he yields unto them; and eſpecially to the baniſhment of his Minion *Gaveſton*, as hoping that would excuſe him for all the reſt: And *Robert* of *Winchelſey*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, lately called home from exile, pronounceth excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe the Articles. Hereupon *Gaveſton* is ſent away into *Ireland*, where he lived a while, not as a baniſh'd man, but as Lieutenant rather of the Country; and indeed not unworthily. For in the time of his being there, he is ſaid to have made a journey into the Mountains of *Dublin*, and to have broken and ſubdued the Rebels there; built *Newcaſtle* in the *Kerns* Country, repaired the Caſtle of *Kevyn*, and paſſed up to *Munſter* and *Thoumund*, performing every where much ſervice, with great valour and worthineſs, that if he had ſtayed there but a while longer, he might perhaps by his deſerts in *Ireland* have redeemed his defects in *England*. But the King impatient of abſence, and asking advice what means might be uſed to recall him, it was told him, that if he could but match him with the Earl of *Gloceſter*'s Siſter, a man of ſuch greatneſs, and ſo beloved of the people, for his ſake certainly no man would grudge at his coming home. Hereupon the King ſends for *Gaveſton*, and makes up the Match between them; and married they were at *Barkamſtead*. But this did no good; for *Gaveſton* ſtill working upon the King in ſuch manner, that he ſcarce left him means to ſuſtain himſelf, and as little to maintain the Queen, nothing being done, but as *Gaveſton* would have it, put the Lords into a new diſcontentment: Who thereupon went again to the King and told him plainly, That unleſs he would put *Gaveſton* out of the Court and Kingdom, they would riſe up in arms againſt him as a perjured King. This put the King into a great ſtrait: Loth he was to leave *Gaveſton*, and fearful he was to provoke the Lords; in the end his fear prevailing over his love, he was content he ſhould be baniſhed; and in ſuch ſort baniſhed, that if ever he returned, or were found in the Kingdom, he ſhould be held and proceeded againſt as an enemy of the State. So once again is *Gaveſton* ſent packing out of the Kingdom, and goes into *France*, but found no ſafe harbouring there; For the King of *France* hearing of it, gave a ſtrait charge, if he were found in his Dominions, to apprehend him. Then he paſſeth into *Flanders*, but is no ſafer there than in *France*. After waving about, and finding no place to reſt in ſafety, he returns ſecretly into *England*, relying upon the King's love, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s favour. The King receives him as an Angel ſent from heaven; and to be out of the Lords eye goes a journey to *York*, taking *Gaveſton* along with him: And there thinks to be in quiet. But the Lords hearing of it, follow him thither, chuſing for their General *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, a man poſſeſs'd of five Earldoms, *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Ferrers*, *Lincoln*, and *Saliſbury*, beſides the Liberties of *Pickering*, and the honour of *Cockermore*, and other Lands in *Wales*; and there was not a man of the whole Nobility that was not of the Party, but only *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, the King's Siſters Son. Theſe Lords ſent to the King, either to deliver *Gaveſton* into their hands, or at leaſt to ſend him peremptorily out of the Kingdom. But the King led by ill counſel, and little regarding the Lords meſſage, takes *Gaveſton* with him to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, thence to *Tinmouth*, where the Queen then lay, (who though great with Child, and intreating the King with tears to ſtay with her) yet ſuch was his deſire to ſee *Gaveſton* put into ſome place of ſecurity, that hearing of the Lords approaching, he took a Ship, and paſſed with *Gaveſton* to *Scarborough*, and leaving him there in a ſtrong Caſtle, not eaſy to be won, he went himſelf into *Warwickſhire*, perhaps that the Lords might ſee he had not *Gaveſton* with him. But the Lords hearing where

Gaveſton gets the prize in a publick Turnament.

He caſts ſcoffs upon all the Lords.

Articles required by the Lords of the King.

1308.

Gaveſton is Baniſhed into *Ireland*, where he doth many good ſervices.

Gaveſton is ſent for back, and marries the Earl of *Gloceſter*'s ſiſter.

The Lords require *Gaveſton*'s baniſhment.

So once again he is baniſhed.

1310.

But ſoon returns again.

The King ſeeks to ſhelter him.

Gaveston is taken by the Lords.

where *Gaveston* was, assaulted the Castle with such violence, that *Gaveston* seeing no means to escape, was content to render himself, requesting only that he might once be allowed to see the King's face; and the King hearing he was taken, desired as much. To which the Earl of *Pembroke* consented, and taking *Gaveston* into his custody, promised upon forfeiture of all he had, to have him forthcoming. But desiring to be with his Wife that night, who lay not far off at *Dedington*, he delivers him to his servants to carry to *Wallingford*; from whom as they passed by *Warwick*, the Earl of that place hearing of it, took him forcibly from his Keepers, and brought him to his own Castle. Where after long deliberation, whether it were wisdom to suffer *Gaveston* to speak with the King or no, it was at last concluded to take off his head; which at a place thereby called *Blacklow*, was presently put in execution. His Corps was carried to *Oxford*, and kept there two years, till the King caused it to be brought to *Langley*, and there builded a Monastery of purpose, where his Soul should be prayed for.

Is beheaded at *Blacklow*.

The King builds a Monastery of purpose to pray for his Soul.

This *Gaveston* was the Son of a Gentleman of *France*, who had done good service for King *Edward* the first in *France*, and for his sake this Son of his was taken and brought up with the Prince. A man of excellent parts of body, and of no less endowments of mind: Valiant and Witty; to which if we might add Vertuous, he had been compleat. Though the Lords (whether they had heard so, or whether they said it to wean the King from him) told the King, That his Father was a Traytor to the King of *France*, and for the same was executed, and that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that this *Gaveston* was banished out of *France* for consenting to his Mother's Witchcraft; and that he had now bewitched the King himself. But why should the Lords be so violent against *Gaveston*? Might not the King place his affection where he pleased? Might not he make his own choice of what Companion he liked? No doubt he might, and fit he should; but yet in this case the Lords had great cause to do as they did; both in regard of the King, of themselves, and of the Commonwealth. It is true, if the valour of *Gaveston* could as well have made the King valiant, as his riot made him riotous, there might some good have come of their extraordinary conjunction: But seeing Vertues are but personal, Vices only are communicative, it now made the King not only more vicious than otherwise he would have been, but vicious where otherwise he would not have been; and therefore great cause in regard of the King to remove *Gaveston* from his company; and no less in regard of the Lords themselves. For *Gaveston*'s advancing was their debasing; his greatness with the King made them but Cyphers; but in regard of the Commonwealth, most cause of all; for while the King was altogether ruled by *Gaveston*, and *Gaveston* himself was altogether irregular, the Commonwealth could have but little hope of Justice, but was sure to suffer as long as *Gaveston* was suffered. And this may be sufficient to justifie the Lords, that it be not interpreted to be Rebellion, which was indeed but Providence.

Of his Treaty with Scotland.

AND now we have seen two of the charges of his Father's Will broken by the King, and punished in him; the two and thirty thousand pounds appointed for the Holy War, bestowed upon *Gaveston*, and the King for it punished himself with want; *Gaveston* called home from banishment, and the King for it punished with the loss of his Subjects love. It remains to see how well he performed the third charge of his Father's will, for subduing of *Scotland*. It was now the sixth year after the death of his Father King *Edward* I. and *Robert Bruce* now gotten to be King of *Scotland*, had stayed all this while to see how this new King *Edward* would prove. And when he found by the courses he held, that he was like to prove a good easie enemy, he thereupon took heart, and began to stir, and in a very short time had brought almost all *Scotland* under his obedience; and finding no opposition, entred the *English* Borders, took and burnt Towns. That now King *Edward*, unless he would sit still and suffer *Bruce* to come and pull his Crown from his head, he could not chuse but do something to stop his proceedings. Hereupon he prepares an Army, but like himself, fitter for a Court than for a Camp. Many men, and great bravery; but readier to take spoils than to make spoil; and accordingly they speed. For going to raise the siege at *Stirveling*, defended for King *Edward* by the valiant Knight *Philip Mowbray*, the King's Army, consisting of an hundred thousand, was defeated and overthrown by the *Scots* Army, consisting of scarce thirty thousand. So true is that saying of an ancient Soldier, There is more hope of an Army where the General is a Lion, though the Soldiers be but Sheep, than of an Army where the General is a Sheep, though the Soldiers be Lions. But indeed the *Scots* beside Valour used Policy; for having in their own Army none but Foot, no Horse at all, they had made Trenches in the ground three foot deep, covering them with Twigs and Hurdles, where the *English* Horsemen were to pass; who floundring in those Tranches, were killed no less by their own Fellows than by the Enemy. In this Battel, called of *Bannocks-Borough*, were slain the Lord *Mawle*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *William Marshal*, Sir *Giles*, Doctor *Argenton*, and seven hundred Knights and Esquires, especially *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloucester* who had shewed much valour that day, and whom the *Scots* would willingly have kept for ransome if they had known him, but he had forgotten to put on his Coat of Arms whereby to be known. The slaughter of Common Soldiers was certainly great, though perhaps not so great as *Hector Boetius* speaks of, who saith they were fifty thousand. There were taken Prisoners *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *John Seagrave*, *John Cloveringham*, *William Latimer*, and Sir *Roger Norbrook* bearer of the King's Shield; the King himself, with the Bishops, the Earls of *Hertford* and *Pembroke*, and *Hugh Spencer*, saved themselves by flight. *Humfry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, was afterward released in exchange

Bruce enters the *English* Borders.

King *Edward*'s Army of 100000 overthrown by the *Scots*.

1313.

The *Scots* stratagem.

The Battel of *Bannocks-Borough*.

The North parts from Carlisle to York in subjection to the Scots.

for *Bruce*'s Wife, who had been long kept a prisoner in *England*. After this many *English* fell away to the *Scots*; and all the *North* parts from *Carlisle* to *York* came under their subjection. And the *English* grew so faint-hearted, and so to such contempt, that three *Scots* durst venture upon a hundred *English*, when a hundred *English* durst scarce encounter with three *Scots*. And whatsoever brought the cause of this great disaffection to the King, but the worst of all was, that a Blasting Lot not perfecting the charges he gave that dearly, which is commonly accompanied with a curse and an abortive Blessing, without which a Lot is let upon the labours of men that make them all frustrate: But *Bruce* not satisfied with his conquests in *England*, sends his Brother *Edward* into *Ireland* also; whither he so prevailed, that many *Irish* came in unto him, and in the end crowned him King of a great part of that Island; and so he continued the space of three years, till the Primate of *Armagh*, and the Lord *Birmingham*, Justiciar of *Ireland*, gathering Forces together, opposed him and his Band; Bruce taking him Prisoner, at *Dundalk* cut off his head, with the slaughter of many thousands of the *Scots* besides. With which the *Scots* are so incensed, that they invade again the *English* borders, foraging as far as *York*: Whereupon a Parliament is assembled at *London*, wherein part aid is granted of armed men to go against them. *London* sets forth two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, Saints *Albans* ten, and so proportionably for all Cities and Boroughs, whereby a great Army was levied: Which coming to *York*, through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments, was soon dissolved, and returned back without effecting any thing. Not long after the Town of *Berwick* was betrayed to the *Scots*, through the Treason of *Peter Spalding* the Governor, and other *English*-men; whom the King of *Scots* to make them an example, caused to be hanged for being Traitors to their Country. King *Edward* hearing of the surrendring of *Berwick*, raiseth an Army, and beleaguers it; but the *Scots* to divert his Forces, enter upon *England* by other ways, and were like to have surprised the person of the Queen, lying then near *York*. The siege of *Berwick* is notwithstanding eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to have regained the Town, had not the Earl of *Lancaster* with his followers withdrawn himself upon discontent, hearing the King say he would give the keeping thereof to *Hugh Spencer* the younger, who was now grown a special favourite of the King's, and therefore not to be endured by the Earl. In the mean time the *Scots* won the Castles of *Harbottle*, *Wark*, and *Midford*, so as they possessed the greater part of all *Northumberland*, burning all before them till they came to *Ripon*, which Town they spoiled; and tarrying there three days, they received a Thousand Marks to save the Town from Burning, as they had done the Towns of *Northallerton*, *Borough-Bridge*, and others. In their returning back they burnt *Knaresbrough*, and *Skipton* in *Craven*, and all other before them, carrying into *Scotland* a marvellous number of Cattel, besides Prisoners, men and women. The *Yorkshire* men thus grievously misdamaged, gather together the number of ten thousand, and at the Town of *Adrem*, Ten Miles from *York*, encounter the *Scots*, where they lost three thousand of their men, and were defeated. Which slaughter, because of the many Spiritual men that were in it, was called the White Battel. Whereof when the King heard, he left the siege of *Berwick* to follow the *Scots*, but they secured another way. The King following, King *Edward* once again with a great Army entered *Scotland*; but the *Scots* having defeated all afore, the King opposed with famine, was forced to return, whom they so followed, and in a skirmish of the Forest of *Blackmore* forced him; that hardly escaped, where were taken *James* Lord of *Bromfield*, and the Lord of *Silvain*, the *Scots* King's Lieutenant, and many others. After this the King finding the *Scots* either too strong or too wily for him, made a truce with them for two years; some say for thirteen. And thus was the success of this unfortunate King in his Wars with *Scotland*.

The Yorkshire men defeated by the Scots in the Battel.

Once again K. Edward enters Scotland with an Army, but without success.

So he makes a Truce with them for certain years.

Of his Troubles at home.

BUT if his troubles abroad were not so grievous as those at home; or rather they were those at home that made his troubles abroad so grievous. But though the Lords having made an end of *Gaveston*, and cut off his head, thought they had made an end of their need to bear Arms, and had cut off the head of all their discontents; yet as if *Gaveston* had been a Phœnix, as it were out of his ashes another Phœnix riseth presently up, and puts the Lords to as much trouble as ever *Gaveston* did. For now the younger *Spencer* upon a sudden grows as great a favourite of the King's as ever *Gaveston* was, and indeed in all points just such another, equal to him in goodliness of personage, in favour of the King, and in abusing the Lords. For though they were the Lords themselves that brought him at first to be the King's Chamberlain, the rather (as was thought) because he was one whom the King did not love; yet being once in the place, he so won upon the King by diligence, service and by complying with the King's humor, that he brought the King at last to comply with his humor, and nothing must be done but as *Spencer* would have it. It seems it was the King's nature that he could not be without a bosom-Friend, one or other to be an *alter idem*; and to seek to remove such a one from him, was to seek to remove him from himself, as impossible a thing as to alter nature. Yet the Lords being more sensible of their own grievance, to be insulted on by a Favourite, than of the King's grievance to be affronted by his Subjects, are more intentive to work their own ends than the King's; and therefore to remove *Spencer* and his Father from the King, which they knew was a work not to be done but by a strong hand, they continue their Arms; and confederating together, they send to the King, peremptorily requiring the confirmation and execution of the Articles formerly granted; threatning withal, That unless he presently perform the same, they would constrain him to it by force of Arms; and thereupon assemble strong forces about *Dunstable*, where the King then

The younger Spencer in as great favour as Gaveston.

Whereupon the Lords take Arms again; and threaten the King unless he perform the Articles formerly granted.

Edw. Bruce Crowned King of Ireland; but after 3 years taken prisoner and beheaded.

Treachery justly punished.

K. Edward besiegeth Berwick.

The Earl of Lancaster withdraws himself from K. Edward and why.

than lay. The great Prelates of the Kingdom, with the Earl of *Glocester*, labour to appease them, and with two Cardinals sent lately by the Pope, to reform these disorders, they repair to Saint *Albans*, and desire conference with the Lords, who receive them peaceably: But the Letters which the Pope had written to them, they refuse to receive, saying, They were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters, that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdom, whose counsel they would use, and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: So the Cardinals with this answer returned to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* to labour the pulness, that the Lords were content to yield up to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Jewels, as they had taken of *Piers Gaveston* at *Newcastle*, so as the King would grant their Petitions; and thereupon *John Sandal*, Treasurer of the Kingdom, and *Ingelard Warle* keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to Saint *Albans* to receive those things at their hands.

Shortly after a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Arms, their taking and murthering *Piers Gaveston*, and such other affronts, whereunto with one accord they answer, That they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour, having taken Arms, not for any contempt of his Royal Person, but to destroy the publick enemy of the Kingdom, which otherwise would never have been done. Which their resolution of theirs, the Queen with the Prelates and the Earl of *Glocester* seeing, they seek by all means to qualify their heat; and at length so prevailed with them, that they humble themselves to the King, and crave pardon for what they had done, which they obtained; and the King receives them into grace, as his loyal Subjects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their Indemnity concerning the death of *Gaveston*. And for the greater shew of true reconcilement, *Guy de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, is made of the King's Counsell, though shortly after he ended his life, not without suspicion of poison: as being a man much envied by such as possest the King. The King kept his *Christmas* at *Clifton*, and his *Easter* at *Clarendon*; and they seemed to be all good friends: But this reconcilement of the King with his Barons, was but as the covering of fire with ashes, every little wind that blew, made it break out into flames afresh; and the time being so unsetled as it was, it was impossible but such winds would continually be blowing. It was such a wind blew, when the great Earl of *Lancaster* had his Wife (a Lady who had lived with him always in good fame) taken out of his house at *Canford* in *Dorsetshire*, by one *Richard* Saint *Martin*, a deformed lame Dwarf, who challenged her to be his Wife, and had lain with her before the Earl married her. And this wind was made to blow the stronger, by the Ladies own confession; for upon examination, she voluntarily averred, it was all true. And thereupon the ugly fellow in her right, claimed the two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, which he durst not have done, if he had not been back'd with great Abettors; and it was not without aspersion upon the King himself. It was another such wind blew, when at the Feast of Pentecost, at dinner in the open Hall at *Westminster*, a woman fantastically disguised, entred on Horseback, and riding about the Table, delivered the King a Letter, wherein was signified the great neglect he shewed of such as had done him and his Father noble services, taxing him for advancing men of unworthy parts, and such other Complaints. Which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage; they who guarded the door being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in such a manner, answered, It was the fashion of the King's house in times of Festivals, to keep out none that came as this woman did, to make sport. Search being made for the woman, she is found, and examined who set her on; she confessed a Knight gave her money to do it; the Knight is found, and upon examination, boldly answered, He did it for the King's honour, and to no other end; and thereupon escaped without farther trouble. It was such another wind blew, when a Knight was taken passing by *Pomfret*, with Letters sealed with the King's Seal directed to the King of *Scots*, about murthering the Earl of *Lancaster*; which messenger is executed, his head set upon the top of the Castle, and the Letters reserved to witness the intended plot. Which whether it were feigned or true, the report thereof reflected upon the King, and made many to take the Earl's part. It was such another wind blew, when a fanatick fellow, one *John Powrar*, a Tanner's Son of *Exeter* gave forth, that himself was the true *Edward*, eldest Son of the late K. *Edward* the first, and by a false Nurse was changed in his Cradle; and that the now King *Edward* was a Carter's Son, and laid in his place. But this wind was soon blown over, when at his death, being drawn and hanged, he confessed he had a familiar Spirit in his house in the likeness of a Cat, that assured him he should be King of *England*; and that he had served the said Spirit three years before to bring his purpose about. But most of all, it was such a wind blew, when a Baron named *William Brewis*, having wasted his Estate, offers to sell unto divers men a part of his Inheritance called *Powis*; *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, obtains leave of the King to buy it, and bargains for it. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Uncle and Nephew, great men likewise in those parts, not understanding, it seems, any thing of the former bargain, contract also for the same Land with the said Sir *William Brewis*. *Hugh Spencer* the younger, hearing of this sale, and the Land adjoining to part of his, obtains a more special leave of the King, being now his Chamberlain, and buys it out of their hands. The Earl of *Hereford* complains hereof to the Earl of *Lancaster*, who thereupon at *Sherborn* enters into a new confederation with divers Barons there assembled, taking their Oaths intermutually, to live and die together in maintaining the Right of the Kingdom, and to procure the banishment of the two *Spencers*, Father and Son, whom they now held to be the great Seducers of the King, and the oppressors of the State, disposing of all things in Court

An affront offered to the King, but put up.

A scandalous forgery of K. *Edward*'s birth.

The Lords humble themselves to the King, and the King confirms their Articles.

The Earl of *Lancaster*'s Wife taken from him by a deformed Dwarf.

The Lords confederate again, to have the two *Spencer*'s banish'd.

Court at their pleasure, and suffered nothing to be obtained but by their means. And under this pretence they take Arms, and coming armed to St. *Albans*, they send to the King, being then at *London*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford* and *Chichester*, (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendred the Quiet of the Realm, to rid his Court of those Traitors, the *Spencers*, condemned in many Articles of high Treason by the Commonalty of the Land; and withal to grant his Letters-Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them and all such as took part with them. The King returns answer, that *Hugh Spencer* the Father was now beyond the Seas, imployed in his business, and his Son was guarding the Cinque-ports, according to his Office; and that it was against Law or Custom they should be banished without being heard: And withal swore he should never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting Letters of Pardon to such notorious Offenders who contemned his Person, disturbed the Kingdom, and violated the Royal Majesty. Which answer so exasperated the Lords, that presently they approached to *London*, and lodged in the Suburbs, till they had leave of the King to enter into the City, where they peremptorily urge their demands. To which at length by mediation of the Queen, and the chief Prelates, the King is brought to condescend; and by his Edict, published in *Westminster-Hall*, by the Earl of *Hereford*, the *Spencers* are banished the Kingdom. *Hugh* the Father hearing it, keeps beyond the Seas; but the Son secretly hides himself in *England*, expecting the turn of a better season. And indeed shortly after the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in a Council holden at *London*, pronounceth the banishment of the *Spencers* to have been erroneous; and thereupon the Edict is revoked, and the *Spencers* are called home, and set in as great authority as they were before. But the Lords having thus obtained their desire, with the King's Letters of Indemnity, return home; but yet not with such security as to give over the provision for their own defence. Not long after there fell out an unexpected accident, that suddenly wrought the Lords confusion. The Queen making her progress towards *Canterbury*, intended to lodge at the Castle of *Leeds*, belonging to the Lord *Badlesmere*, (who had been long the King's Steward, but now took part with the Lords) and sending her Marshal to make ready for her and her train, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, That neither the Queen nor any else should enter there without Letters from their Lord. The Queen her self goes to the Castle, and receives the like answer; whereupon she is driven to take such lodging otherwhere as could be provided. Of which indignity she complains to the King, who took it so to heart, that presently with a power of armed men out of *London*, he lays siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the Keeper *Thomas Colepepper*, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Badlesmere* to the *Tower*, and seiseth upon all his Goods and Treasure. And having this power about him, and warmed with success and the instigation of the Queen, suddenly directs his course to *Chichester*, where he keeps his *Christmas*, and there provides for an Army against the Barons. Whereof many (seeing the King's power increasing) left their Associates, and yield themselves to his mercy. Amongst whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and means, the Lord *Hugh Audley*, the Lord *Maurice Berkley*, and others. Who notwithstanding contrary to their expectation were sent to divers Prisons. The Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford*, seeing this sudden change, withdrew themselves and their company from about *Gloucester*, towards the North parts; whom the King follows with an Army, wherein were the Earls of *Arundel* and *Angus*: And at *Burton* upon *Trent*, where they had made a head, discomfited their Forces, and put them to flight. In the mean time the Earl of *Lancaster* had sent into *Lancashire* a Knight of his, named *Robert Holland*, (one whom he had brought up of nought) to raise more Forces amongst his Tenants; but he hearing of this flight of his Lords, goes with his Forces to take the King's part. Which so dismays the Earl, that he began now to think of suing to the King for grace: But being in the way, at a Town called *Borough-Bridge*, there was set upon by Sir *Simon Warde*, Sheriff of *York*, and Sir *Andrew Harkely*, Constable of *Carlile*, who utterly defeat his Forces. In which fight was slain the Earl of *Hereford*, (who fighting valiantly upon a Bridge, was by a Varlet skulking under the Bridge, thrust with a Spear into the fundament) Sir *Roger Bernford*, Sir *William Salland*, and others. There was taken the Earl of *Lancaster*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, Sir *John Mowbray*, Sir *Roger Tucket*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, with divers others, and were led to *York*. This field was fought the fifteenth day of *March*, in the year 1320. It was not long after that Sir *Hugh Daniel*, Sir *Bartholomew de Badlesmere* were taken. Three days after the Earl of *Lancaster* is brought to *Pomfret*, where the King sitting himself in judgment with *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, his Brother, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl *Warren*, *Hugh Spencer* lately created Earl of *Winchester*, and others; sentence of death is given against him, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded as a Traitor. The two first punishments are pardoned, in regard he was of Royal Blood; and beheaded he was the same day without the Town of *Pomfret*, before his own Castle. To speak of the Miracles said to be done by him after his death, might be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle; and therefore I omit them. By the like Judgment were condemned the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warren Lisle*, the Lord *William Tuchet*, *Thomas Mauduit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitz-William*, Lord *Cheyney*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, *Joceline* Lord *Daniel*; all which were executed at *York*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawn, hanged and quartered at *London*; *William* the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windsor*; the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Ashburton* at *Canterbury*; at *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, Sir *William Fleming*; at *Bristow*, Sir *Henry Womington*, and Sir *Henry Montford* Bannerets; at *Gloucester*, the Lord *Clifford*, and Sir *William Elmmbridge*, principal men in principal places; To spread the terror over the Kingdom, all their Estates and Inheritances are

1320.

The King answers for them.

But at last yields to their Banishment.

But soon revoked.

The Queen is denied to lodge in *Leeds* Castle.

The King revengeth the indignity.

The King provides an Army against the Barons. Of whom many submit themselves, yet are committed to custody.

The Earl of *Lancaster* defeated.

Is taken prisoner.

1322.

Is condemned, the King himself sitting in Judgment. Is beheaded.

Miracles done by him after his death.

Divers Lords and others executed.

The first blood of Nobility shed since the Conquest.

are confiscated, and many new men advanced by the same. And this is the first Blood of Nobility that ever was shed in this manner in *England* since *William* the Conqueror.

The King grieveth for the Earl of *Lancaster's* death.

But not long after, the King in a calmer humor began to have sense of the Earl of *Lancaster's* execution, which he discovered upon this occasion. Some about him making earnest suit for a Pardon to one of the Earl's followers, and pressing the King hard to it, he fell into a great passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who would urge him to save the life of a notorious Varlet, and would not speak one word for his near kinsman the Earl of *Lancaster*, who (said he) had he lived, might have been useful to me, and the whole Kingdom; but this fellow the longer he lives the more mischief he will do: And therefore by the soul of God he should die the death he had deserved. Sir *Andrew Harkeley*, who was the man that took the Earl of *Lancaster* prisoner being advanced for his Service to the Earldom of *Carlisle*, injoyed his honour but a while; for the next year after, either thrust out in discontent by the *Spencers*, envying his high preferment, or combining with the *Scots*, upon hope of a great match, (as he was accused) he is degraded of all his honours, drawn, hanged, and quartered at *London* for Treason.

1322.
K. *Edward* summoned into *France.*

But now the King of *France* summons King *Edward* to come and do his homage for *Gascoin*; and he not coming, all his Territories in *France* are adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance are seised on by the *French*. Hereupon a Parliament is called; and it is by common consent of all agreed, that the King should not go in person himself, in regard of the distraction of the times, but should send some special men to excuse his appearance: Whereupon *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the King's brother, is sent, but to little effect. Then it is thought fit the Queen should go, and indeed the Queen went; but what was the cause of her going, there is amongst Writers great variance. Some say she was sent by the King to accommodate this business; which she negotiated so well, as that all quarrels were ended, upon condition the King should give to his son *Edward* the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, with the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and send him over to do his homage for them. Which after many consultations, the King is wrought to yield unto; and the Prince is sent, with the Bishop of *Exeter* and others, to the Court of *France* accordingly: But others say, she went out of discontent, to complain to her brother the King of *France* for wrongs offered her by the *Spencers*, who had so alienated the King's mind from her, that he would scarce come where she was, nor allow her fit maintenance for her calling. But whatsoever was the cause of her going, there appeared no cause of her staying, but that she had gotten into her company, *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmore*, a gallant young Gentleman, whom she specially favoured, lately escaped out of the *Tower* of *London*, by giving his keepers (as was said) a sleeping drink. And withal, the Bishop of *Exeter* perceiving some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdraws himself secretly, and discovers to the King what he

His Queen goes to excuse his appearance. The reason of the Queen's going uncertain.

The Queen stays in *France* for the love of *Roger Mortimer.*

observed in their courses. Whereupon the King sends presently for the Queen and Prince, and solicits the King of *France* to hasten their return; which when he saw was neglected and delayed, he caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdom, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land; and withal caused all the ports to be strongly kept; and sends three Admirals to attend in several Coasts to hinder their landing. It was not without suspicion, that as the King for love of the *Spencers*, had his mind alienated from loving the Queen; so the Queen for love of *Mortimer* had her mind alienated from loving the King: And therefore having him with her, cared not how long she stayed. However it was, when the Queen heard of the King's Proclamation, she knew there was no returning for her into *England* without some good assistance. Whereupon soliciting her brother the King of *France*, he aided her with men and money, say some; but others, that he refusing to aid her, as being wrought under hand by the *Spencers* against her, she left the *French* Court, and went into *Heynault*, to the Earl of that Country, who upon a contract between her Son Prince *Edward* and *Philippa* the Earl's daughter, aided her with a competent Army under the conduct of his brother *John*; and with them and her beloved *Mortimer*, she took shipping and landed at *Orwell*, a Port near unto *Harwich* in *Suffolk*; where presently came to her the Earl-Marshal, *Henry* Earl of *Leicester*, and *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* with the wry neck, called *Torcall*, with many other Lords and Bishops. The King at this time being at *London*, and hearing of the Queen's landing with such Forces, and chiefly how all the Realm ran flocking to her, was suddenly struck-en into a great amazement; and tho he had his great Counsellors the *Spencers* about him, yet now he found what little good their counsel could do him: And indeed in this case what should he, or what could he do? To stay in *London* was apparent danger, for he plainly saw the *Londoners* to be more inclining to take the Queen's part than his; and to go from *London* to any other place was as unsafe, all places being possest either with certain enemies, or uncertain friends: At last the Isle of *Lundy* is thought of, a place plentiful of provision, abounding with Conies, Fish and Fowl, and the Island of hard access, as having but one place in it where it could be entered; and that so narrow that a few might easily keep out many. Upon this place he resolves, and taking with him the Earl of *Gloucester*, the *Spencers* and *Robert Baldock*, with some few others, he takes shipping, but by contrary winds is driven back, and fain through Tempests to Land in *Wales*; and there in the Abby of *Nethe* in *Glamorganshire* kept himself close. In the mean time the Queen was come to *Oxford*, when *Adam* Bishop of *Hereford* took for his Text, *Caput meum doleo*; and thereupon inferred, that the Kingdom being now deadly sick of its head, it was fit to remove that head, and put a sounder in the place. At this time also, the *Londoners* to shew their love to the Queen, seised upon *Walter Stapleton*, the good Bishop of *Exeter*, and Lord Treasurer of *England*, left Governor there by the King; and with great despight

1325.
Not coming at the King's sending for, they are proclaimed enemies to the State.

The Queen upon a match of her son Prince *Edward* with a daughter of the Earl of *Heynault*, is aided by him.

1326.
Coming into *England* many Lords resort unto her.

The King fearing the Queen's forces, flies to the Isle of *Lundy.*

But is driven into *Wales.*

The *Londoners* favour to the Queen.

despight beheaded him, as also divers others, only because they favoured the King. In the mean time the Queen went from *Oxford* to *Gloceſter*, and from thence to *Briſtow*, where *Hugh Spencer* the Father was, a man of fourſcore and ten years old; who is there taken, and without examination of Judgment, in moſt cruel manner executed, having his heart pulled out of his body being yet alive, and his body left hanging upon the Gallows. After this the Queen ſtayed at *Hereford* the ſpace of a month, and then dividing her Army, ſhe ſends one part of it under the Conduct of *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, and *Rice ap Powel*, a Clark, to find out the King: And this *Rice* being a *Welchman*, and knowing the Country well, brought the Earl to the Monaſtery of *Nethe*, where the King was, whom they there take, together with *Spencer* the Son, *Robert Baldock*, and *Simon* of *Reading*. The King is by the Biſhop of *Hereford* committed to the cuſtody of the Earl of *Leiceſter*; where all that Winter he was uſed no worſe than was fit for a captive King: But *Edmund* Earl of *Arundel*, *John Daniel*, and *Thomas Micheldene*, at the inſtance of *Mortimer*, are all three beheaded. Preſently after is *Hugh Spencer*, the younger, who was now Earl of *Gloceſter*, drawn, hanged, and quartered; his head ſent up to be ſet upon *London-Bridge*, and his four quarters beſtowed in ſeveral Cities. The like is done with *Simon* of *Reading*; but *Robert Baldock* is committed to *Newgate*, againſt whom, when no juſt cauſe of death could be found, there was uſed ſo much cruelty in his Impriſonment, that he ſhortly after died.

Hugh Spencer the Father executed; and moſt cruelly.

The King, with *Spencer* the Son and others, are taken and kept in cuſtody.

Spencer the Son hanged and quartered

Preſently after *Chriſtmas* a Parliament is called, wherein it was agreed to depoſe the King, and ſet up his Son; which he hearing, refuſed it, unleſs his father would freely reſign. Whereupon are appointed three Biſhops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, and of every City a Burgeſs to go to the King, (in cuſtody then at *Kenelworth*) the Biſhops were *John* of *Stratford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Adam Tarleton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*. But the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln*, getting to the King before the reſt came, perſuade the King to reſign his Crown to his eldeſt Son; craftily promiſing him he ſhould have as good maintenance afterward, as ever he had when he was King: And contrarily threatning him, that if he did not, the people would exclude both him and his Son too, and make a King of another Race. By theſe promiſes and threatnings, the meek King is drawn to yield to the Biſhop's motion: But when afterward the Biſhop of *Hereford* and the other Commiſſioners came, and were ſat in a place appointed to take his reſignation, the King coming forth amongſt them in mourning Robes, upon a ſudden fell down in a ſwoon, in whom the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, had much ado to recover life: But then the Biſhop of *Hereford* riſing up, delivered the cauſe of their coming, as the other Biſhops before had done. To which the King anſwered, That as he much grieved his people ſhould be ſo hardened againſt him, as utterly to reject him, ſo it was ſome comfort to him, that they would yet receive his Son to be their Sovereign. After this, *Thomas Blunt* Knight,

The Parliament agrees to depoſe the King and ſet up his Son.

The King is perſuaded by the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln* to reſign his Crown to his Son.

Coming to make his reſignation, he falls in a ſwoon.

The King is depoſed.

Steward of the King's houſe, brake the Staff of his Office; and *William Truſſel*, Speaker of the Parliament, in the name of the whole Kingdom, pronounced a Form of renouncing all Allegiance to *Edward* of *Carnarvon*. Here *Caxton* writes, that from the time of this King's depoſing, which was in *December*, to the time of his Son's Crowning, which was not till *Candlemas* following, all Pleas of the *King's-Bench* were ſtayed, and all Priſoners arreſted by Sheriffs, commanded to be ſet at liberty, which ſeems to have little probability, ſeeing his Son *Edward* preſently upon his depoſing was received for King. But howſoever, ſo great a Dowry was then aſſigned to Queen *Iſabel*, that ſcarce a third part of the revenues of the Crown is left for the new King and his Wife. And to the Late King is allowed a hundred Marks a month for his maintenance, with which he lived with his Couſin Earl of *Leiceſter*, in good plenty and contentment for a time; only this grieved him moſt of all (he ſaid) that the Queen his Wife would never be gotten to come to ſee him: For he ſwore moſt devoutly, that from the time he firſt ſaw her face, he could never like of any other woman. By which it may appear, that neither *Gaveſton*, nor the *Spencers* had ſo debauched him, as to make him falſe to his Bed, or to be diſloyal to his Queen. But the Queen being hardened againſt him, and conceiving he had too great liberty under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, by advice of her peſtilent Counſellor, *Adam Tarleton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, appoints *Thomas Gurney*, and *John Matrevers* Knights, to take him from the Earl into their own cuſtody, and to carry him whither they thought good. Who thereupon take him from *Kenelworth*, and carry him firſt to *Corf* Caſtle, and from thence to *Briſtow*; where they ſhut him in the Caſtle: Till upon knowledge of a Plot laid to get him out, and ſend him beyond Sea, they took him in the night and carried him to *Barkeley* Caſtle, where by the way they abuſed him moſt inhumanely, as Sir *Thomas de la More* a Knight of *Gloceſterſhire* in his life relateth. For to the end he ſhould not be known, they ſhaved his head and beard, and that in moſt beaſtly manner; for they took him from his Horſe, and ſet him upon a Hillock, and then taking puddle water out of a Ditch there by, they went to waſh him, his Barber telling him that cold water muſt ſerve for this time: Whereat the miſerable King looking ſternly upon him, ſaid, That whether they would or no, he would have warm water to waſh him; and therewithal to make good his word, he preſently ſhed forth a ſhower of tears. Never was King turned out of a Kingdom in ſuch a manner. Many Kingdoms have been loſt by the chance of War, but this Kingdom was loſt before any Dice were caſt; no blow ſtruck, no Battel fought; done forcibly, and yet without force; violently, and yet with conſent; both parties agreed, yet neither pleaſed; for the King was not pleaſed to leave his Kingdom, and the Queen was not pleaſed to leave him his life. It was not ſafe to leave him a part, by which he might afterward recover the whole: And therefore this was the mark now aimed at, having taken away his Kingdom openly, how they might take away his life ſecretly; be the

1326.

Is inhumanely uſed.

Authors

Authors of it, and not be ſeen in it, but this muſt be the Contents of a Chapter hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

BY this King it appears there is ſomething elſe beſides the grievance of Taxations, that alienates the minds of *Engliſh* Subjects from their King; for never were fewer Taxations than in this King's time, yet never were the Subjects minds more alienated from their King, than they were from him. Before his Coronation in a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Clergy, and a twentieth of the Temporalty. In his fifth year in a Parliament at *London*, was granted him a twentieth of the Temporalty. In his fifteenth year was granted the ſixth penny of temporal mens goods, through *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, towards his Wars with *Scotland*. And more than theſe we read not of; but then at the defeat of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, there were Confiſcations that ſupplied the place of Taxations, by which (as one ſaith) he became the richeſt King that had been ſince the Conqueſt.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE ordained that the money of his Father, though counted baſe by the People, ſhould be currant. In the eighth year of his Reign, by reaſon of a dearth which raiſed the price of all Victuals, it was ordained by Parliament, that an Ox fatted with graſs ſhould be ſold for fifteen ſhillings; fatted with Corn, for twenty; the beſt Cow for twelve ſhillings; a fat Hog of two years old, three ſhillings four pence; a fat Sheep ſhorn fourteen pence; with the Fleece, twenty pence; a fat Gooſe for two pence-half-penny, a fat Capon two pence; a fat Hen a penny, four Pidgeons a penny; whoſoever ſold for more, ſhould forfeit their ware to the King. But after theſe rates impoſed, all kind of Victuals grew ſo ſcarce, that Proviſion could hardly be made for the King's Houſe; whereupon ſhortly after, the Order was revoked, and Market-folks permitted to make the beſt of their Wares. In this King's time an Ordinance was made againſt Knights Templars, accuſed of Hereſy and other crimes; and they were all apprehended, and committed to divers Priſons. The like was done by all the Kings of Chriſtendom, at one inſtant, being condemned in a General Council at *Vienna*. In the 14 year of his Reign, on the 15 of *October*, the Clerks of the Exchequer went towards *York* with the Book called *Doomsday-Book*, and other Records, and Proviſion, that laded one and twenty Carts; but in half a year they were brought back again.

Price of Victuals in a dearth.

Knights Templars accuſed of Hereſy, and committed to priſon.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN the 17 year of his Reign the Biſhop of *Hereford* was arreſted, accuſed of High Treaſon, for aiding the King's Enemies in their late Rebellion; but he refuſed to anſwer, (being a conſecrated Biſhop) without leave of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whoſe Suffragan he was, (and who he ſaid was his direct Judge, next the Pope) or without the conſents of his fellow Biſhops, who then all aroſe, and humbly craved the King's Clemency in his behalf: But finding the King implacable, they took him away from the Bar, and delivered him to the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Shortly after he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy underſtanding, the Archbiſhops, *Canterbury*, *York*, and *Dublin*, with ten other Biſhops, all with their Croſſes erected, went to the place of Judgment, and again took him away with them; charging all men, upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him. With which audacious Act, the King was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he preſently commanded inquiry to be made *ex Officio Judicis*, concerning thoſe Objections againſt the Biſhop: Wherein he was found guilty, tho abſent, and had all his Goods and Poſſeſſions ſeiſed into the King's hands. In this King's time the *Crowchet-Friers* came firſt into *England*. In his time Pope *John* the two and twentieth, firſt inſtituted the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, begun before by *Urban* the fourth.

A Biſhop arreſted by the King, was reſcued by the other Biſhops.

Crowchet-Friers come firſt into *England*.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THIS King founded *Orial* Colledge, and St. *Mary*-Hall in *Oxford*: He builded a Church of Friers at his Mannor of *Langley*, where the Soul of *Gaveſton* ſhould be prayed for. In this King's twentieth year, *Richard Rothing* Sheriff of *London*, builded the Pariſh Church of *Garlick-Hithe* in *London*; *Ralph Baldock* Biſhop of *London*, gave Two thouſand Marks to the building of the new work of the Chappel on the South-ſide of *Paul's*-Church and left much more by his Teſtament.

Orial Colledge in *Oxford* founded.

Caſualties.

IN the eighth year of this King's Reign, was ſo great a dearth, that Horſes and Dogs were eaten, and Thieves in priſon pluckt in pieces thoſe that were newly brought in amongſt them, and eat them half alive; which continuing three years, brought in the end ſuch a peſtilence, that the living ſcarce ſufficed to bury the dead. In the fourth year of his Reign, the Church of *Middleton* in *Dorſetſhire*, with all the Monuments, was conſumed with Lightning, the Monks being at Mattins. In this King's time, digging the Foundation of a Work about *Pauls*, were found more than a hundred heads of Oxen and Kine, which confirmed the Opinion, That of old time it had been the Temple of *Diana*, and that there was the Sacrifice of Beaſts.

A marvellous dearth.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Iſabel*, Daughter of *Philip* the *Fair*, King of *France*, ſhe being but twelve years of age; who lived his Wife twenty years, his Widow thirty, and dying at threeſcore and three years old at *Riſings* near *London*, was buried in the midſt of *Gray-Friers* Quire in *London*. By her he had iſſue two Sons and two Daughters; his eldeſt Son named *Edward* of *Windſor*,

becauſe born there, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. His ſecond Son named *John* of *Eltham*, becauſe born there, was at twelve years old created Earl of *Cornwal*: He died in *Scotland* in the flower of his Youth, unmarried. His eldeſt Daughter *Joan*, being a Child, was married in the fourth year of K. *Edward* her Brother, to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Son to King *Robert Bruce*, at ſeven years old; who coming afterward into *England* to viſit her Brother, died here, and was buried at the *Gray-Friers* in *London*. His ſecond Daughter *Eleanor*, was married to *Reginald* the ſecond, Earl of *Gelder*, with a portion of fifteen thouſand pounds; and had iſſue by him two Sons, who were Earls ſucceſſively.

Of his Perſonage and Condition.

HE was fair of body, and of great ſtrength, but given much to drink, which made him ottentimes bewray his own Secrets. For his other conditions, his greateſt fault was, he loved but one; for if his love had been divided, it could not have been ſo violent. He was extream in nothing but in loving; and though love moderated be the beſt of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worſt of paſſions. He was rather unfortunate than unhappy: Seeing unfortunateneſs is in the event, unhappineſs in the cauſe: And if his fortune had been to love good men, his own goodneſs would have made him happy. Two Virtues were eminent in him above all his Predeceſſors, Continence, and Abſtinence: So continent, that he left no baſe iſſue behind him; ſo abſtinent, that he took no baſe courſes for raiſing of money. They who deſpiſed him being alive, ſo much honoured him being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to make him a Saint.

Of his Death and Burial.

Ways deviſed to take away his life.

MANY ways were attempted to take away his life. Firſt, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing he could well endure to eat; but this ſucceeded not. Then they lodged him in a Chamber over Carrion and dead Carcaſſes, enough to have poiſoned him; and indeed he told a workman at his Window, He never endured ſo great a miſery in all his life: But neither did this ſucceed. Then they attempted it by Poiſons, but whether by the ſtrength of his Conſtitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this ſucceed. At laſt the peſtilent *Achitophel*, the Biſhop of *Hereford*, deviſed a Letter to his Keepers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty, and for not doing the ſervice which was expected from them: And in the end of his Letter wrote this Line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt*: Craftily contriving it in this doubtful ſenſe, that both the Keepers might find ſufficient warrant, and himſelf might find ſufficient excuſe. The Keepers gueſſing at his meaning, took it in the worſt ſenſe, and accordingly put it in execution. They took him in his Bed, and caſting heavy Bolſters upon him, and preſſing them hard down, ſtifled him; and not content with that, they heated an Iron red hot, and through a Pipe thruſt it up into his Fundament, that no Marks of violence might be ſeen: But though none were ſeen, yet ſome were heard; for when the Fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the Caſtle over. *Gourney* and *Matrevers*, his murtherers, looking for Reward, had the Reward of Murtherers. For the Queen and Biſhop *Tarleton* diſavowing the command, threatned to queſtion them for the King's death; whereupon they fled beyond Sea: And *Gourney* after three years being taken in *France*, and ſent into *England*, was in the way upon the Sea, beheaded. *Matrevers* flying into *Germany*, had the grace to repent, but lived ever after miſerably. Thus died this King in the year 1327. more than half a year after his depoſing; when he had reigned almoſt 19 years, lived 43. His Body was carried to *Gloceſter*, and there without any Funeral Pomp buried in the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*, by the *Benedictine* Monks.

1327.

Of Men of Note in his Time.

IN this King's time, of Martial-men were many, whoſe acts have been ſpoken of in the late King's life. Of learned men alſo many, as *John Duns* the great Logician, called *Doctor Subtilis*, born in *Northumberland*, at *Emildune*, a Village three Miles diſtant from *Alnwick*; tho both the *Scots* and the *Iriſh* challenge him for theirs; *Robert Walſingham* a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers Treatiſes; *Robert Baſton* born in *Nottinghamſhire*, a Carmelite Frier of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* took with him into *Scotland*, to write ſome Remembrances of his Victories: But being taken by the *Scots*, was conſtrained by *Robert Bruce* to write Remembrances of his Overthrows; *William Riſhanger*, a Monk of St. *Albans*, and Hiſtoriographer; *Ralph Baldock*, Biſhop of *London*, who wrote a Hiſtory intituled, *Hiſtoria Anglica*; *John Walſingham* a Carmelite-Frier, who wrote divers Treatiſes; *Nicholas de Lira*, a *Jew* by Birth, who wrote many Excellent Treatiſes in Divinity; *William Ockam* a Frier Minor, who wrote divers Treatiſes, and namely againſt *John Duns*, and alſo againſt Pope *John* the 23. in favour of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; *Thomas Halſewood*, a Canon of *Leeds* in *Kent*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Chronicum Compendiarium*; *Robert Perſcrutator*, born in *Yorkſhire*, a Black-Frier and a Philoſopher, or rather a Magician; and laſt, though not leaſt worthy to be remembred, *John Mandevile*, the great Traveller, a Doctor of Phyſick, and a Knight.

John Duns called *Doctor Subtilis* when he lived.

John Mandevile the great Traveller, when he lived.

Majors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Reign.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Major.
Nicholas Pigot, *Nigellus Drury*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Nicholas Farindon was Major.
William Baſing, *James Butler*, Sheriffs.

In

In his third year,
Thomas Romaine was Major.
Roger le Palmer, James of St. *Edmund*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Richard Reffam was Major.
Simon Cooper, Peter Blackney, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Gysors* was Major.
Simon Mepwood, Richard Wilford, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *John Gysors* continued Major.
John Lambin, Adam Lutkin, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Nicholas Farendon was Major.
Robert Gurden, Hugh Garton, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *John Gysors* was Major.
Stephen Abington, Hammond Chickwel, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Stephen de Abington was Major.
Hammond Goodcheap, Will. Bodeleigh, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
John Wingrave was Major.
William Caston, Ralph Balancer, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
John Wingrave continued Major.
John Prior, William Fusneaux, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
John Wingrave continued Major.
John Pointel, John Dalling, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Simon de Abington, John Preston, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Major.
Renauld at the Conduit, *Will. Brodham*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Richard Constantine, Rich. de Hackney, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Major.
John Grantham, Richard de Ely, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Major.
Adam of *Salisbury, John* of *Oxford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Benet of *Fulham, John Causton*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Major.
Gilbert Mordon, John Causton, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Richard Britain was Major.
Richard Rothing, Roger Chauntclere, Sheriffs,

THE LIFE and REIGN of King EDWARD III.

Of his coming to the Crown, and Acts done in his Minority.

Anno Dom. 1327.

EDWARD of *Windsor*, eldest Son of King *Edward* the Second, by the Order of Parliament, upon his Father's Resignation, was Proclaimed King of *England* on the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the year 1327. And because he had not yet received the Order of Knighthood, he was by *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* girt solemnly with the Sword; and on the first day of *February* following, was Crowned at *Westminster* by *Walter Reginald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And thereupon a general Pardon is proclaimed, which hath since been used as a Custom with all succeeding Kings; That at their first coming to the Crown, a general Pardon is always granted. And because the King was under age, scarce fifteen years old (though *Froissard* saith he was then eighteen) there were twelve appointed Governors of him and the Kingdom; namely, the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*; *Thomas* of *Brotherton* Earl Marshal, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncles; *John* Earl *Warren*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Pierce*, *Oliver* Lord *Ingham*, and *John* Lord *Rosse*: But though these were appointed and bore the name, yet the Queen and *Roger Mortimer* took all the authority to themselves. The first action that was undertaken, was an Expedition against the *Scots*; for *Robert Bruce*, though now old and sickly, and (as was said) Leprous: Yet considering the youth of the new King, and the distractions of the Kingdom, thought it now a fit time to do some good upon *England*; and entring the *English* Borders with an Army, sent defiance to King *Edward*. Whereupon an Army is raised, and the *Heynaulders*, (whom the Queen had brought over) are joined with the *English*: But a variance falling out between the two Nations, made the Action not successful. For the King's Army encountring the *Scots* at *Stanhope* Park in *Weredal*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, though three times as many as the *Scots*, as being Thirty thousand; yet through this variance, but more through Treason of some great men, suffered them all to escape their hands, and the *Scots* returned home in safety, the *English* with dishonour: and after this, the *English* seeing the *Heynaulders* could do them no good, sent them away to their own Country. In King *Edward*'s second year, his Marriage with *Philippa* of *Heynault* is solemnized, (a dispensation being first gotten, because of their nearness in Blood) and a Parliament is holden at *Northampton*, where the King made three Earls; *John* of *Eltham* his Brother, Earl of *Cornwal*; *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*; and *James Butler* of *Ireland*, Earl of *Ormond*. And in this Parliament a dishonourable Peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match between *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, being but seven years old, and *Jane*, Sister to King *Edward*, not so old. At which time by the secret working of Queen *Isabel*, *Roger Mortimer*, and Sir *James Douglass*, the King surrenders by his Charter all his Title of Soveraignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, restores divers Deeds and Instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous Evidence called *Ragmans-Roll*, and many ancient Jewels and Monuments, amongst which was the Black Cross of *Scotland*; and besides, any *English*-man is prohibited to hold Lands in *Scotland*, unless he were a dweller there. In consideration whereof K. *Bruce* was to pay 30000 Marks, and to renounce his Claim to the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and any other place possessed by him in *England*. This was no good beginning, and yet worse followed after. For another Parliament being holden at *Winchester*, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle, is there accused, and condemned upon his confession, for intending to restore his Brother, the late King *Edward*; an intention only without any fact, yet condemned he was, and brought to the Scaffold: But generally so beloved of the people, that he stood on the Scaffold from one a Clock till five, before any Executioner could be found that would do the Office; till at last a silly wretch of the Marshalsey was gotten to cut off his head. But the Authors of his death escaped not long themselves; for in the third year of the King's Reign, another Parliament is holden at *Nottingham*, wherein the Queen hath all her great Jointure taken from her, and is put to her Pension of a thousand pounds a year, and her self confined to a Castle, where she remained the rest of her days, no fewer than thirty years. A time long enough to find that her being the Daughter of a King, the Sister of a King, the Wife of a King, and the Mother of a King, were glorious Titles, but all not

K. *Edward* the third crowned.

A general Pardon at the King's Coronation, when first begun.

His first action was an expedition against the *Scots*, but without success, and why.

He marries *Philippa* of *Heynault*.

K. *Edward* surrenders all his title to the Crown of *Scotland*.

Anno 1329. *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle, beheaded, and why.

K. *Edward* confineth his Mother.

1330.

Seiseth upon *Mortimer*, and in what manner.

not worth the liberty of a mean Estate. And as for *Mortimer*, (lying then in the Castle of *Nottingham*, and lately created Earl of the *Marches* in *Wales*) he was seised on in this manner; the King taking with him *William Montacute*, *Robert Holland* and others, goes secretly one Night by Torch-light, through a privy way under ground, till they come to the Queen's Chamber; where leaving the King without, they entred and found the Queen with *Mortimer*, ready to go to bed. Then laying hands on him, they led him forth, after whom the Queen followed, crying, *Bel fits ayes pitie du gentil Mortimer*; Good Son, good Son, take pity upon the gentle *Mortimer*, suspecting that her Son had been amongst them. This course was taken to apprehend him for avoiding of tumult, having no fewer than Nineteore Knights and Gentlemen, besides other meaner servants continually about him. But thus seised on, he is committed presently to the *Tower*, accused of divers great Crimes, whereof these were chief; That he had procured the late King's death; That he had been the Author of the *Scots* safe escaping at *Stanhope* Park, corrupted with the gift of Thirty thousand pounds; That he had procured the late Marriage and Peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; That he had been two familiar with the Queen, as by whom she was thought to be with Child. Of which Articles he was found guilty and condemned, and thereupon is drawn and hanged upon the common Gallows, at the Elms, now called *Tiburn*; where his body remained two days as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders.

Who is hanged at *Tiburn*.

After these businesses in *England*, there comes a new business upon him from the King of *France*; for about this time *Philip le Bel*, King of *France*, the Queen's Brother, dying without issue, the right of succession to the Crown is devolved upon the Heir to *Charles* a former King, wherein are Competitors *Philip* Duke *de Valois*, and *Edward* King of *England*. *Edward* is the nearer in blood, but draws his Pedigree by a Female; *Philip* the farther of, but descending by all Males: And because the Law *Salique* excluding Females, was conceived as well to exclude all descendants by females, therefore is *Philip*'s Title preferred before King *Edward*'s, and *Philip* is received and Crowned King of *France*: To which preferment of his, *Robert de Artois*, a Peer of great power, gave no small furtherance. And now as soon as *Philip* was invested in the Crown, he summons *Edward* to come and do his Homage for the Duchy of *Guyen*, and his other Lands in *France*, held of that Crown, according to the custom; which though it were some prejudice to King *Edward*'s claim afterward, yet in regard his Kingdom of *England* was scarce well setled, and himself was young, he was contented to do it: And thereupon the sixth of *June*, in the year 1329. K. *Edward* in a Crimson Velvet Gown, imbroidered with Leopards, with his Crown on his head, his Sword by his side, and Golden Spurs on his heels, presents himself in the body of the Cathedral Church of *Amyens* before King *Philip*, sitting in his Chair of Estate, in a Velvet Gown of a violet colour, imbroidered with Flowers *de Lis* of Gold, his Crown on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him. The Viscount *Melun*, Chamberlain of *France*, first commands King *Edward* to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and to kneel down, which he did on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before King *Philip*; and then the Viscount putting both his hands together between the hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were these: *You become Liegeman to my Master here present, as Duke of* Aquitaine, *and Peer of* France; *and you promise to bear Faith and Loyalty to him*: Say, Yea. And King *Edward* said *Yea*, and kissed the King of *France* on the mouth, as Lord of the Fee. The like homage also he did for the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. But this act of submission left a rancor in King *Edward*'s heart, which afterwards brake so out, that it had been good for *France* it had never been exacted.

K. *Edward* claims the Crown of *France*, but *Philip* of *Valois* is preferred, and why.

K. *Edward* doth homage to the King of *France* for his Duchy of *Guyenne*, and the manner of doing it.

This done, King *Edward* returns home, and there finds a new business with *Scotland*, upon this occasion. *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol*, (sometimes King of *Scotland*) two and thirty years after his Father's deposition, began now to shew himself, attempting the recovery of that Crown; and coming out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, and getting aid under-hand in *England*, with them he suddenly assails those who had the Government of *Scotland* during the Nonage of the young King *David* (being at that time with the King of *France*) and in a Battel overcame them, with the slaughter of many Noblemen, and thousands of the common people; and thereupon was immediately Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But notwithstanding this great defeat, K *Baliol* was forced to retire himself into *England*, to get more aid of K. *Edward*. Who now shews himself in the action, joins with *Baliol* against his Brother-in-Law K. *David*; goes in person with a strong Army to recover *Berwick*, which after three months siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, is taken in, and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the rescue thereof, at *Hallidown-Hill*, utterly defeated: Where were slain seven Earls, ninety Knights, and Bannerets, four hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common Soldiers, as our Writers report: As theirs, but fourteen thousand. And with this effusion of blood is *Baliol* returned to his miserable Kingdom; and to hold good correspondence with the King of *England* hereafter, doth him homage for his Realm of *Scotland*, and the Islands adjacent. But though he had a Kingdom, yet he had not quietness; for many of the *Scots*, aided by the *French*, made War upon him divers years after; during all which time, King *David* with his Wife remained in *France*. If any man marvel why King *Edward* would aid *Baliol* against K. *David*, who had married his sister, he may consider that alliances, how near soever, weigh but light in the Scales of State.

Edward Baliol is crowned King of *Scotland*.

K. *Edward* aids *Baliol* against his Brother-in Law K. *David*.

1333.

The *Scots* defeated at *Hallidown-Hill*.

About this time, the Isle of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, for which service King *Edward* gave him the Title of *King of Man*.

William Montacute Earl of *Salisbury* hath the Title given him to be King of *Man*.

Of

Of his Acts after he came of Age.

K *Edward* is p rſuaded by *Robert d Artois* to make War upon *France.*

AND now *Robert* of *Artois* baniſhed out of *France*, comes into *England*, whom King *Edward* makes Earl of *Richmond*, and of his Council. This *Robert* perſuades King *Edward* to make War upon *France*, to which Crown (he ſaid) he had more right than he that held it. With whoſe perſuaſions, King *Edward* is at laſt reſolved to undertake the enterpriſe; and to furniſh himſelf of noble Chieftains, he at one time in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the eighth year of his Reign, creates ſix Earls, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* he made Earl of *Derby*, *William Montacute* he made Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Audeley* Earl of *Gloceſter*, *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntington*, and *Robert Clifford*, or *Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*: Alſo twenty Knights, of whom *Thomas de la Moore*, who writ the life of the King's Father, was one. Withal, he ſends the Biſhop of *Lincoln* to procure Leagues of amity with divers Princes abroad. Where it is ſcarce worth remembring what *Froiſſard* mentions here; That certain young Gentlemen covered one of their eyes with a piece of Silk, and vowed to ſee but with one eye, till it might be ſeen what great deeds of Arms they performed; but for all this Vow of theirs, we hear nothing of their exploits. And as the King of *England* laboured to procure himſelf friends, ſo likewiſe the King of *France* got to take his part the Biſhop of *Liege*, with the Dukes and Earls of *Gelders*, *Juliers*, *Cleve*, *Heynault*, and *Brabant*; and with the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and *Valeran* his Brother; *John* King of *Bohemia*, Earl of *Luxemberg*, *Henry Count Palatine*, *Aubert* Biſhop of *Mentz*, *Otho* Duke of *Auſtria*, *Ame* Earl of *Geneva*, with many other Princes and Captains out of *Germany*, *Spain*, and other Countries. King *Edward* thus reſolved in himſelf, and furniſhed with friends abroad, goes over into *Flanders*, with his Queen and Children, makes his reſidence at *Antwerp*; where by perſuaſion of the *Flemings*, he takes upon him the Stile, Title, and Arms of the King of *France*: For by this they accounted themſelves diſobliged of the Bond of Twenty hundred thouſand Crowns which they had entred into, never to bear Arms againſt the King of *France*: And hereupon the League was eſtabliſhed between them and King *Edward*. And from this time forward the Kings of *England* quartered the Arms of *France* with thoſe of *England*, and took upon them the name of Kings of *France*. And now King *Edward* for a beginning to put his claim in execution, ſets upon *Cambray*, and enters *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierach*. On the other ſide King *Philip* ſeiſeth on the Duchy of *Guyenne*, and ſends thither the *Counte d' Eu* Conſtable of *France*, with the Earls of *Foix* and *Armigniack*. At laſt both Armies came ſo near together, that a fight was appointed the Friday after: But upon better conſideration, the *Engliſh* thought it no diſcretion to give Battel to an Army ſo much greater than their own, if they could avoid it: And the *French* thought it as little diſcretion for them to hazard the perſon of the Prince within his own Kingdom, and perhaps were not a little moved with the warning given them by *Robert* King of *Sicily*, a great Aſtronomer, That he foreſaw by the Stars, ſome great misfortune to threaten the *French*, if they ſhould that day fight with the *Engliſh*, King *Edward* being preſent. And thus both Armies having their ſeveral reaſons to decline the Battel, they parted without doing any thing; only an accident happened ſcarce worth remembring, yet muſt be remembred. A Hare ſtarting out before the head of the *French* Army, cauſed a great ſhout to be made, whereupon, they who ſaw not the Hare, but only heard the ſhout, ſuppoſing it to be the on-ſet of the Battel, diſpoſed themſelves to fight: And fourteen Gentlemen for encouragement ſake, as the cuſtom is, were Knighted; called afterward in merriment, Knights of the Hare.

1330.

The Armies of the two Kings being near together, yet part without fighting, and why.

Knights of the Hare, why ſo called.

But now K. *Edward* muſt a little look home; and therefore leaving the Queen in *Brabant*, he paſſeth himſelf into *England* about *Candlemas*, having been in *Brabant* about a year; and landing at the *Tower* about midnight, and finding it unguarded, was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he preſently ſends for the Major of *London*, commanded him to bring before him the Chancellor and Treaſurer, with Sir *John Saint Paul*, *Michael Wath*, *Philip Thorpe*, *Henry Stratford*, Clergymen, (who it ſeems were Officers for his Receipts) and *John Stonore* Juſtice of the Bench: All which, except the Chancellor, were apprehended and committed to priſon, as were afterward in like manner divers Officers of Juſtice, and Accomptants, upon enquiry of their unjuſt proceedings. During the King's abode in *England*, *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, left in *Flanders* to oppoſe the *French*, having performed divers great exploits, were at laſt in an encounter about *Liſle* ſo overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken and ſent priſoners to *Paris*. Beſides, about this time two accidents happened that were thought would be great rubs in King *Edward*'s proceedings; one, that his Wives Father, *William* Earl of *Heynault*, dying, and leaving his Son to ſucceed, his Son left his Brother King *Edward*, and fell to take part with the King of *France*; the other, that the Duke of *Normandy* thinking himſelf as ſtrong as ever *William* Duke of *Normandy* was that conquered *England*, he ſaw no reaſon but he might conquer it as well as that *William*; and thereupon makes preparation by Sea and Land to attempt the enterpriſe: But theſe were but vapours that never came to be winds, at leaſt brought no ſtorms. For *John* Earl of *Heynault* had quickly enough of the King of *France*, and was ſoon after reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*; and the Duke of *Normandy* went no further than preparations; for indeed King *Edward* proſecuted his courſes againſt *France* with ſuch heat, that all the neighbouring Princes ſeeing a fire kindled ſo near their own borders, were glad to look to themſelves at home. But now to impede the King of *England*'s return into *France*, King *Philip* had provided a mighty Navy in the Haven of *Sluce*, conſiſting of two hundred ſail of Ships, (beſides many Gallies) and two thouſand armed Men in the Port ready to encounter him upon his landing; whereof King *Edward* being advertiſed, prepares the like number of Ships, and ſets out to Sea,

William Montacute Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* taken priſoners by the *French.*

Sea upon *Midſummer* Eve, is met the morrow after with a Navy likewiſe from the North-parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*, and incounters his Enemy who lay to intercept him, with ſuch force and courage, and ſuch advantage of Wind and Sun, that he utterly defeated their whole Navy, took and ſunk all their Ships, ſlew Thirty thouſand men, and landed with as great glory, as ſuch a victory, (the greateſt that ever before was gotten by the *Engliſh* at Sea) could yield, tho King *Edward* himſelf was there wounded with an Arrow in the thigh. Moſt of the *French*, rather than to endure the Arrows of the *Engliſh*, or be taken, deſperately leap'd into the Sea; whereupon the *French* King's Jeſter, ſet on to give notice to him of his overthrow, (which being ſo ill news, none elſe would willingly impart unto him) ſaid, and oftentimes repeated it in the King's hearing; Cowardly *Engliſh*-men, Daſtardly *Engliſh*-men, Faint-hearted *Engliſh*-men! The King at length asked him why? For that (ſaid he) they durſt not leap out of their Ships into the Sea as our brave *French*-men did. By which ſpeech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow, which the *French* attributed to *Nicholas Butchet*, one of their Chief Commanders, who had armed his Ships with men of baſe condition, (content with ſmall pay) and refuſed Gentlemen and ſufficient Soldiers, in regard they required greater wages. And indeed it often happens, that the avarice of Commanders is the occaſion of great defeats.

K. Edward takes and ſinks two hundred Sail of *French* Ships.

How the *French* King's Jeſter gave notice of his overthrow to the King.

By this Victory King *Edward* gained a free entrance into *Flanders*, and preſently went and beſieged *Tournay* with an Army of five and fifty thouſand; but was ſo valiantly encountred by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Earl of *Armigniack*, that they routed his Army, and ſlew four thouſand upon the place: Which ſo enraged King *Edward*, that two days after he ſent a Challenge to King *Philip* to meet him in a ſingle Combat, or with an hundred againſt as many, before the Walls of *Tournay*. King *Philip* anſwers, that his challenge being made to *Philip de Valois*, without mention of King, he took it not to be to him, who was truly King of *France*; but he wiſhed him to remember the homage he had done him at *Amiens*, and the wrong he did to the Chriſtian world, by his troubleſome courſes to hinder him from his Voyage intended to the *Holy-land*. Beſides this anſwer in writing, he ſends to him by word of mouth, That by his challenge he hazarded nothing of his own, but expoſed only the Dominion of another, which was againſt all reaſon: But if he would ſet his Kingdom of *England*, though much meaner, againſt his of *France*, he would then accept the challenge, and meet him in the field in ſingle Combat. But this King *Edward* would not kearken to, for as he was valiant to make the challenge, ſo he was circumſpect to look to the conditions. But hereupon he continues his ſiege of *Tournay*; to the relief whereof King *Philip* ſends all the Forces he could poſſibly make by himſelf or his friends: And after the ſiege had continued three months, partly by mediation of *Robert* King of *Sicily*, but chiefly by the Lady *Jane* of *Valois*, ſiſter to King *Philip*, and mother of King *Edward*'s Wife, (who had vowed her ſelf a Nun, but to do this good office, travelled from one to another) a Truce was concluded for a year, and both their Armies are diſſolved.

K. Edward's Army of five and fifty thouſand defeated.

K. Edward ſends a challenge to the K. of *France*, and the K. of *France*'s anſwer.

A Truce is concluded between the two Kings.

After this, King *Edward* returning into *England*, was advertiſed how the *Scots* after many other places gained, had beſieged the Caſtle of *Striveling*; for relief whereof, the King makes all the haſte he can: And yet before he could come, it was by force of Battery compelled to render it ſelf upon conditions. Then King *Edward* being at *Berwick*, paſſeth to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, where he ſtays a month, waiting for his proviſion that was to come by Sea; but that being driven into other parts by Tempeſt, he makes a Truce with the *Scots* for three or four months, and then returns home. In the time of this Truce, the *Scots* ſend to King *David*, to come and govern the Kingdom in his own perſon; who thereupon taking his leave of the King of *France*, with whom he had remained ſeven years, he with his Wife *Joan*, King *Edward*'s ſiſter, returns into *Scotland*: Where, after he had been moſt honourably received by the Prince of *Orkney*, and the other Lords and Barons of the Kingdom; as ſoon as the Truce was ended, with a ſtrong Army enters *Northumberland*, paſſing on to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, where he plants his Camp. Of this Caſtle, *John Nevill* was left Governor by King *Edward*, who ſending out certain Companies, took the Earl *Murray* priſoner; and with the ſlaughter of divers of his men, and rich booties, returned back to his Caſtle: Which ſo incenſed King *David*, that he aſſaulted the Caſtle as a man enraged; but finding it too ſtrong for his taking, he then paſſed into the Province of *Durham*, where he uſed all kinds of cruelty, firſt upon the Country, and then upon the City, killing Men, Women, and Children, Clergy, and others; burning and deſtroying Houſes, and Churches, and utterly defacing it. From thence he paſſeth on to the Caſtle of *Werk*, which Caſtle belonged to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, in right of his Wife; but himſelf being then priſoner in *France*, only his Counteſs, and one *William Montacute* a Couſin of his, was in the Caſtle. This *William* perceiving the *Scottiſh* Horſe to be ſo over-charged with pillage, that they were ſcarce able to go; iſſues out of the Caſtle with forty Horſe, ſets upon them, kills two hundred, and takes ſixſcore, whom he brings with their rich pillage into the Caſtle. King *David* ſoon after with his whole Army arrived; but hearing of King *Edward*'s coming, (who certified of theſe things, made all the haſte he could) he retires himſelf from thence; and King *Edward* finding him gone before he came, yet would needs go in and viſit the Counteſs: Of whom as ſoon as he ſaw her, he was ſo enamoured, that he laid more battery to her chaſtity, than King *David* had done to her Caſtle; but finding it inexpugnable, after a day and a night he left it, and followed after the *Scots*, with whom for three days together he had many Skirmiſhes, till at laſt a Truce was concluded for two years; and amongſt other conditions, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, a priſoner with the King of *France*, was ſet at liberty in exchange for the Earl *Murray*, priſoner with the King of *England*.

K. David of *Scotland* enters *England* with an Army.

Is repelled at the Caſtle of *Werk*.

K. Edward's love to the Counteſs of *Salisbury*.

William Earl of *Salisbury* ſet at liberty by exchange.

About

About this time another difference fell out between the Kings of *England* and *France*. *John* Earl of *Montford* laid claim to the Duchy of *Britain*, but in the quarrel was taken priſoner by the King of *France*. His Lady ſends to King *Edward* for ſuccour; which King *Edward* grants upon condition that a marriage be made between his Daughter *Mary*, and the Earl of *Montford*'s ſon: Which being agreed on, he ſends over to her aid, firſt *Walter de Manny*, a valiant Knight, and afterward *Robert d' Artois*. But while his Army was preparing, King *Edward* was informed by *Edward Baliol*, the pretended King of *Scotland*, and Governor of *Berwick*, That the *Scots* had not kept the Conditions of the Truce; whereupon King *Edward* draws a great Army to *Berwick*, with a purpoſe to do great matters, but nothing was done, for a new Truce was again concluded for two years. By this time *Robert d' Artois* had made ready his Army, and taking with him the Counteſs of *Montford*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Suffolk*, and many other Barons, after great Tempeſts and Encounters as Sea, lands ſafely at laſt near to *Vannes*, which was held by the *French*; and laying ſiege to the City, with the aſſiſtance of *Walter de Manny*, who came unto him, after many aſſaults, at laſt he took it, to the great joy of the Counteſs of *Montford*, tho ſhe held it not long; for certain reſolute *French* Knights aſſaulted it ſoon after, and recovered it from the *Engliſh*. In which action many Lords were ſlain or wounded, and particularly *Robert d' Artois* himſelf; who paſſing over into *England*, for the better curing of his wounds, ſoon after died, and was buried in *Paul*'s Church in *London:* And now King *Edward* himſelf with a ſtrong Army paſſeth over into *Britain*, and plants his Camp before the City of *Vannes*, where was like to have been a cruel Battel; but in the inſtant there came from Pope *Clement* the ſixth, two Cardinals, the Biſhops of *Preneſte* and *Tuſculum*: Who upon certain conditions concluded a Peace. Amongſt other conditions this was one, That the City of *Vannes* ſhould be delivered to King *Philip*; and thereupon *John* Earl of *Montford* ſhould be ſet at liberty, but yet with this charge, not to go into *Britain*: Which promiſe notwithſtanding he kept not, but went preſently and beſieged a Town in *Britain*, though he were forced to retire, and died ſhortly after. But the Truce cracked thus, as it were, by *Montford*, was afterward abſolutely broken by King *Edward*; tho he charged the breach of it upon King *Philip*, and King *Philip* upon him. But howſoever, broken it was, and *Henry* of *Lancaſter* Earl of *Derby*, with divers other Earls and Barons, is ſent into *France*, who won many Towns in *Gaſcoine*, and in the Counties of *Perigort* and *Tholouſe*, and then went to Winter at *Burdeaux*. And afterward in *May* following, purſuing his Victories, he won many more Towns; and amongſt others, the great Town of *Reoll*. After this again, he took *Montpeſat*, *Maurore*, *Villefranche*, and many other Towns; and at laſt the great City of *Angouleſme*, and then came to winter again at *Burdeaux*.

Robert Artois wounded, dieth.

A Peace concluded between the two Kings: But ſoon broken.

K. *Edward* wins many Towns in *France*.

Of his Acts together with the Prince.

KING *Philip* informed of ſo many great loſſes, aſſembles a mighty Army, no leſs than a Hundred thouſand men, with which he recovers *Miremont*, and *Villefranche*, and then proceeded to beſiege *Angouleſme*: Whom the Earl of *Derby* having not forces ſufficient to encounter, King *Edward* (leaving for Wardens of *England* in his abſence, the Lords *Piercy* and *Nevill*) goeth himſelf in perſon with an Army (as *Froiſſard* ſaith) of fourſcore thouſand men at Arms, and ten thouſand Archers, beſides thoſe out of *Wales* and *Ireland*: Taking with him his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Guyen*, being then but of the age of fifteen years. It may be thought prepoſterous in King *Edward* to put his Son to be a Soldier before he was come to be a man: But it ſeems he had a longing to try his Son's valour in the bud, and perhaps was loth to omit any thing that might give any countenance to this Battel, in which the two Kingdoms were laid as it were at ſtake: But howſoever, taking him along with him, and almoſt all the Lords of his Kingdom, he takes Shipping, and lands at *Normandy*, where at his firſt ſetting his foot on ground, he took ſuch a fall, that the blood guſhed out at his noſe; which the Barons took for an ill ſign, but the King took it for a good: Saying, It was a ſign that the Land deſired to have him. And indeed he preſently took the Towns of *Harfleur*, *Moulburough*, *Carenton*, and St. *Lo*, and afterward the City of *Caen* it ſelf; and from thence paſſed to the County of *Eureux*, ſacked and pillaged it, as alſo the City of *Giſors*, *Vernon*, *Meulen*, and *Boulebourſe*, to the City of *Poiſſy*. King *Philip* all this while ſtayed about *Paris*, as looking for King *Edward*, to give him Battel there; and for that purpoſe had planted his Camp near to St. *Germans*: But King *Edward* deceived him. For going from *Poiſſy*, he paſſed into *Picardy* and *Ponthieu*, where he took and burned many Towns and Caſtles; and then paſſed the River of *Soam*, though not without danger: For King *Philip* had ſent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot to ſtop his paſſage. King *Edward* notwithſtanding reſolves to paſs, or periſh, and plungeth foremeſt into the River, crying out, They who love me will follow me. At which voice every man ſtrove who ſhould go foremoſt, and ſo the ſhore was preſently gained by the *Engliſh*. *Gundemar* aſtoniſhed with this bold adventure, aſtoniſheth his people with his fearful countenance: So that the *Engliſh* encountring the *French* all in diſorder, put them to flight. King *Philip* enraged with this diſhonour, reſolves to revenge it; and preſently provokes King *Edward* to Battel. King *Edward* had now encamped in a Village called *Creſſy*, his Army conſiſted of Thirty thouſand men, which he divided into three Battalia's: The firſt was led by the young Prince of *Wales*, with whom were joined the Earl of *Warwick*, *Geoffery* of *Harecourt*, *Thomas Holland*, *Richard Stafford*, *John Chandois*, *Robert Nevill*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, two thouſand Archers, and a thouſand

The King of *France* aſſembles an Army of a hundred thouſand men, and with them recovers ſome Towns.

K. *Edward* goes in perſon with an Army into *France* taking the Prince of *Wales* with him, being but fifteen years of age.

K. *Edward* at his landing takes a fall, but takes it for a good ſign.

K. *Edward*'s valiant reſolution.

1346.

The Battel between the two Kings at *Creſſy*.

thouſand *Welch*. In the ſecond were the Earls of *Northampton* and of *Arundel*, the Lords, *Roſſe*, *Baſſet*, and others, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. In the third the King was himſelf, having about him ſeven hundred men at Arms, and three thouſand Archers. The Battels thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from rank to rank to view them; encouraging every man that day to have regard to his Right and Honour. The *French* King's Army was far greater, conſiſting of above ſixty thouſand Combatants well armed; whereof the chief were *Charles* Duke of *Alanſon* the King's Brother, *John* of *Luxemburgh* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Blois* the King's Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorain*, the Earls of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, *Sancerre*; of Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, about three thouſand. The Vantguard he commits to his Brother the Count *de Alanſon*, the Reer to the Earl of *Savoy*, the main Battel he leads himſelf; his heat out of confidence of Victory, was ſo great, that it ſcarce permitted time for a little counſel what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* adviſed, That the Army ſhould take ſome repaſt, and that the Infantry, conſiſting of *Genoueſes* (which were above Fifteen thouſand Croſs-Bows, and ſure men) ſhould make the firſt Front, and the Cavalry to follow; which was agreed on. But the Count of *Alanſon*, contrary to this order, took it ill that the *Genoueſes* were in the firſt rank; and in fury cauſed them to change place, which bred that diſcontentment, that it irritated them more againſt the Leader than the Enemy. Beſides, there fell at the inſtant ſuch a ſhower of Rain, as diſſolved their ſtrings, and made their Bows of little uſe; and at the breaking up of the ſhower, the Sun ſhone full in the face of the *French* (dazling their ſight) and on the back of the *Engliſh*, as if all made for them. King *Edward*, who had gotten to a Windmill, beholding as from a Sentinel, the countenance of the Enemy, and diſcovering the diſturbance made by the change of place, inſtantly ſends to charge that part, without giving them time to re-accommodate themſelves: Whereupon the diſcontented *Genoueſes* recoil, which the *Count de Alanſon* perceiving, he comes on with the Horſe, and in great rage cries out, On, on, let us make way upon the bellies of theſe *Genoueſes*, who do but hinder us: And inſtantly pricks on with a full career through the midſt of them, followed by the Earls of *Lorain* and *Savoy*, and never ſtays till he came up to the *Engliſh* Battel, where the Prince was. The fight grew hot and doubtful, inſomuch as the Commanders about the Prince ſend to K. *Edward* to come up with his power to aid him. The King asks the Meſſengers, Whether his Son were ſlain or hurt: Who anſwering, No, but that he was like to be overlaid: Well then (ſaid the King) return and tell them who ſent you, That ſo long as my Son is alive, they ſend no more to me whatever happen; for I will that the honour of this day be his. And ſo being left to try for themſelves, they wrought it out with the Sword; the rather becauſe the *French* King having his Horſe ſlain under him, and in danger to be trodden to death, had he not been recovered by the Lord *Beaumont*, was to the great diſcouragemeut of his people, withdrawn out of the Field: Whereof notice being once taken by the *Engliſh*, the day was ſoon after theirs, and the greateſt Victory they ever had yet againſt the *French*; and ſo bloody, as there is no mention made of any one priſoner taken in the Battel, but all ſlain out-right; only ſome few Troops that held together, ſaved themſelves by retiring to places near adjoining. The *French* King himſelf with a ſmall company got to *Bray* in the night, and approaching the Walls, and the Guard asking, who goes there? He anſwered, The Fortune of *France*. By his voice he was known, and thereupon received into the Town with the tears and lamentation of his people. The number of the ſlain are certified to be Thirty thouſand: The Chief whereof, were *Charles de Alanſon*, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Ralph* Earl of *Lorain*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Jaques Daulphin de Viennois*, ſon to *Imbert*, (who after gave *Daulphin* to the Crown of *France*) the Earls of *Sancerre*, *Harecourt*, and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of Fifteen hundred. This memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday after *Bartholomew*-day in the year 1346. The next day early in the morning, being Sunday, he ſent out Three hundred Launces, and Two thouſand Archers, to diſcover what was become of the Enemy, who found great Troops coming from *Abbevile*, St. *Requier*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoys* (ignorant of what happened) led by the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, and the Prior of *France*: Whom they likewiſe defeated, and ſlew Seven thouſand.

K. *Edward* refuſeth to ſend Aid to his Son.

Thirty thouſand *French* ſlain.

1346.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King *Edward* that year; there was another of no leſs importance gotten in *England*, by the Queen and his people at home, againſt the *Scots*: Who being ſet on by the *French* to divert the War there, entred upon this Kingdom with Threeſcore thouſand men (as our Writers report) aſſuring himſelf of ſucceſs, in regard (as he ſuppoſed) the main ſtrength thereof was now gone into *France*; but he found it otherwiſe. For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Umbrevile*, the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Piercy*, *Ralph Nevile*, *William Dayncourt*, with the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gathered ſo great Forces, and ſo well ordered them by the animation of the Queen, (who was there in perſon) as fighting a great Battel at *Nevil*'s Croſs, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, they utterly defeated this great Army, took *David* their King priſoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Menteith*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and others; and put to the Sword Fifteen thouſand *Scots*. This Victory alſo fell upon a Saturday, ſix weeks after that of *Creſſy*. He that took King *David* priſoner, was one *John Copland*, an Eſquire of *Northumberland*, whom K. *Edward* rewarded with five hundred pound Land a year, and made him a Banneret. And as if all concurred to

The *Scots* in K. *Edward*'s abſence, with an Army of threeſcore thouſand invade *England*.

But are defeated, and *David* their King taken Priſoner.

John Copland who took King *David* priſoner, is rewarded with 500*l.* land a year.

make this year Triumphant, the Aids ſent to the Counteſs of *Montford* in *Britain*, led by *Thomas Dagworth* a valiant Knight, overthrew and took priſoner *Charles de Blois*, Pretender to that Duchy, and with him *Monſieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyre*, *Loyacque*, with many other Barons, Knights and Eſquires; Where were ſlain the Lord *De la Val*, Father to him that was taken, Viſcount *Rohan*, *Monſieur de Chaſteau*, *Brayan de Maleſtroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direvil*, beſides many other Knights and Eſquires, to the number of ſeven hundred. And now King *Edward* without meddling with the great Cities of *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, marched on directly, and ſits down before *Callice*, a Town of more importance for *England*, and the Gate to all the reſt: Wherein *John de Vienne* Marſhal of *France*, and the Lord *de Andreghen*, (a great man in his time) commanded. The King being to make it a Winter ſiege, erected for him and his people ſo many Houſes and Lodges, that it was named *New-Callice*.

K. *Edward* ſits down before *Callice*.

All that Winter K. *Edward* lay without any moleſtation by the *French* King, who was buſied at home in his own State about raiſing of money; wherewith ſupplied at laſt, he raiſeth an Army and approacheth *Callice*, but finds no way open to come to relieve it. The King of *England* was both Maſter of the Haven, and poſſeſt all other ways that were paſſable; and the *Flemmings* his friends had beſieged *Aire*. To oppoſe whom, *John* Duke of *Normandy* is ſent for out of *Guyenne*: Who departing leaves *Henry* of *Lancaſter* Earl of *Derby*, Maſter of the Field; and he having an Army conſiſting of Twelve hundred men at Arms, two thouſand Archers, and three thouſand other Foot, takes in moſt of the Towns of *Xaintoigne*, and *Poictou*, and in the end beſieged and ſacked *Poictiers*, and then returns to *Burdeaux*, with more pillage than his people could well bear: Thus the *Engliſh* proſper every where, and the *French* ſuffer. During the ſiege of *Callice*, (in which ſome think King *Edward* firſt uſed Guns) the *Flemmings* ſend to King *Edward* to make a marriage between his Daughter *Iſabel* and their Lord, the young Count *Lewis*; to which the King conſented, but the Duke of *Brabant* gets the King of *France* to make the match for a daughter of his. The *Flemmings* preſs their Lord with the match of *England*; but he abſolutely refuſed it, ſaying, he would never marry a daughter of him, that had killed his Father, though he would give him half his Kingdom. This anſwer ſo incenſed the *Flemmings*, that they put their Lord in priſon, till with long durance he at laſt conſented; and thereupon King *Edward* and his Queen, with their daughter *Iſabel* came over to *Berghes*, and there the young Earl is affianced to her: But returning afterwards into *Flanders*, as ſoon as he found opportunity, he went to King *Philip*, and left his affianced Lady unmarried, and married afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*'s. But all this while the ſiege of *Callice* was continued; and King *Philip* not being able to come to relieve it, ſollicits King *Edward* to appoint ſome place of Battel, and he would meet him. But King *Edward* returns anſwer, That if he would make his own way to come thither to him, there he ſhould find him, but from thence he would not part, having lain there ſo long to his great labour and expence, and being now ſo near the point of gaining the place. Two Cardinals are ſent from the Pope, to mediate a Peace, but could effect nothing; ſo as the *French* King was forced to break up his Army, and retire to *Paris*, leaving *Callice* to the mercy of the beſieger: Which when the Town underſtood, they ſent to deſire Parley, had it granted, and therein received this final anſwer, That ſix of the chief Burgeſſes ſhould be ſent to the King bare-headed, and bare-footed, in their ſhirts, with halters about their necks, the keys of the Town and Caſtle in their hands, and ſubmit themſelves to the King's will; the reſt he was content to take to mercy. This ſeemed a hard condition, and much difficulty who ſhould be thoſe ſix: But one riſing up, and out of love to his Country offering himſelf to be one, the ſix were ſoon made up; for now by his example every one ſtrove to be of the number: Who preſenting themſelves before the King, he commanded them inſtantly to be put to death. Great ſupplication was made by his Lords for their lives; but the King would not be drawn to alter his ſentence, till the Queen, great with Child, fell on her knees, and with tears obtained pardon for them; which done, ſhe cauſed them to be cloathed, and beſides a good repaſt, gives to every one of them ſix Nobles apiece. But though the King in this ſentence ſhewed ſeverity, yet in an Act before he had ſhewed mercy; For when Victuals began to fail in the Town, and all unuſeful perſons, as old men, women, and children, were put out of the Gates, he forced them not back again as he might have done, thereby the ſooner to conſume their ſtore: But ſuffered them to paſs through his Army, gave them to eat, and two pence apiece to all of them. And thus was that ſtrong Town of *Callice* gotten, the third day of *Auguſt*, in the year 1347. after eleven months ſiege, and continued afterward in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* two hundred and ten years. All the Inhabitants are turned out, but only one Prieſt, and two old men, to inform of the Orders of the Town: And a Colony of *Engliſh*, amongſt which ſeven and thirty good Families out of *London* is ſent to inhabit it; the King and Queen enter the Town triumphantly, and make their abode there, till the Queen was brought abed of her Daughter *Margaret*. The King made Governor of the Town *Aymery* of *Pavia*, a *Lombard*, whom he had brought up from his Infancy; and then with his Queen returns into *England*. At which time the Princes Electors ſend to ſignify, that they had choſen him King of the *Romans*; but the King refuſeth to accept it, as being an honour out of his way, and ſcarce compatible with his State at home.

Callice deſires a Parley.

K. *Edward* requires ſix of their chief Burgeſſes to bring the keys of the Town to him with halters about their necks, whom he judged to be put to death.

But at the Queen's interceſſion ſpares them.

1347.

Callice after eleven months ſiege yielded up to K. *Edward*.

K. *Edward* is choſen King of the *Romans*, but refuſeth it.

After this, Truces were made by mediation, from one time to another, for the ſpace of two years; in which time, *Geoffery de Charmy*, Captain of St. *Omer*, agreed with *Aymery* of *Pavia*, whom King *Edward* had left Governor of *Callice*, to render it up for twenty thouſand Crowns; which King *Edward* hearing of, ſent to *Aymery*, and charged him with this perfidiouſneſs; whereupon *Aymery* comes to the King, and humbly deſiring pardon, promiſeth to handle the

1349.

Aymery of *Pavia* Governor of *Callice* is bribed to betray it.

When Guns firſt uſed.

the matter ſo as ſhall be to the King's advantage, and thereupon is ſent back to *Callice*. The King, the night before the time of agreement, arrives with three hundred men at Arms, and ſix hundred Archers. *Monſieur de Charmy* ſets out likewiſe the ſame night from S t. *Omers* with his Forces, and ſent a hundred men before with the Crowns to *Aymery*. The men are let in at a Poſtern Gate, the Crowns received, and aſſured to be all weight: Which done, the Gates of the Town are opened, and our marches the King before day to encounter *Monſieur de Charmy*; who perceiving himſelf betrayed, defended himſelf the beſt he could, and put King *Edward* to a hard bickering, who for that he would not be known there in perſon, put himſelf and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord *Walter Mauny*, and was twice beaten down on his knees by *Monſieur de Ribeaumont*, a hardy Knight (with whom he fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end took *Ribeaumont* priſoner. *Charmy* was likewiſe taken, and all his Forces defeated. King *Edward* the night after (which was the firſt of the new year) feaſted with the priſoners; and gave *Ribeaumont* in honour of his valour a rich Chaplet of Pearl, which himſelf wore on his head (for a New-years-gift) forgave him his ranſom, and ſet him at liberty. But the *Engliſh* not long after, in the like practice, had better ſucceſs, and got the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, (a place of great importance near *Callice*) for a ſum of money, given to one *Beaucouroy* a *French*-man, of which Caſtle when the *French* King demanded reſtitution, in regard of the Truce, King *Edward* returns anſwer, That for things bought and ſold between their people, there was no exception, and ſo held it.

But gets the bribe, and yet keeps the Town.

K. *Edward* twice beaten down on his knees by *Monſieur de Ribeaumont*; yet at laſt takes him priſoner.

He rewards *Ribeaumont* for his valour.

1350. About this time *Philip* King of *France* died, leaving his Son *John* to ſucceed him; in the beginning of whoſe Reign, *Humbert* Prince of *Daulphin*, dying without iſſue, made him his heir; and thereupon *Charles*, King *John*'s Son, was created the firſt *Daulphin* of *France*: From whence it grew to be a cuſtom, that the King of *France*'s heir ſhould always be called *Daulphin* of *France*. About this time alſo the Duke of *Lancaſter* was to perform a Combat, upon a challenge with a Prince of *Bohemia*; but when they had entred the Liſts, and had taken their Oaths, K. *John* interpoſed and made them friends. And now when after many means of mediation, no peace could be concluded between the two Kings, the Prince of *Wales* being now grown a man, is appointed by Parliament to go into *Gaſcoin* with a thouſand men at Arms, two thouſand Archers, and a great number of *Welchmen*; and in *June* following he ſets forth with three hundred Sail, attended with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Saliſbury*, and *Oxford*; the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *Jarnis Audeley*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, Sir *Francis Hall*, with many others. About *Michaelmas* following, the King himſelf paſſeth over to *Callice* with another Army, taking with him two of his Sons, *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, now Earl of *Ulſter* in right of his Wife, and *John* of *Gaunt* Earl of *Richmond*. There met him at *Callice* of Mercenaries out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a thouſand men at Arms; ſo that his Army conſiſted of three thouſand men at Arms, and two thouſand Archers on horſe-back, beſides Archers on foot. The City of *London* ſent three hundred men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one Livery, at their own charge; but all this great Army effected nothing at that time, by reaſon the King of *France* would not be drawn to any Encounter, and had ſo diſfurniſhed the Country of all proviſions, that the King of *England* was forced to return. King *Edward* ſollicited by the King of *Navarre* to aid him againſt the King of *France*, ſends over the Duke of *Lancaſter* with four thouſand men at Arms, who wins many Towns; and the Prince enters *Guyenne*, paſſeth over *Languedock* to *Thouloſe*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*, without any encounter, ſacks, ſpoils, and deſtroys where he goes; and loaden with booties, returns to *Burdeaux*. The *French* King thus aſſaulted on all ſides, gathers all the power he poſſibly could; and firſt makes againſt his Enemies in *Normandy*, recovers many of his loſt Towns, and was likely to have there prevailed, but that he was drawn of force to oppoſe this freſh Invader, the Prince of *Wales*, who was come up into *Tourain*, againſt whom he brings his whole Army, conſiſting of above threeſcore thouſand: Whereupon the Prince, whoſe Forces were not likely to be able to encounter him (being ſix for one) was adviſed to retire again to *Burdeaux*. But the *French* King to prevent this courſe, follows; and within two Leagues of *Poictiers* hath him at a great advantage. At which inſtant two Cardinals came from the Pope to mediate a Peace. But the *French* King ſuppoſing he had his Enemy now in his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the Prince ſhould deliver him four Hoſtages; and as vanquiſhed, render himſelf and his Army to his diſcretion. The Prince was content to reſtore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour, wherein he ſaid he ſtood accomptable to his Father, and to his Country. But the *French* King would abate nothing of his demands, as making himſelf ſure of Victory; and thereupon was inſtantly ready to ſet upon the Prince: Who ſeeing himſelf reduced to this ſtrait, takes what advantage he could of the ground, and providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs, and Buſhes, on that part he was like to be aſſailed, to impeſter and intangle the *French* Horſe, which he ſaw were to come furiouſly upon him. The ſucceſs anſwered his expectation, for the Cavalry of his Enemies upon their firſt aſſault were ſo wrapt and encumbred among the Vines, that his Archers galled and annoyed them at their pleaſure. For the *French* King to give the honour of the day to his Cavalry, imployed them only without his Infantry; ſo as they being diſordered and put to rout, his whole Army came utterly to be defeated. In this Battel were taken priſoners King *John* himſelf, with his youngeſt Son *Philip*, by *Dennis de Morbecque*, a Knight of *Artois*; *Jaques de Bourbon*, *Conte de Pontbieu*; the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, *John de Artois*, *Conte de Eu*; *Charles de Artois*; his brother *Count de Longueville*; *John de Melun*; *Count de Tankervile*; the *Counts* of *Vendoſme*, *Vaudemont*, *Eſtampes*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, *and La Roche*, and *John de Centre*, accounted (as *Froiſſard* ſaith) the beſt Knight of *France*, with many other Lords, beſides two thouſand Knights and Gentlemen; inſomuch

John King of *France*, with an Army of ſixty thouſand oppoſeth the Prince of *Wales* at *Poictiers*.

The Prince's policy.

K. *John* himſelf with many great Lords taken priſoners.

1355. The Prince of *Wales* is ſent into *Gaſcoin*.

insomuch as the Conquerors holding it not safe to retain so many, let many of them go. The *French*, who can give best account of their own losses, report there died in this Battel a thousand seven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two Bannerets: The most eminent, *Peter de Bourbon*, the Duke of *Athens* Constable of *France*, *Jehan de Clermont*, Marshal, *Geoffry de Charmy*, High-Chamberlain, the Bishop of *Chalons*, the Lords of *Landas*, of *Pons*, and of *Chambly*. There escaped from this Battel three of the *French* King's Sons, (for he brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince *Daulphin*; *Louis*, after Duke of *Anjou*, and *John* Duke of *Berry*: All great Actors in the time following. The special great men of the *English* in this fight were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*; the Lords *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkeley*, *Basset*: of *Gascoine*, *Le Capital de Beuff*; the Lords, *Pumier*, *Chamount*, and others.

The Lord *James Audeley's* valour, and his bounty.

The Lord *James Audeley* won honour both by his valour and his bounty; for having vowed to be foremost in this fight, he performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: For which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred Marks Fee-simple in *England*, he presently gave it to four of his Esquires. Whereupon the Prince demanding whether he accepted not his gift? He answered, That these men had deserved the same as well as himself, and had more need of it. With which reply the Prince was so well pleased, that he gave him five hundred Marks more in the same kind. A rare example, where desert in the Subject, and reward in the Prince, strive which should be the greater.

But here great strife arose between many, who should be the man that took King *John* prisoner; but the Prince commanded them to forbear their claims till they came into *England*: Where the matter being heard, it was adjudged by King *John*'s own testimony, that one Sir *Dennis Morbecque* of St. *Omers* had taken him prisoner: For which service the King rewarded him with a thousand Marks.

And now, though King *John* had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemy, yet he had the happiness to fall into the hands of a noble Enemy; for Prince *Edward* used him with such respect and observance, that he could not find much difference between his captivity and liberty. After the Battel, which was fought the nineteenth day of *September*, in the year 1357. Prince *Edward* leads King *John* and the captive Lords to *Burdeaux*, wherein he retains them till the Spring following; but sends present news of this victory to his Father: Who thereupon causeth a general Thanksgiving all *England* over eight days together. And in *May* following K. *John* rather coming over with the Prince, than brought over by him, is lodged at the *Savoy*, a Palace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and the fairest at that time about *London*. And K. *Edward*, as tho he thought it honour enough to have one King his prisoner at once, at the suit of his Sister Queen *Joan*, sets her Husband *David* King of *Scots* at liberty, after he had been prisoner in *England* eleven years; but not without paying a ransom, which was a hundred thousand Marks to be paid in ten years.

1357.

A Thanksgiving all *England* over eight days together.

K. *John* is brought over and lodged at the *Savoy*.

David King of *Scots*, after eleven years imprisonment is set at liberty.

After this, by mediation of Cardinals sent by the Pope, a Truce for two years is concluded between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *France*; and in the time of this Truce, Articles of Peace between the two Kings are propounded; King *Edward* requires the Duchies of *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, the Countries of *Poictou*, *Thourain*, *Main*, and *Anjou*, with all their appurtenances, as large as King *Richard* the first held them, and many other Provinces besides, and to hold them all without Homage or any other service; to which Articles King *John* (weary of Imprisonment) assents and seals, but the *Daulphin* and Council of *France* utterly reject it. Whereupon K. *Edward* in great displeasure resolves to make an end of this work with the Sword, and to take possession of the Kingdom of *France*; and leaving his younger Son *Thomas* Governor of his Kingdom at home, with a Fleet of eleven hundred Sail, and taking all the great Lords of the Realm with him, he passed over to *Callice*, dividing his Army into three Battels, whereof one he commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leads himself. And first marching through *Picardy*, where he takes in many Towns, he plants his siege afterward before *Rheims*: But having spent there six or seven weeks without effecting any thing, he passeth thence, and taketh in the Cities of *Sens* and *Nevers*, the Duchy of *Burgoine* redeems it self from spoil with paying two hundred thousand *Florens* of Gold. Then he marched up to *Paris*, and plants his Camp within two small Leagues of the Town, where he honoured 400. Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood: But when Sir *Walter de Manny* had made a Bravado before the Gates of the City, and the King saw that the *Daulphin* would by no provocations be drawn out to Battel, he raiseth his siege, and returns into *Britain* to refresh his Army, from thence he marched towards *Chartres* with a purpose to besiege that City; and though great offers were made him by the *French*, and Commissioners from the Pope sollicited him with all earnestness to accept them: Yet neither they, nor the Duke of *Lancaster's* perswasions could prevail with him, till a terrible storm of Hail, with Thunder and Lightning fell upon his Army, which so terrified him, being a warning, as it were from Heaven, that he presently vowed to make Peace with the *French* King upon any reasonable conditions, as shortly after he did at the Treaty of *Britigny* near to *Chartres* upon these Articles: That the Feifs of *Thouars* and *Belleville*, the Duchy of *Guyenne*, comprising *Gascoin*, *Poictou*, *Xantoigne*, *Limousin*, *Perigort*, *Quercy*, *Rhodes*, *Angoulesm*, and *Rochel*, together with the Countries of *Guisnes* and *Callice*, and some other places, with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories, should be to the King of *England*, who besides was to have three millions of Crowns of Gold; whereof six hundred thousand in hand, four hundred thousand the year following, and the rest in two years after: And for this the King of *England*, and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, for them and their successors for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crown of *France*, the Duchy

The *Daulphin* and Council of *France* not yielding to K. *Edward's* demands, he passeth with an Army over into *France*.

He marcheth up to *Paris*.

K. *Edward* would hearken to no conditions of Peace till terrified by thunder and lightning. Articles of Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*.

Duchy of *Normandy*, the Countries of *Tourain*, *Anjou*, *Main*, the Homage and Sovereignty of *Britain*, and the Earldom of *Flanders*, and within three weeks King *John* to be rendred at *Callice*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his house. For assurance of which accord, should be given into his hand five and twenty of the greatest Dukes and Lords of *France* for Hostages. The *Scots* not to be aided by the *French* King, nor the *Flemmings* by the *English*. This accord and final Peace signed by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons, *Edward* and *Charles*, and sworn unto by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages are delivered up to K. *Edward*, who brought them into *England*; and thereupon King *John* is honourably conducted to *Callice*, after he had remained prisoner in *England* near about five years; but being come to *Callice*, he was detained there above three months, till the money which he was to pay in hand, could be provided; and for providing the rest he was put to hard shifts, being fain to give the *Jews* leave to dwell in *France* for twenty years, paying twelve Florens a man at the entry, and six every year after. At this time the Prince by dispensation, marries the Countess of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmund*, brother to *Edward* the second; and his Father investing him with the Duchy of *Aquitain*, he was now Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitain*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester* and *Kent*: And not long after, with the Princess his Wife, he passeth over into *France*, and keeps his Court at *Burdeaux*.

K. *John* after five years imprisonment is released.

Edward Prince of *Wales* marries the Countess of *Kent*, and keeps his Court at *Burdeaux*.

1362.

This was now the year 1362. and the fiftieth year of K. *Edward*'s age, wherein for a *Jubile* he shews himself extraordinary gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking exiles; with many other expressions of his love and bounty. The year following was famous for three Kings coming into *England*; *John* King of *France*, *Peter* King of *Cyprus*, and *David* King of *Scots*. The King of *Cyprus* came to sollicit King *Edward* to join with other Princes in the Holy-War, but receives only Royal entertainment and excuses. The King of *Scots* came for business and visitation; but why the King of *France* came, is not so certain; whether it were about taking order for his Hostages; or to satisfy K. *Edward* for breach of some Articles; or else for love to the Countess of *Salisbury*; or perhaps out of a desire to let *England* see his Majesty, being at liberty, which had been darkned before by the Cloud of Captivity: But whatsoever the cause of his coming was, the cause of his staying (at least, of longer staying than he meant) was a mortal sickness, whereof (having lien all the Winter at the *Savoy*) in *March* or *April* following he died, and his body conveyed over into *France*, was buried at St. *Dennis* with his Ancestors.

K. *John* comes into *England*.

And here falls sick, and dieth.

The Prince of *Wales* was now grown famous all the Christian World over, and the man to whom all wronged Princes seem to appeal, and to fly for succour: For which end there came at this time to his Court, *James* King of *Majorque*, and happened to come at a time when the Princess lay in; and thereupon he and *Richard* King of *Navarre* were taken to be Godfathers to his Son *Richard*. For the like assistance also there came at the same time to him, *Peter* King of *Castile*, driven out of his Kingdom by the *French*, in favour to *Peter* K. of *Arragon*: And Prince *Edward*, partly out of Charity to succour a distressed Prince, and partly out of policy, to keep his Soldiers in exercise, undertakes the enterprise, and was so prosperous in it, that with one Battel (having but 30000. against 100000) he put King *Peter* in possession of his Kingdom, though he was ill rewarded for his labour; for the ungrateful King would not so much as pay his Soldiers. And it is memorable which *Froissard* writes, that of the enemies were slain and drowned above 2000. and of the Prince's party not above 40. But yet an unfortunate journey for the Prince; for though he came back with victory, yet he brought back with him such an indisposition of body, that he was never throughly well after: Not perhaps by poison, nor given him by his Brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, though both were suspected; but there were causes distempering him enough besides, the Country, the Season, the Action it self: And it may be more marvelled that his Soldiers came home so well, than that he came home so ill. But howsoever, being now returned, there was presently to his indisposition of body, added discontentment of mind; for not having means to pay his Soldiers, which forced him to wink at that which he could not chuse but see, and seeing, grieve at, how they preyed upon the Country, and thereupon how the Country murmured against him. And now to stop this murmuring, his Chancellor, the Bishop of *Rhodes*, devised a new dispensation, of levying a Frank of every Chimney; and this to continue for five years to pay the Prince's debts: But this Imposition made the murmuring the more. For tho some part of his Dominions, as the *Poictovins*, *Xantoins*, and *Limousins*, in a sort consented to it; yet the Count of *Armigniack*, the Count of *Cominges*, the Viscount of *Carmain*, and many others, so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the King of *France*, as to their Supreme Lord; who upon examination finding their complaint to be just, he thereupon by advice of his Council, summons Prince *Edward* to appear in person to answer the complaint: Whereupon Prince *Edward* made answer, That if he must needs appear, he would bring threescore thousand men in Arms to appear with him; and had certainly brought his Army that Summer against *Paris*, if he had not fallen into symptoms of a Dropsy which (*Walsingham* saith) was wrought by enchantment. But upon this answer of the Prince, King *Charles* sends defiance to King *Edward*, who thereupon prepares Arms both by Sea and Land to oppose him. The *French* enters upon the Territories of the Prince, and defeats divers of his Troops; in revenge whereof *John Chaundois* the Prince's Lieutenant, assaults *Terriers* in the Province of *Tholouse*, and takes it. The Count of *Perigort* assaults *Royanville* in *Quercy*, and puts all the *English* to the Sword; in revenge whereof *James Audeley* Seneschal of *Poictou*, assaults the City of *Bross*, and takes it. In the mean time *Robert Knolls*, by some called *Robin*, and by others, *Arnold*, or *Reynold Knoll*, had drawn

1367.

Prince *Edward* makes a journey into *Spain*, to aid *Peter* King of *Castile*, and recovers his Kingdom for him. But is ill rewarded.

The Prince never throughly well after this journey.

Prince *Edward* summoned by the King of *France*: what answer he makes.

The two Kings enter into Arms, and interchangeably take Towns.

drawn *Perducas de Albert* to the Party of the *Engliſh*; and thereupon went and incamped before the Fort of *Darcuel* in *Quercy*, which *John Chaundois* underſtanding, went alſo and joined with him in the ſiege; but finding they could do no good there, they removed and beſieged the City of *Damme*; and when they could do no good there neither, they marched forward, took the Fort of *Froms*, *Rochevaudour*, and *Villefranche*; and that done, returned to the Prince at *Angouleſme*. At the ſame time the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, having ſpent nine weeks at the ſiege of *Bordeille*, at laſt took it; but other Captains of the *Engliſh* did yet more, for they ſcaled *Bellepereche* in the Province of *Bourbon*, where the mother of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Queen of *France* was, and takes her priſoner.

Q. *Philippa* dieth.

About this time, *Philippa* Queen of *England*, King *Edward*'s Wife died, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*: But this hindred not the proceeding of the *Engliſh* in *France*. The Earl of *Pembroke* enters *Anjou*, where he takes many Towns. The Duke of *Lancaſter* doth the like about *Callice*, and marching forward, plants his Camp before *Harfleur*, with a purpoſe to burn the King of *France*'s Navy; but being watched by the Count St. *Pol*, was forced to forbear that deſign: And ſo paſſing other ways, and ſpoiling all the places where he paſſed, he returned to *Callice*. Winter was now drawing on, and *John Chandois* deſiring to recover the Abby of St. *Silvan* in *Poictou*, which not long before had been betrayed to the *French*, was in the enterpriſe diſcovered; and being aſſaulted by greater Forces, was ſlain in the place, to the great grief of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the *Engliſh* Lords: But dying without iſſue, his Eſtate, which amounted to four hundred thouſand *Franks*, came to the Prince. At this time the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*, with two great Armies enter upon the Territories of the Prince of *Wales*; whereof the Prince advertiſed, aſſembles Forces to oppoſe them: But when the news was brought him of the taking of *Limouges*, he was ſo much troubled at it, by reaſon the Biſhop of that place was his Goſſip, and one in whom he eſpecially had affiance, that he reſolved to recover it at any price, and not to ſpare a man that had a hand in rendring it up. And thereupon taking it by force, he commanded to ſack and pillage it, and would not be ſtayed by the cries of the people, caſting themſelves down at his feet, till paſſing through the Town, he perceived three *French* Captains, who themſelves alone had withſtood the aſſault of his victorious Army; and moved with the conſideration of their Valour, he then abated his anger, and for their ſakes granted mercy to all the Inhabitants. So much is Virtue, even in an Enemy, reſpected by generous minds. In the mean time *David* King of *Scots* died without iſſue, and *Robert Stuart* his Nephew ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and was Crowned at *Scone*. At this time *Robert Knolls* with a great Army is ſent into *France*, where making many attempts with valour enough, but with little ſucceſs, he was coming home, tho with no gain, yet with no loſs: Till *Bertrand de Gueſchlin* aſſaulting him, ſlew the moſt part of his men; and ſo this great Army on a ſudden came to nothing. It ſeems *Knolle*'s action was the leſs ſucceſsful, by reaſon of ſome young Lords that went with him, who ſcorning to be under his command, as being now a new man, and riſen from a low eſtate, were refractory to his directions: And indeed, what can a General do, if he have not as well Reputation of perſon, as of place?

Valour reſpected in an Enemy.

Robert Stuart Crowned King of *Scotland*.

And now the Prince of *Wales*'s eldeſt Son *Edward* dying at *Burdeaux*, the Prince with his Wife and other Son *Richard* came over into *England*; at which time the valiant Knight *Walter de Manny* died at *London*, and was buried in the Monaſtery of the *Charterous* which he had builded; leaving one only Daughter, married to *John* Earl of *Pembroke*. This Earl of *Pembroke* was ſoon after ſent Governor into *Aquitain*; but ſet upon by the way by *Spaniards* in favour of the *French*, was by them taken priſoner, and carried with others into *Spain*: Who being chained together, as the manner is, one *Evans* a *Welch* Fugitive, who gave himſelf out for the right Heir of *Wales*, came upon him, fooliſhly playing upon him with ſcornful language; as though to inſult over another man's miſery, could ſerve for a Cordial to mitigate his own. And now upon the taking of this Earl, the Prince's Dominions in *France* are either taken away, or fall away faſter than they were gotten. *Gueſchlin* enters *Poictou*, takes *Montmorillon*, *Chauvigny*, *Luſſack*, and *Monvontour*: Straight after follows the Country of *Aulnis*, or *Xantoign*, and the reſt of *Poictou*; then St. *Maxent*, *Neele*, *Aulnai*; then *Renaun*, *Marant*, *Surgers*, *Fontency*; and at laſt they came to *Thouras*, where the moſt part of the Lords of *Poictou*, that held with the Prince, were aſſembled. At which time K. *Edward*, with the Prince, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all the great Lords of *England*, ſet forward to their ſuccour, but being driven back by tempeſt, never came to give them aſſiſtance, ſo as *Thouras* yielded up by compoſition. Yet did this preparation of the King ſtand him in nine thouſand Marks; that it may be truly ſaid, it coſt him more now to loſe Towns, than it had coſt him before to win them: So great odds there is between the Spring and Fall of Fortune. After this the Duke of *Lancaſter* is ſent over with another great Army, who paſſed up into many parts of the Country; but King *Charles* reſolved to hazard no Battel: Saying, They were but clouds, and would ſoon paſs away; yet ſo watched him, that what with light Skirmiſhes, and what with ſcarcity of Victuals, his forces were ſo diminiſhed, that of thirty Thouſand which went out of *Callice*, there ſcarce returned ſix thouſand home; which made King *Edward* ſay of this King *Charles*, That he did him more miſchief ſitting ſtill, than his Predeceſſors had done with all their ſtirring. And now by this time all *Poictou* is loſt, and all *Aquitain* alſo, but only *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*; when the Archbiſhop of *Roan* and others are ſent from Pope *Gregory* the eleventh, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings: But each of them ſtanding upon high terms of conditions, nothing could be effected, but Truce upon Truce for two or three years together. In which time *Edward* Prince of *Wales* died, and with him we may ſay, the Fortune

1371. Sir *Walter de Manny* dieth.

1372. The Earl of *Pembroke* being taken priſoner, the Prince's Dominions in *France* fall ſoon away.

1373. The Duke of *Lancaſter* is ſent over with an Army of thirty thouſand, but ſcarce ſix thouſand returned home.

Edward Prince of *Wales* dieth.

tune of *England*, being a Prince ſo full of virtues, that he left no place for any vice: And if he had lived in the Heroick times, might well have been numbred amongſt the nine Worthies. His body was buried at *Canterbury*, where his Monument ſtandeth. K. *Edward* in his ſeven and fortieth year called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, which laſted but eight days; and to which were ſummoned by Writ, of Clergymen only four Biſhops, and five Abbots.

1376.

A Parliament called, to which of Clergymen were ſummoned only four Biſhops and five Abbots.

Of King Edward's *Acts after the death of the Prince.*

IN the time of the Prince's ſickneſs, King *Edward* calls a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; in which when demands were made for ſupply of the King, demands were preſently made for redreſs of grievances for the Subjects. It was required that the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord of *Latimer* then Lord Chamberlain, Dame *Alice Pierce* the King's Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be removed from Court: And this was ſo vehemently urged by their Speaker Sir *Peter de la Moore*, that the King rather than not to be ſupplied, gave way unto it; and thereupon all theſe perſons are preſently put from Court: But the Prince ſoon after dying, they are all recalled to Court again, and reſtored to their former places.

Subſidies are demanded by the King; and redreſs of grievances are demanded for the Subject. Hereupon the Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Alice Pierce* are baniſhed the Court, but ſoon revoked. Defrauding of Soldiers puniſhed with death.

About this time exemplary Juſtice was done upon Sir *John Midſterworth*, Knight, who was drawn, hanged and quartered at *Tiburn* for Treaſon by him committed, in defrauding Soldiers of their Wages.

About this time the Duke of *Lancaſter*, being at *Burdeaux*, and hearing of the death of *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, whom Prince *Edward* had veſted in his Kingdom; and that he left only two daughters the heirs of his Kingdom, who were then at the City of *Gaſcoigne*, for their ſafety, he ſent and cauſed them to be brought to *Burdeaux*, and there himſelf married the elder Siſter *Conſtance*: In whoſe right he afterward took upon him the title of King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*: And not long after his younger Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge* married the younger ſiſter *Iſabel*.

It was now the fiftieth year of *Edward*'s Reign; and he for another *Jubile*, grants another general pardon to his Subjects, only *William Wickham*, Biſhop of *Winchеſter* is excepted, being lately by procurement of the Duke of *Lancaſter* fallen into the King's diſpleaſure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. This Parliament was called the good Parliament, though it wrought ill effects; for Sir *Peter de la Moore* at the ſuit of *Alice Pierce*, is committed to perpetual impriſonment at *Forthingham*, though within two years after, by importunate ſuit of friends he regained his liberty. This *Alice Pierce* preſuming upon the King's favour, grew ſo inſolent, that ſhe intermeddled with Courts of Juſtice, and other Offices, where ſhe her ſelf would ſit, to Countenance her Cauſes. And now the Duke of *Lancaſter* is come to have the Regency, and to manage all the Affairs of the Kingdom; but King *Edward* to prevent the miſchiefs which by diſordering the ſucceſſion might grow in the Kingdom, providently ſetled the ſame in Parliament upon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him firſt Earl of *Cheſter* and *Cornwal*, and then Prince of *Wales*; and cauſed all the Lords of the Realm to take an Oath to accept him for their King, as his lawful heir, when himſelf ſhould be dead. In this mean time a Treaty was had about a marriage between this Prince *Richard*, and *Mary* a daughter of *Charles* King of *France*: And an offer was made to K. *Edward*, to leave him fourteen hundred Towns, and three Thouſand Fortreſſes in *Aquitain*, upon condition he would render *Callice*, and all that he held in *Picardy*; but before any thing could be concluded, K. *Edward* died.

Wickham Biſhop of *Winchеſter* forbidden to come to the Parliament called the *Good Parliament*.

Alice Pierce her inſolent carriage.

Richard of *Burdeaux* is created Prince of *Wales*, and publiſhed heir apparent of the Crown.

Fourteen hundred Towns offered for *Callice*.

Of his Taxations.

IN the eighth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *London*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporalty, a twentieth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy. In his tenth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted a tenth penny of Cities and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy. Alſo all ſuch Treaſure as was committed to the Churches through *England* for the Holy-War is taken out for the King's uſe, towards his Wars with *France*. The next year after all the goods of two Orders of Monks, *Cluniacs*, and *Ciſtercians*, are likewiſe ſeiſed into the King's hands: And the like Subſidy as before granted at *Nottingham*. In his twelfth year (and as ſome write, in abſence of the King) in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted by the Laity one half of the Wooll, but of the Clergy the whole. The next year after a fifteenth was likewiſe paid in Wooll by the Commonalty. In his fourteenth year, in a Parliament at *London*, is granted him for cuſtom of every ſack of Wooll, forty ſhillings; for every three hundred Wooll-Fells, forty ſhillings; for every Laſt of Leather, forty ſhillings; and of other Merchandiſes, according to the rate; the ſame to endure from that *Eaſter* to the *Whitſuntide* twelve Months after. Beſides there was granted of Citizens and Burgeſſes, a ninth part of their goods; of Foreign Merchants and others, a fifteenth; of Husbandmen, the ninth Sheaf, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two years; alſo another tenth of the Clergy: And for his preſent ſupply he had Loans of divers perſons; and the City of *London* lent Twenty thouſand Marks. For the grant of which mighty Subſidy, the King (beſides his pardon to divers kinds of offenders) remits all amerciaments for tranſgreſſions in his Foreſts, Reliefs and Scutage, to the firſt time of his going into *Flanders*, beſides all aids for the marriage of his Sons and Daughters during his Reign; pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages, both of his Farmers and others, till the tenth year of his Reign; and likewiſe confirms the great Charter of *Magna Charta*. In his eighteenth year in a Parliament at *London*, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity; beſides a Commiſſion is ſent into every Shire to enquire of mens abilities; and all of five pounds to ten of Lay-Fee, were appointed to find an Archer on Horſe-back; of twenty five, a Demy-lance, and ſo ratably above. There had formerly been made a certain coin of Gold called the *Floren*, of baſe alloy, for the King's benefit, towards

Men rated to find Soldiers.

towards his Wars in *France*; but this was now called in, and Nobles of finer metal coined, to the great contentment of the people. In his Nine and twentieth year, he hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty ſhillings upon every ſack of Wooll, for ſix years next enſuing; by which impoſition it was thought the King might diſpend a thouſand Marks *ſterling* a day, the vent of Wooll was ſo great in that time: But that which exceeded all his Taxations, was the Ranſom he had in his four and thirtieth year, of the King of *France*, three millions of Crowns of gold. In his twelfth year, he had taken from the Priors Aliens their houſes, lands, and tenements, for the maintenance of his *French* Wars, which he kept twenty years in his hands, and then reſtored them again. In his ſix and thirtieth year was granted twenty ſix ſhillings eight pence for tranſportation of every ſack of Wooll for three years. In the five and fortieth year of his Reign in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the Clergy granted him fifty thouſand pounds to be paid the ſame year, and the Laity as much; which was levied by ſetting a certain rate of five pounds fifteen ſhillings upon every Pariſh, which were found in the thirty ſeven ſhires to be eight thouſand and ſix hundred, and ſo came in the whole to fifty thouſand one hundred eighty one pounds and eight pence: But 181 *l.* was abated to the Shires of *Suffolk* and *Devonſhire*, in regard of their poverty. In his eight and fortieth year, in a Parliament is granted him a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity. In his fiftieth year a Subſidy of a new nature was demanded by the young Prince *Richard*, whom (being but eleven years of age) the Duke of *Lancaſter* had brought into the Parliament of purpoſe to make the demand; to have two tenths to be paid in one year, or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandiſe ſold for one year; and one pound of Silver for every Knight's Fee, and of every Fire-houſe one penny: But inſtead of this Subſidy, after much alteration, there was granted another of as new a nature as this, that every perſon, man and woman within the Kingdom, above the age of fourteen years, ſhould pay four pence, (thoſe who lived of Alms only excepted) the Clergy to pay twelve pence of every Perſon beneficed, and of all other Religious perſons four pence. A mighty aid, and ſuch as was never granted to any King of *England* before.

Three Millions of Crowns of Gold paid to K. *Edward*, by the King of *France*.

Eight thouſand ſix hundred Pariſhes in *England*.

A Subſidy demanded of a new nature.

Every perſon above fourteen years old pay four pence.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE inſtituted the Order of the Garter, upon what cauſe is not certain. The common opinion is, that a Garter of his own Queen, or (as ſome ſay) of the Lady *Jone*, Counteſs of *Salisbury*, ſlipping off in a Dance, King *Edward* ſtooped and took it up; whereat ſome of his Lords that were preſent, ſmiling, as at an amorous action, he ſeriouſly ſaid, It ſhould not be long ere Sovereign honour ſhould be done to that Garter; whereupon he afterward added the *French* Motto, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*; therein checking his Lords ſiniſter ſuſpicion. Some conjecture that he inſtituted the Order of the Garter, for that in a Battel wherein he was victorious, he had given the word *Garter* for the word or ſign: and ſome again are of opinion, that the inſtitution of this Order is more ancient, and begun by K. *Richard* the firſt, but that this K. *Edward* adorned it, and brought it into ſplendor. The number of the Knights of this Order is twenty ſix, whereof the King himſelf is always one, and Preſident; and their Feaſt yearly celebrated at *Windſor* on St. *George*'s-day, the Tutelar Saint of that Order. The Laws of the Order are many, whereof there is a Book of purpoſe. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, he was earneſtly petitioned by a Parliament then holden, That the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Foreſts, might be duly obſerved; and that the great Officers of the Kingdom ſhould (as in former times) be elected by Parliament. To which Petition, tho the King at firſt ſtood ſtiff upon his own Election and Prerogative; yet at laſt (in regard to have his preſent turn ſerved, as himſelf after confeſſed) he yielded that ſuch Officers ſhould receive an Oath in Parliament, to do juſtice to all men in their offices: And thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the King's Seal, both for that and many other Grants of his to his Subjects; which notwithſtanding were for the moſt part ſhortly after revoked.

The Order of the Garter inſtituted, and whereupon.

The great Officers of the Kingdom choſen by Parliament.

This King alſo cauſeth all Pleas, which were before in *French*, to be made in *Engliſh*, that the Subject might underſtand the Courſe of the Law. Alſo in his time an Act was paſſed for Purveyors, that nothing ſhould be taken up but for ready money, upon ſtrict puniſhment. In the next Parliament holden the ſeven and thirtieth year of his Reign, certain ſumptuary Laws were ordained both for apparrel and diet; appointing every degree of men the ſtuff and habits they ſhould wear, prohibiting the wearing of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs, to all but eminent perſons. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meal a day, and what meals he ſhould eat. Alſo in his time at the inſtance of the *Londoners*, an Act was made that no common Whore ſhould wear any Hood, except ſtriped with divers colours; nor Furs, but garments reverſed the wrong ſide outward. This King alſo was the firſt that created Dukes, of whom *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* Earl of *Lancaſter*, created Duke of *Lancaſter*, in the ſeven and twentieth year of his Reign was the firſt. But afterward he erected *Cornwal* alſo into a Duchy, and conferred it upon the Prince: After which time, the King's eldeſt Son uſed always to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. This King alſo altered moneys, and abated them in weight, and yet made them to paſs according to the former value. Before this time there were no other pieces but Nobles and half Nobles, with the ſmall pieces of Silver called Sterlings; but now Groats of four-pence, and half Groats of two-pence, equivalent to the ſterling money, are coined, which inhaunced the Prices of things, that riſe or fall according to the plenty or ſcarcity of coin; which made Servants and Labourers to raiſe their wages accordingly: Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at *Weſtminſter*, to reduce the ſame to the former rate. Alſo an Act was made in this King's time, That all Wears, Mills, and other ſtoppages of Rivers, hindring the paſſages of Boats, Lighters, and other Veſſels, ſhould be removed; which though it were moſt commodious

All pleas in Law were firſt ordained to be made in *Engliſh*. Purveyors to take up nothing but for ready money.

Houſholders appointed what meat they ſhould eat. Whores to wear their garments reverſed. Dukes firſt created.

New coins created.

to

to the Kingdom, yet it took little effect, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men, who regarded more their own private, than the publick benefit. In a Parliament holden the tenth year of his Reign, it was enacted, that no Wooll growing within the Realm should be transported, but that it should be made in Cloth in *England*. *Peter-Pence* are forbidden by the King to be paid any more to *Rome*, but yet in many Shires of *England* are gathered to this day, saith *Fabian*. The custom of washing poor mens feet on *Maunday Thursday*, thought to have been first brought in by this King. This King also confirmed the Franchises of the City of *London*; and ordained that the Major of the time being should sit in all places of Judgment, within the liberty of the same, as chief Justice, the King's person only excepted: And that every Alderman that had been Major should be Justice of Peace in all *London* and *Middlesex*; and every Alderman that had not been Major should be Justice of Peace within his own Ward. Also he granted to the Citizens of *London*, that they should not be constrained to go out of the City to fight or defend the Land for any need. Also that after that day the Franchises of the City should not be seised into the King's hands, but only for Treason and Rebellion done by the whole City. Also that *Southwark* should be under the rule of the City, and the Major to chuse a Bayliff there, as he liked. He also granted to the Citizens of *London*, that the Officers of the Majors and Sheriffs should from that day forward use Maces of Silver parcel-gilt.

No Wooll to be transported.

Peter-Pence forbidden to be paid to *Rome*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A difference between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the King.

KING *Edward* upon some displeasure had imprisoned divers Clergymen; whereupon *John Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury* writes him a Letter, Charging him with violation of the Rights of the Church, and with the breach of *Magna Charta*; and after much good counsel given him, threatens that if he amend not these disorders, he must and will exercise his Ecclesiastical Authority, and proceed to Excommunication of his Officers, though not of himself, Queen, or Children. The King answers, and sends his Letter to the Bishop of *London*, charging the Archbishop to be the cause of all this disturbance, having been the man that first set him upon the War with *France*, assuring him he should want no money; and now had been the hinderance, that monies given him by Parliament were not duly levied; and after many remonstrances to such purpose, concludes, that if he desisted not from his rebellious obstinacy, he would use his Temporal Authority, and proceed against him as against a Rebel. But this difference between them was not long after, upon the Archbishop's submission, reconciled. And indeed the great account which this King made of Clergymen, may appear by his imploying almost none but Clergymen in all his Offices of Account: *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Chancellor of *England*; *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal: *David Willer* Parson of *Somersham*, Master of the Rolls; ten Benefliced Priests Civilians, Masters of the Chancery; *William Muse* Dean of St. *Martins le Grand*, chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the King's Treasure and Jewels; *William Aikby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; *William Dighton* Prebendary of St. *Martins*, Clerk of the Privy-Seal; *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of St. *Stephens*, Treasurer of the King's House: *Henry Snaith* Parson of *Oundel*, Master of the King's Wardrobe; *John Newnham* Parson of *Fenny-Stanton*, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer; *John Rowseby* Parson of *Harwich*, Surveyor and Comptroller of the King's works: *Thomas Brittingham*, Parson of *Asby*, Treasurer to the King for the part of *Guisnes*, and the Marches of *Callice*; *John Troys* a Priest, Treasurer of *Ireland*.

All the great offices of the Kingdom in the hands of Clergymen.

In the seventeenth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, complaint is made of the great inconvenience that came by the Pope's Collation of Benefices in *England*, conferring them upon strangers, who understood not the Language; and therefore not fit to be Pastors over a flock they could not feed: And hereupon Sir *John Shordich* is sent to Pope *Clement* the sixth, to require him to forbear such Collations, and to signify his consent therein: But this Message was so unwelcome to the Pope, that the Messenger came back unheard, at least unanswered; and the King taking his silence for consent, or perhaps not much caring whether he consented or no, proceeded to a prohibition of all such Collations within his Realm on pain of imprisonment, or death, to whomsoever should in time to come present or admit any such persons who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the King's Prerogative. These were Disturbances in matter of Discipline; but towards the end of his Reign, there fell a Disturbance in matter of Doctrine; for a certain Divine named *John Wickliffe*, inveighed in his Sermons, and other acts in the Schools, against the abuses of Churchmen, Monks, and other Religious Orders: And had by his Doctrine won many Disciples unto him, (who after were called Lollards) professing poverty, going bare-foot, and poorly clad in Russet. Amongst other his Doctrines, he taught, That neither King nor other secular Lord, could give any thing in perpetuity unto Churchmen; and that temporal Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take the goods of Religious persons to relieve them in their necessities, by the Example of *William Rufus*, and others. This man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Piercy* Marshal, much favour and cherish, extolling him for his learning and integrity of life; which made him so far to presume, that daily in one Church or other he published his Opinions. Whereupon at length he is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of *London*, and others in *Pauls*. At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord Marshal go to conduct him; when they were come to our Ladies Chappel, the Duke and Barons with the Bishops setting down, *John Wickliffe* was by the Lord Marshal willed to sit down, in regard (he said) the man had much to answer, and needed a convenient seat. The Bishop of *London* told him, It was against all Law and Reason that he who

The Pope restrained from conferring of Benefices in *England*.

John Wickliffe bringeth in new Doctrine.

Whom the Duke of *Lancaster* favours.

was there cited before his Ordinary ſhould ſit. Hereupon contumelious words aroſe between the Lord Marſhal and the Biſhop. The Duke takes the Marſhal's part, and ſharply reprehended the Biſhop, the Biſhop returns the like to the Duke; who in a great rage ſwore he would pull down the Pride of him, and of all the Biſhops in *England*: And whiſpering in his ear, told him he had rather pull him out of the Church by the hair of the head, than to ſuffer ſuch indignities. Which words the *Londoners* overhearing, ſwore with a loud voice they would rather loſe their lives than to ſuffer their Biſhop to be thus injuriouſly uſed. Their fury was the more againſt the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was Preſident) it was required in the King's name that from thenceforth there ſhould be no more a Major of *London*, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City; and that the Lord Marſhal of *England* ſhould arreſt offenders within the Liberties, as in other places. The morrow after, the Citizens aſſembling to conſult of this buſineſs, it happened the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, and *Guido Bryan*, came into the City; which the people ſeeing, furiouſly ran upon them, and were like to beat them down for coming at that time. The Lord *Fitz-Walter* proteſted he came to no other end, but to offer his ſervice to the City, being by Inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take injuries offered to them, as to himſelf; and therefore willed them to look to their defence. Whereupon they preſently take Arms, aſſail the Marſhal's Inn, break open the Gates, brought forth a priſoner in his Gives, and ſet him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marſhal, who with the Duke was that day to dine with one *John de Ypres*. Then this furious multitude ran to aſſail the *Savoy*, which a Knight of the Duke's ſeeing, haſtens to the place where his Lord dined, and acquaints him with this uproar in the City. The Duke upon hearing it, leaps from the Table ſo haſtily, that he hurt both his ſhins on the form; and with Sir *Henry Piercy* alone takes boat, and goes to *Kennington* near *Lambeth*, where the Princeſs with the young Prince lay: To whom he complains of this Riot, and the violence offered him. In the mean time, the multitude coming to the *Savoy*, a Prieſt inquiſitive to know the buſineſs, was anſwered, they went to take the Duke, and the Lord Marſhal, and compel them to deliver Sir *Peter de la Moore*, unjuſtly kept in priſon. The Prieſt replied that Sir *Peter* was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged. At which words they all cried out, This is *Piercy*, This is the Traytor of *England*, his ſpeech bewrays him, tho his apparrel be diſguiſed: And preſently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death. The Biſhop of *London* hearing of this outrage, leaves his dinner, haſtes to the *Savoy*, admoniſheth them of the holy time being Lent: aſſuring them, all ſhould be fairly ended for the good of the City. With thoſe perſuaſions they were ſomewhat pacified, but yet they took the Dukes Arms, and hung them up reverſed, in ſign of Treaſon, in all the principal parts of the City. Upon the Princeſſes advice, the chief Citizens ſend to the ſick King, to excuſe this tumult, ſaying, It was not in their power to ſuppreſs it, the Commonalty being in commotion, upon an information that their Liberties ſhould be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, it never was in his thought to infringe their Liberties; but he rather deſired to enlarge them. But this affront of the Citizens would not down with the Duke till he had pulled down ſome of the principal of them; for he cauſed the Major and Aldermen to be diſplaced, and others put in their rooms. A revenge he had better been without, for he never had the love of the City after: And to want their love is a kind of baniſhment. *Wickliffe* himſelf, cenſured by the Biſhops to abjure his Opinions, choſe rather to leave his Countrey than his Doctrine; and going over into *Bohemia*, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath been more ſince he died: At leaſt a great part of his Doctrine continues in veneration amongſt that people to this day.

Whereupon a great contention between the Duke and the Biſhop of *London*.

The *Londoners* take the Biſhops part, and ſet upon the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaſter's* houſe.

Wickliffe is baniſhed.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

HIS works of Piety were great and many, as the founding of *Eaſt-Minſter*, an Abby (of the Ciſteaux Order) near the *Tower*. An Abby of Nuns at *Dertford* in *Kent*. The King's Hall in *Cambridge* for poor Scholars. An Hoſpital for the poor at *Calliet*. He conferred upon the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he had himſelf been trained up, under the learned *Walter Burley*, the chief rule of the City, ſubordinating the Major and Citizens to the Chancellor of the Univerſity. He built St. *Stephen's* Chappel at *Weſtminſter*, with the endowment of 300. pound *per annum*. He augmented the Chappel at *Windſor*, and made proviſions there for Churchmen, and four and twenty poor Knights. Theſe were his publick works. But beſides theſe, his private Buildings were the Caſtle of *Windſor*, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Caſtle at *Queenborough*, Fortifications at *Calliet* and other places. His Queen *Philippa* founded Queens Colledge in *Oxford*: And *Mary* Counteſs of *Pembroke*, the Colledge called *Pembroke* Hall in *Cambridge*. In this King's time, Sir *John Poultney*, Major of *London*, built the Colledge in *London* called Saint *Lawrence Poultney*, and little *Allhallows*, a Pariſh-Church in *Thames-ſtreet*; and alſo the Carmelite Friers Church in *Coventry*. *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Leiceſter*, founded the Hoſpital by the Caſtle of *Leiceſter*, wherein a hundred poor impotent people were provided for with all things neceſſary. *William Elſing* Mercer of *London*, made a new Hoſpital of an old houſe of Nuns by *Cripplegate*; and placing Canons regular there, he became the firſt Prior thereof. *Walter Stapleton* Biſhop of *Exeter*, founded *Exeter* Colledge, and *Hart*-Hall in *Oxford*. *William Bateman* Biſhop of *Norwich*, builded *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*. *Simon Iſlip* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, founded *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*. *William Edendon* Treaſurer of *England*, founded the Monaſtery of *Edendon*; the Religious Brethren whereof were called *Bonhommes*. Sir *Walter de Manny*, born in *Cambray*, purchaſed a piece of ground called *Spittle-Croft*, containing thirteen Acres, without the Bars of *Weſt-Smithfield*, and cauſed the ſame to be incloſed; where he built a Chappel, and after founded the ſame to be a Houſe of *Charter-Houſe* Monks:

King's Hall in *Cambridge* built.

Queens Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded.

Pembroke Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded.

Exeter Colledge, and *Hart* Hall in *Oxford*, by whom founded.

Trinity Hall in *Cambridge*, by whom founded.

Canterbury Colledge in *Oxford* by whom founded.

The *Charter-houſe* by *Smithfield* by whom founded.

Monks. *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, re-edified the *Auguſtine* Friers Church in *London*, and was buried in the Quire there. In the two and thirtieth year of this King's Reign, *John Stody*, Major of *London*, gave unto the Vintners of *London* all the Quadrant where Vintners-Hall now ſtandeth, with the Tenements round about, from the Lane to this day called *Stody's* Lane; where are founded thirteen houſes for thirteen poor people, which are there kept of Charity. Alſo in this King's time Sir *John Cobham* founded the Colledge of *Cobham* in *Kent*. *John Lovekin* four times Major of *London*, builded at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, where he was born, a Chappel, called *Magdalens*, to the which he joined an Hoſpital, wherein was a Maſter, two Prieſts, and certain poor men: And for that the Pariſh-Church of Saint *Michael* by *Crooked-Lane*, where he dwelled, was a very homely thing, and the ground thereabout a filthy plot by reaſon of the Butchers in *Eaſtcheap*, who made the ſame their Lay-ſtall, he on the ſame ground builded the fair new Pariſh-Church of St. *Michael*, now ſtanding, and was buried there in the middle of the Quire, under a fair Tomb of ſtone. He alſo founded a Colledge to the ſame Church, neat thereunto adjoining. *John Barnes*, Major of *London*, gave a Cheſt with three Locks, and a thouſand Marks to be lent to young men upon ſecurity, ſo that it paſſed not one hundred Marks; and for the occupying thereof, if he were learned, to ſay at his pleaſure, *De profundis* for the ſoul of *John Barnes*: If he were not learned, to ſay *Pater Noſter*: But howſoever the money is lent, the Cheſt at this day ſtandeth in the Chamber of *London*, without money or pledges. *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, the youngeſt ſon of K. *Edward* founded a Colledge at *Playſtow* in *Eſſex*, where in his life he had provided a ſumptuous Tomb, where he was firſt laid, but tranſlated afterward to *Weſtminſter*.

Caſualties happening in his time.

A very great Peſtilence, and continued nine years.

IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign, a contagious Peſtilence aroſe in the Eaſt and South parts of the world, and ſpread it ſelf all over Chriſtendom; and coming at laſt into *England* it ſo waſted the people, that ſcarce the tenth perſon of all ſorts were left alive. There died in *London* (ſome ſay in *Norwich*) between the firſt of *January* and the firſt of *July* 57374 perſons; in *Yarmouth* in one year 7052 men and women. Before which time, the Perſonage there was worth 200 marks a year, and afterwards was ſcarce worth forty pounds a year. This Plague began in *London* about *Allhallontide*, in the year 1348, and continued till the year 1357. Where it was obſerved, that thoſe who were born after the beginning of this mortality had but twenty eight teeth, where before they had two and thirty. In the twelfth year of his Reign, a ſudden Inundation of Water at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, bare down a piece of the Town Wall, and ſix perches in length, near to a place called *Walkenew*; where a hundred and twenty men and women were drowned. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, another Peſtilence happened in *England*, which was called the ſecond Peſtilence, in which died *Henry* Duke of *Lincaſter*; alſo *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, and *Walter Fitz-Warren*, two famous men, and five Biſhops, of *Worceſter*, of *London*, of *Ely*, of *Lincoln*, and of *Chicheſter*. In this King's time a Froſt laſted from the midſt of *September* to the month of *April*. In the fourth year of his Reign a ſolemn Juſting or Turnament was holden at *London* in *Cheapſide*, betwixt the great Croſs and the great Conduit, nigh *Soper-lane*, which laſted three days, where the Queen *Philippa*, with many Ladies fell from a Stage, ſet up for them to behold the Juſting; and tho they were not hurt at all, yet the King threatned to puniſh the Carpenters for their negligence, till the Queen intreated pardon for them upon her knees: As indeed ſhe was always ready to do all good Offices of mercy to all people. In the eleventh year of his Reign was ſo great plenty, that a quarter of Wheat was ſold at *London* for two ſhillings, a fat Ox for a Noble, a fat Sheep for ſix-pence, and five Pigeons for a penny, a fat Gooſe for two-pence, a Pig for a penny, other things after that rate. But in his twenty ſeventh year there was a great ſcarcity, by reaſon there fell no rain, or very little, from the end of *March*, to the end of *July*, and was therefore called the dry ſummer.

After which the number of mens teeth leſſened.

Many great men died of the Plague.

A Froſt that laſted ſeven months.

Price of Victuals in a plenty.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Philippa* the Daughter of *William* Earl of *Heynault*, at *York*. A match made up in haſte by Queen *Iſabel* his mother, for her own ends, although a better could never have been made upon deliberation for King *Edward's* ends. For tho her Parentage was not great, and her Portion leſs; yet ſhe made amends for both in virtue: For never King had a better Wife. By her K. *Edward* had ſeven ſons, and five daughters. His eldeſt Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and commonly called the *Black-Prince*, (but why ſo called uncertain; for to ſay of his dreadful acts, as *Speed* ſaith, hath little probability: And indeed *Froiſſard* who hath written the Reign of K. *Edward* the third more particularly than any other, and lived in his time, never calls Prince *Edward* the *Black-Prince*, nor any where makes mention that he was ſo called) was born at *Woodſtock*, in the third year of his Father's Reign. He married *Joan*, the daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, brother by the Father's ſide to K. *Edward* the ſecond. She had been twice married before; firſt to the valiant Earl of *Salisbury* from whom ſhe was divorced; Next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*; after whoſe deceaſe, this Prince paſſionately loving her, married her. By her he had iſſue two ſons, *Edward* the eldeſt, born at *Angoulême*, who died at ſeven years of age; and *Richard* born at *Burdeaux*, who after his Father was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather, King of *England*. This Prince had alſo natural Iſſue Sir *John Sourder*, and *Roger Clarendon*, Knights; the latter being attainted in the Reign of King *Henry* the fourth is thought to have been Anceſtor to the houſe of *Smith* in *Eſſex*. He died at *Canterbury*, in the ſix and fortieth year of his age, and of his Father's Reign the nine and fortieth, and was buried at *Chriſt*-Church there. His ſecond ſon *William* was born at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordſhire*, who deceaſed in his childhood, and was

The family of *Smiths* in *Eſſex* from whom deſcended.

buried at *York*. His third Son *Lionel* was born at *Antwerp*, in the twelfth year of his Father's reign. He married first *Elizabeth* the Daughter and Heir of *William Burgh*, Earl of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, in whose right he was first created Earl of *Ulster*; and because he had with her the honour of *Clare*, in the County of *Tourmond*, he was in a Parliament created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Country about the Town and honour of *Clare*: From which Duchy, the name of *Clarencieux* (being the title of the King of Arms for the South-parts of *England*) is derived. This Duke had issue by her one only daughter, named *Philippa*, afterward Wife of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Mother of Earl *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countess of *Cambridge*, the Mother of *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of K. *Edward* the Fourth. The second Marriage of this Duke was at *Millain* in *Lombardy*, with the Lady *Violanta*, daughter of *Galeacio*, the second Duke thereof; but through intemperance he lived not long after. King *Edward*'s fourth Son named *John*, was born at *Gaunt*, in the fourteenth year of his Father's Reign. He had three Wives, the first was *Blanch*, daughter and co-heir, and in the end, the sole Heir of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, son of *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouch-back*; by whom he had issue *Henry* of *Bullingbroke*, Earl of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry* the fourth, who first placed the Crown in the house of *Lancaster*. By her also *John* of *Gaunt* had two Daughters, *Philippa* Wife of *John* the first, King of *Portugal*, and *Elizabeth* married first to *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, and after him to Sir *John Cornwal*, Baron of *Fanhope*. *John* of *Gaunt*'s second Wife was *Constance*, the eldest daughter of *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, in whose right for the time he intituled himself King of both those Realms. By her he had issue one only Daughter named *Katherine*, married to *Henry* the third Son of King *John*, in possession before, and in her right after King of both the said Realms. *John* of *Gaunt*'s third Wife was *Katherine*, the Widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, eldest Daughter and Co-heir of *Payne-Roet*, a *Gascoin*, called *Guien* King of Arms for that Countrey; his younger Daughter being married to Sir *Geoffery Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her he had issue born before Matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament in the twentieth year of King *Richard* the second, *John* Earl of *Somerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* and *Cardinal*, and *Joan* (who was first married to *Robert Ferrers*, Baron of *Wemme* and *Oulfey*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwick*) and secondly, to *Ralph Nevill*, the first Earl of *Westmerland*. She and all her Brethren were surnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France*, where they were all born, and in regard thereof, bare the Portcullis of a Castle for the Cognizance of their Family. This Duke in the thirteenth year of his Nephew K. *Richard*, was created Duke of *Aquitain*, but in the sixteenth year he was called home, and this title recalled; and the third year after in the sixtieth of his age, he died at *Elyhouse* in *Holborn*, and lieth honourably Entombed in the Quire of Saint *Paul*. King *Edward*'s fifth son *Edmund*, surnamed of *Langely*, was first in the year 1362. created Earl of *Cambridge*; and afterwards in the year 1386. made Duke of *York*. He married *Isabel* Daughter and Co-heir to *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*: His Son *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *York*, took to Wife *Ann Mortimer*, Heir of the foresaid *Lionel*, elder brother to *Edmund* of *Langely*. K. *Edward*'s sixth son *William*, surnamed of *Windsor*, where he was born, died young, and is buried at *Westminster*. King *Edward*'s youngest son *Thomas*, surnamed of *Woodstock*, where he was born, was first Earl of *Buckingham*, and after made Duke of *Gloucester* by his Nephew King *Richard* the second. He was a man of valour and wisdom; but the King surmising him to be too severe an observer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, how to make him away: Whom *Mowbray* unawares surprising, conveyed secretly to *Calice*, where he was strangled the twentieth year of K. *Richard*'s Reign. He had issue one Son, *Humphrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, who died at *Chester* of the Pestilence, in the year 1400. and two Daughters, *Ann*, married first to *Edmund* Earl of *Stafford*, by whom she had *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*; secondly to *William Bourchier* Earl of *Ewe*, by whom she had *Henry* Earl of *Essex*; and *Joan*, married to *Gilbert* Lord *Talbot*, and had issue by him a Daughter, who died young. Of King *Edward*'s Daughters, the eldest, named *Isabel*, was married at *Windsor* to *Ingelram* of *Guysnes*, Lord of *Coucy*, Earl of *Soissons*, and after Archduke of *Austria*; created also by King *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*: By whom she was Mother of two Daughters, *Mary* married to *Henry* Duke of *Barre*, and *Philip* married to *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marquess of *Dublin*. This *Robert*, in the height of his fortunes forsook his Lady *Philip*, and married one *Lancerona*, a Joiners Daughter (as was said) which came with King *Richard* the second's Wife out of *Bohemia*: And being for abusing the King's ear, driven out of the land by the Lords, he died at *Louain*, in extream poverty in the year 1392. *Isabel* his Wives Mother was buried in the Church of Friers Minors near *Aldgate* in *London*. King *Edward*'s second Daughter *Joan* was married by Proxy to *Alphonso*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*; but passing into *Spain*, died by the way, and King *Alphonso* met her instead of consummating his Espousal, to solemnize her Funeral. His third Daughter *Blanch* died young. His fourth named *Mary*, was married to *John Montford* Duke of *Britain*. His youngest named *Margaret*, born in *Calice*, was the first Wife of *John de Hastings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, but died without issue.

Duke of *Clarence*, from whence it hath the title.

The King of Arms, why called *Clarencieux*.

The name of *Beaufort* why given to some of *John* of *Gaunt*'s children.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was of stature indifferent tall, of sparkling eyes, of a comely and manly countenance, in his latter time somewhat bald; and concerning his conditions, no man was more gentle, where there was submission; where opposition, no man more stern. He was a Prince no less of his passions, than of his people; for he was never so loving as to be fond, nor ever so

ſo angry, as to be inexorable: But this muſt be underſtood of the time when he was a man; for in his old age, when he came to be a child again, he was a Prince of neither. He was no leſs fortunate than valiant, and his fortunateneſs was the greater by a kind of *Antiperiſtaſis*, as coming between two unfortunate Princes; Succeſſor to one, and Predeceſſor to another. He was of ſo warlike a diſpoſition, that his very ſports were warlike; for no delights were ſo frequent with him as Juſts and Turnaments. To ſhew his devotion, one example may be ſufficient; for when neither Cardinals nor Counſellors could move him to make Peace with *France*, a Tempeſt from Heaven did it: To which may be added, that he never won great Battel, of which he won many, but he preſently gave the glory of it to God by publick Thankſgiving. He out-lived the beſt Wife, and the beſt Son that ever King had; and to ſay the truth, he out-lived the beſt of himſelf, for his latter years were not anſwerable to his former.

Of his Death and Burial.

KIng *Edward* beſides his being old, and worn with the labours of War, had other cauſes that haſtned his end; his grief for the loſs of ſo worthy a Son, dead but ten months before; his grief for the loſs of all benefit of his Conqueſts in *France*, of all which he had little now left but only *Callice*. And oppreſſed thus in body and mind, he was drawing his laſt breath, when his Concubine *Alice Pierce* packing away what ſhe could catch, even to the Rings of his Fingers, left him; and by her example, other of his attendants ſeiſing on what they could come by, ſhift away: And all his Counſellors and others forſook him, when he moſt needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty. Which a poor Prieſt in his houſe ſeeing, he approaches to the King's Bed-ſide, and finding him yet breathing, calls upon him to remember his Saviour, and to ask mercy for his offences; which none about him before would do. But now moved by the voice of this Prieſt, he ſhews all ſigns of contrition, and at laſt breath he expreſſeth the name of Jeſus. Thus died this victorious King at his Mannor of *Sheene*, (now *Richmond*) the 21. day of *June* in the year 1377. in the 64. year of his age, having reigned fifty years, four months, and odd days. His body was conveyed from *Sheene* by his four Sons, and other Lords, and ſolemnly interred within *Weſtminſter* Church, where he hath his Monument; and where it is ſaid the Sword he uſed in Battel, is yet to be ſeen, being eight pound in weight, and ſeven foot in length.

Lying in his death-bed forſaken of all.

1377.

Men of Note in his time.

MArtial-men were never more plentiful than in this King's Reign: Whether it were that the Stars have an influence to procure ſuch men at one time more than another; or whether it were that *Regis ad exemplum*, the King's example made his Subjects like himſelf: Or laſtly, that his continual exerciſe of arms put them as it were into a mould of fortitude. The firſt of this kind is worthily *Edward* the Black-Prince, and ſo worthily the firſt, that *Longe erit a prima quiſque ſecundus erit*. Next him *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter* the Prince's right hand in all his great atchievements; then *William* the valiant Earl of *Salisbury*; then *John Eure*, Anceſtor to the L. *Eures* that now liveth; then follow the Lord *John Chaundois*, Sir *James Audeley*, Sir *Walter de Manny*, Sir *Robert Knolls*; then Sir *John Hawkwood* born in *Eſſex*, who though not much honoured at home, having been a Taylor; Yet in foreign parts, and eſpecially in *Italy*, ſo famous, that his Statue was erected in publick for a Monument to teſtify his valour to poſterity. And here muſt not be forgotten *Robert Venile*, Knight, a *Norfolk* man; who when the *Scots* and *Engliſh* were ready to give Battel, a certain ſtout Champion of great Stature, commonly called *Tournbol*, coming out of the *Scots* Army, and challenging any *Engliſh*-man to meet him in a ſingle Combat; this *Robert Venile* accepteth the challenge, and marching towards the Champion, and meeting by the way a certain black Maſtiff Dog, which waited on the Champion, he ſuddenly with his Sword cut him off at the loins: And afterwards did more to the Champion himſelf, cutting his head from off his Shoulders. And as there was this great plenty of Martial-men, ſo there was no leſs plenty of Learned men; *John Baconthorpe* born in *Norfolk*, a Carmelite-Frier, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes in Divinity; *Nicholas Trivet* born alſo in *Norfolk*, a Black-Frier, who wrote two Hiſtories, and a Book of Annals: *Richard Stradley*, born in the Marches of *Wales*, a Monk and a Divine, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes of the Scriptures: *William Harbert* a *Welch*-man, and a Frier *Minor*, who wrote many good Treatiſes in Divinity: *Tho. Wallies*, a Dominican-Frier, and a Writer of many excellent Books: *John Everſden* a Monk of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Walter Burley* a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes in Natural and Moral Philoſophy, which remain in eſtimation to this day, and who for the great fame of his Learning, had the honour to be one of the great Inſtructors of *Edward* the Black-Prince: *Roger* of *Cheſter* a Monk of that City, and an Hiſtoriographer: *John Burgh* a Monk, who wrote a Hiſtory, and alſo divers Homilies: *Richard*, Sirnamed from the place of his birth *de Bury* (Son of Sir *Richard Aungervil*) Biſhop of *Durham*, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*: *Walter Hemingford*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Richard Chicheſter* a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, who wrote an excellent Chronicle from the year 449. to the year 1348. *Richard Rolle*, *alias Hampole*, who wrote many excellent Treatiſes in Divinity: *Robert Holcot* a Black-Frier born in *Northampton*, a learned ſchoolman, and wrote many Books in Arguments of Divinity: *Thomas Bradwardin*, born near *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and who wrote againſt the *Pelagians*, and for his depth of Learning, had the Title of *Doctor Profundus*: *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, a learned Writer: *William Gryſont*, named *Anglicus*, a notable Phyſician: Whoſe Son came to be Pope, and was called *Urbane* the fifth: *John Killingworth* an excellent Philoſopher, Aſtronomer, and Phyſician:

Sir *John Hawkwood* a Taylor, ſo famous in *Italy*, that his Statue is there erected.

Robert Venile his valour.

Walter Burley one of the Black-Prince's Schoolmaſters.

Robert Holcot a learned Schoolman.

Thomas Bradwardin called *Doctor Profundus*.

Randolph

Ranulph Higdon a Monk of *Chester*, an Historiographer: *Bartholomew Glanvile*, descended of those *Glanviles* that were sometimes Earls of *Suffolk*: *Simon Ship* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and founder of *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*; who wrote many Treatises; *Matthew Westmonasteriensis*, who wrote the Book called *Flores Historiarum*: *William Fleet* an Hermite, who wrote sundry Treatises, exhorting *England* to repentance: *Henry Knighton*, who wrote a History intituled *De gestis Anglorum*; and lastly, two other, worthy perhaps to have been placed first, *John Mandevile* the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physick, and a Knight, who died at *Liege*, in the year 1372. and Sir *Geoffery Chaucer* the *Homer* of our Nation, and who found as sweet a Muse in the Groves of *Woodstock*, as the ancients did upon the banks of *Helicon*.

Matthew Westminster lived in this time.

John Mandevile the great Traveller.

Sir Geoffery Chaucer lived at this time.

The Majors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Reign.*

In his first year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Henry Darcy, *John Hawton* Sheriffs.

In his second year,
John Grantham was Major.
Simon Francis, *Henry Cobmartin*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Richard Swanland was Major.
Richard Lazer, *William Gisors*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *John Pountney* was Major.
Robert of *Ely*, *Thomas Worwode*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Pountney* continued Major.
John Mocking, *Andrew Aubery*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Preston was Major.
Nicholas Lake, *John Husband*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *John Pountney* was Major.
John Hammond, *William Hamford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Reginald at the Conduit was Major.
John Kingstone, *Walter Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Reginald at the Conduit continued Major.
Walter Marding, *Richard Upton*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *John Pountney* was Major.
John Clark, *Hocuster*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Darcy was Major.
Walter Neale, *Nicholas Crane*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Darcy continued Major.
William de Ramsey, *Hugh Marder*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Andrew Aubery was Major.
William Thorney, *Roger Frosham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Andrew Aubery continued Major.
Adam Lucas, *Bartholomew Morris*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John of *Oxenford* was Major.
Richard de Barking, *John de Rokesly* Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Simon Frances was Major.
John Louskin, *Richard Killingbury*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
John Hammond was Major.
John Steward, *John Aylesham*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
John Hammond continued Major.
Geoffery Witchingham, *Thomas Leg*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Richard Lazer, was Major.
Edmund Hermenhall, *John* of *Gloucester*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Geoffery Witchingham was Major.
John Croydon, *William Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Thomas Legg was Major.
Adam Bramston, *Richard Fas*, or *Bas*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
John Louskin was Major.
Henry Picard, *Simon Doleby*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Walter Turk was Major.
Adam Bury, *Ralph* of *Lynne*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
Richard Killingbury was Major.
John Notte, *William* of *Worcester*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Andrew Aubery was Major.
John Wroth, *Gilbert* of *Steveneshorpe*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,
Adam Francis was Major.
John Pease, *John Stody*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,
Adam Francis continued Major.
William Wood, *John Little*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Thomas Legg was Major.
William Nottingham, *Roger Smelt*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Simon Francis was Major.
Thomas Foster, *Thomas Brandon*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Henry Piccard was Major.
Richard Nottingham, *Thomas Dolsel*, Sheriffs. In

In his thirty first year,
Sir *John Stody* was Major.
Stephen Candish, *Bartholomew Frostling*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
John Louskin was Major.
John Barnes, *John Burys*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Simon Doulseby was Major.
Simon of *Benington*, *John* of *Chichester*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
John Wroth was Major.
John Dennis, *Walter Berry*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
John Pecbe was Major.
William Holbech, *James Tame*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,
Stephen Candish was Major.
John of St. *Albans*, *James Andrew*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,
John Not was Major.
Richard of *Croyden*, *John Hilloft*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Adam of *Bury* was Major.
John de Metford, *Simon de Morden*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
John Louskin was Major.
John Bukilsworth, *John Ireland*, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
John Louskin continued Major.
John Ward, *Thomas* of *Lee*, Sheriffs.

In his forty first year,
James Andrew was Major.
John Tarngold, *William Dickman*, Sheriffs.

In his forty second year,
Simon Mordan was Major.
Robert Girdeler, *Adam Wimondham*, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,
John Chichester was Major.
John Piel, *Hugh Holdich*, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year,
John Barns was Major.
William Walworth, *Robert Gayton*, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,
John Barns continued Major.
Adam Staple, *Robert Hatfield*, Sheriffs.

In his forty sixth year,
John Piel was Major.
John Philpot, *Nicholas Brembar*, Sheriffs.

In his forty seventh year,
Adam of *Bury* was Major.
John Aubery, *John Fisbed*, Sheriffs.

In his forty eighth year,
William Walworth was Major.
Richard Lions, *William Woodhouse*, Sheriffs.

In his forty ninth year,
John Ward was Major.
John Hadley, *William Newport*, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,
Adam Staple was Major.
John Northampton, *Robert Laund*, Sheriffs.

THE

THE REIGN OF King RICHARD II.

Anno Dom 1377. K. *Richard* the second Crowned.

RICHARD called of *Burdeaux*, because born there, the only Son of *Edward* the *Black Prince*, was by his Grandfather in his life-time declared to be his Heir and lawful Successor; and accordingly after his death was crowned King of *England* at *Westminster*, the sixteenth day of *July*, in the year 1377. by *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And for the more solemnity of his Coronation, he then made nine Knights, and created four Earls; *Thomas* of *Woodstock* King *Edward* the third's youngest son, was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, younger Brother of *John* Lord *Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*; *Gifford Angoulesme* a *Gascoin*, was made Earl of *Huntington*; and *Henry Piercy* Son of *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, was created Earl of *Northumberland*. At the time of the Coronation, the Duke of *Lancaster*, by the name of *John* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and Duke of *Lancaster*, put in his claim as Earl of *Leicester*, to have the place of Earl-Marshal of *England*; as Duke of *Lancaster*, to carry the Sword called *Curtana*; as Earl of *Lincoln*, to be Carver that day: All which to be executed by himself, or by his sufficient Deputy; which with the Fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him. As likewise, divers others made their claims: *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, to have the Office of Chamberlain, and to pour out water for the King to wash: *John Wilshire* Citizen of *London*, by reason of a moiety of the Mannor of *Heydon*, holden in Sergeanty, claimed to hold a Towel for the King to wipe with when he went to meat; *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* to bear the third Sword before the King; and also to exercise the Office of Pantler: Sir *John Argentine*, by reason of his Mannor of *Wimondsey* in the County of *Hartford*, to serve the King at his Cup: *William* L. *Furnival* for his Mannor of *Fernham*, to support the King's right Arm when he held the Royal Scepter; *Anne* late Wife of *John de Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, for his Mannor of *Ashele* in *Norfolk*, to have the Office of Naperer; which she was admitted to do by her Deputy Sir *Thomas Blunt*: *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, for his Mannor of *B.* in *Kent*, was admitted to be chief Butler: The Lord Major of *London*, to attend in his own person as chief Cup-waiter: Sir *John Dimmock* for his Mannor of *Strivelsby*, and Sir *Baldwin Freville*, for his Castle of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwick*, contended for the Office of being the King's Champion, but adjudged to *Dimmock*; *William de Latimer*, and *John* the son and heir of *John Mowbray* of *Axholme*, jointly petitioned to have the Office of Almoner; but adjudged to *Latimer*; *Richard Lion*, as Tenant of the Mannor of *L.* held by the service of making Wafers for the King at his Coronation, was thereunto admitted. The Barons of the Cinque-Ports were admitted to bear the King's Canopy, upon four staves of silver, over the King's Head; and also to sit at meat in the Hall, at the highest Table on the King's right-hand: *John Fitz-John*, by reason of his Mannor of *S.* in *Norfolk*, was admitted to be chief Larderer: *Richard Herring* for the Mannor of the *C.* in the County of *Surry*, claimed to be Usher of the King's Chamber; but because that claim did no way concern the Coronation, he was left to pursue his Right some other time. The Coronation it self was performed with great solemnity: After a Sermon, the King took his Oath; and then the Archbishop blessed the King: which done, he tore off his Garments, and stripped him into his Shift; then he anointed his Hands, Head, Breast, Shoulders, and the joints of his Arms, with the Sacred oil; and after certain Prayers, he then clad him first with the Coat of St. *Edward*, and after with his Mantle: After which the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, saying, *Accipe Gladium*; with which two Earls girded him: Then he gave him Bracelets, saying, *Accipe Armillas*. After this he put upon him an upper vesture called a Pall, saying, *Accipe Pallium*. In the mean time, while the Archbishop blessed the Crown, he to whose office it pertained, put Spurs on his heels; after the Crown was blessed, the Archbishop set it on his head, saying, *Coronet te Deus*: Then he delivered him a Ring, saying, *Accipe Annulum*. Immediately herewith came the Lord *Furnival* by virtue of his Office, offering him a red Glove; which the Archbishop blessed, and putting it on his hand, delivered him a Scepter, saying, *Accipe Sceptrum*: And after that, into his other hand, delivered him a Rod, on the top whereof stood a Dove, saying, *Accipe Virgam Virtutis*, and then blessed the King, saying, *Benedicat te Deus*: which done, the King kissed the Bishops and Abbots, by whom he was afterward led to his seat: and so ended the Solemnity.

Claims of Office at his Coronation.

The manner of his Coronation.

The tender years of the King, being but eleven

eleven years of age, required a Protector: But being perhaps thought dangerous to commit that Authority to only one, who might rather seek to get it for himself, than to keep it for another, it was thought fit to commit it to many; and thereupon *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, the King's Uncles, with some other Lords and Bishops, were joined in Commission to manage the State: And *Guichard de Angoulesme* appointed to be his Schoolmaster. And now the King's minority made foreign Princes conceive, that this would be a time of advantage for any that had quarrel to *England*, which the *French* and *Scots* took presently hold of. For the *French* came now, and burnt the Town of *Rye*; and soon after, entring the Isle of *Wight*, burnt divers Towns there; and tho they were repelled from the Castle by the valiant Sir *Hugh Tyrrel* Captain there, yet they constrained the men of the Isle to give them a thousand Marks to spare the residue of their houses and goods: And departing thence, they set on Land where they saw advantage, burning sundry Towns near to the shore, as *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plimouth*, and then sailing towards *Dover*, they burnt *Hastings*, assaulted *Winchelsey*; But being valiantly defended by the Abbot of *Battel*, were forced to retire. After this, they landed not far from the Abby of *Lewis*, at a place called *Rottington*; where the Prior of *Lewis*, with Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, and Sir *John Fallesly*, encountring them, were overthrown and taken prisoners. And no less than the *French* were the *Scots* also now busy; for coming one morning by stealth, they won the Castle of *Berwick*: But shortly after, upon knowledge thereof had, they were driven out again by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*; and all the *Scots* they found in it, except *Alexander Ramsey* their Captain, put to the sword. About *Michaelmas* a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein *Alice Pierce*, the late King's Concubine, was banished the Realm, and all her goods confiscate; and two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths of the Temporalty were granted: But so, as that two Citizens of *London*, *William Walworth*, and *John Philpot*, should receive and keep it, to see it bestowed for defence of the Realm. In his time, Sir *Hugh Calverly*, Deputy of *Callice*, burnt six and twenty *French* Ships in the Haven of *Boloigne*. And at the same time a great Navy set out, under the guiding of the Earl of *Buckingham*, the Duke of *Britain*, the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, and others, with a purpose to intercept the *Spanish* Fleet; but through tempest was twice driven back. When in the mean time, one *Mercer*, a *Scotish* Pirate, came to *Scarborough*, took there divers Ships, and committed many outrages: And no order being taken to repel him, a Citizen of *London*, named *John Philpot*, at his own charges set forth a Fleet, and in his own person encountring them, took the said *Mercer*, and all his Ships: And returning home, instead of being rewarded for his service, he was called in question for presuming to raise a Navy without advice of the King's Council: But he gave such reasons for that he had done, that not only he came off then with credit, but lives in reputation for it to this day. Indeed reasons of State, tho they may be secretly censured, yet they must not openly be controlled, for this were to bring Authority into contempt, and instead of errors to bring in confusion: But yet when wrongs be offered that are publick, every particular person seems to have an interest in taking revenge; and though it may be no manners not to stay the State's leisure, yet it can be no offence to do their work for them.

Three in Commission of the Protectorship.

The *French* enter *England*, and take and burn divers Towns.

The *Scots* also invade the borders, but with little success.

Alice Pierce banished the Realm. A Subsidy granted, but with condition.

1380.

John Philpot a Citizen of *London*, his worthy act. But ill rewarded.

Many actions passed at this time with the *French* and *Scots*, some prosperous, and some adverse. The *Scots* burn *Roxborough*, this was adverse; but the Earl of *Northumberland* entring *Scotland*, with ten thousand men, spoileth the Lands of the Earl of *March*, the chief Incendiary; this was prosperous: But when the *Northern*-men would needs make a Road into *Scotland*, and were encountred by the *Scots*, and put to flight; this was adverse. Anon after *Midsummer*, the Duke of *Lancaster*, with the Earls of *Buckingham*, *Warwick*, *Stafford*, and others of the Nobility, with a strong power took the Sea, and landing in *Britain*, besieged the Town of St. *Malo*, but finding strong opposition, is forced to raise his siege, and return home: This was adverse. And now again, the *Scots* by night entred secretly into the Castle of *Berwick*, and slew Sir *Robert Boynton* that was Constable there: This also was adverse. But when the Earl of *Northumberland* being advertised thereof, came with a power, assaulted the Castle, and after two days defence recovered it again: This was prosperous. *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, the King's Lieutenant in *Callice*, forageth the Country round about, and furnisheth *Callice* with booties of *French* Cattel. Sir *Hugh Calverley*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy* made Admirals, put to Sea, and take divers Ships laden with Merchandise, and one Ship of War; Sir *John Hurleston*, Captain of *Chierbourgh* in *France*, issuing forth, assaults a Fortress of the *French*, which was the store-house of their provision; and with much valour takes it: These were prosperous. But when Sir *John Clark* lying in Garison in a Castle in *Britain*, where lay many *English* Ships in the Haven, had these Ships set upon by the *French*; where though he shewed incredible valour in the action, yet the Ships were taken, and himself slain: This was adverse. Also in the third year of this King's Reign, Sir *John Arundel*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *Tho. Piercy*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Banister*, and many other Knights went to Sea, with a purpose to pass over into *Britain*: But were so beaten back with tempest, that divers of their Ships were cast away; and Sir *John Arundel*, Sir *Thomas Banister*, Sir *Nicholas Trumpington*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, and above a thousand others were all drowned; only Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Elmham*, and certain others escaped. It may not be impertinent to note here the sumptuousness of those times; for this Sir *John Arundel* was then said in his Furniture to have two and fifty new suits of apparel of Cloth of Gold and Tissue all lost at Sea.

Actions with the *French* and *Scots*, some prosperous, some adverse.

Sir *John Arundel* and a thousand others drowned

His sumptuousness of apparel.

This year also there being found inconvenience in having many governors of the King and Kingdom, it was by Parliament decreed, That the Lord *Thomas Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, should

The Earl of *Warwick* appointed Protector.

should himself alone hold the place of Protector. About this time Sir *John Annesley* Knight accused *Thomas Katrington* Esq; for betraying the Fortress of S. *Saviour* to the *French*: Which *Katrington* denying, at the suit of *Annesley*, a solemn combat is permitted to be between them, at which combat the King and all the great Lords were present. The Esquire *Katrington* was a man of a mighty stature, the Knight, *Annesley* a little man; yet through the justness of his cause, after a long fight, the Knight prevailed, and *Katrington* the day after the Combat died. *Fabian* saith, he was drawn to *Tiburn*, and there hanged for his false accusation. In the beginning of the fourth year of this King, *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Earl of *Buckingham*, the King's Uncle, with divers Earls and Lords, and an Army of seven or eight thousand, was sent into *France*, to aid the Duke of *Britain*; but the King of *France* at that time dying, the Duke of *Britain* grew to have peace with the new King, whereupon the Earl of *Buckingham* came home again without doing much, but making of Knights, and foraging the Countrey. In this time the *French* and *Spanish* Gallies did much mischief on the Coast of *England*; They burnt *Rye*, *Hastings*, and *Portsmouth*; and at last entring the River of *Thames*, they came up to *Gravesend*, where they burnt most part of the Town, and taking many Prisoners and Booties, returned into *France*.

A Combat between *Katrington* and *Annesley*.

The *French* burn divers Towns in *England*.

1303.

An insurrection in *Kent*, and the cause.

At this time also, there fell out an Accident of great disturbance to the Realm; for the Commons rose in divers parts, beginning at *Deptford* in *Kent*: And the cause of their rising grew (as was thought) through the rude behaviour of a Collector of the Poll-money, who coming into the house of one *John Tyler*, and demanding Poll-money of his Wife for a daughter of hers; and she saying that her daughter was not of age to pay, the rude fellow said he would presently see whether that were so or no, and thereupon forcibly turned up her cloaths: whereat the Mother making an outcry, her husband being at work hard by, and hearing the noise, came in with his lathing-staff in his hand, with which he gave the Collector such a blow on the head, that his brains flew out, and he presently died. Upon this, at the complaint of *Tyler* amongst his neighbours, and withal a factious Clergyman, one *John Ball*, taking occasion hereat to rip up the ground of this misgovernment, and telling the people that this difference of mens Estates, where some are Potentates, and some are Bondmen, was against Christian Liberty, taking for his Theme, *When* Adam *delv'd, and* Eve *span, Who was then a Gentleman?* He so incensed them, that the Commons in divers parts drew together; and whether beginning in *Kent*, or otherwise in *Essex*, they drew at last into their Faction the Commons of *Sussex*, *Hertfordshire*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and other Shires; and arresting all such as passed, made them swear to be true to King *Richard*, and to the Commons, and never to receive any King that should be called *John*; which they did for the envy they bore to *John* Duke of *Lancaster*. Thus their number still increased, that by that time they were come so far as *Block-heath*, they were esteemed to be a hundred thousand. The first thing they did when they came to *London*, was to send for one *Richard Lion*, a grave Citizen, who had been *Tyler*'s Master, and his head they struck off, and carried it upon a pole in Triumph before them. The next day they came to the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaster*'s house, which they set on fire, burning all his rich Furniture, breaking in pieces all his Plate and Jewels, and throwing them into the *Thames*, saying, they were men of Justice, and would not like Robbers inrich themselves with any mans Goods; and when one of their fellows was espied to thrust a fair silver piece into his bosom, they took him, and cast both him and the piece into the fire. Two and thirty of them were got into the Duke's Wine-Cellar, where they stayed drinking so long, till the rafters of the house on fire, fell upon them, and so covered them, that not able to get out, they were heard cry seven days after, and then perished. From the *Savoy* they went to the *Temple*, where they burnt the Lawyers Lodgings, with their Books and Writings, and all they could lay hands on. Also the House of St. *John*'s by *Smithfield* they set on fire, so that it burnt for the space of seven days together. After this they came to the *Tower*, where the King was then lodged; and though he had at that time six hundred armed men, and as many Archers about him, yet he durst not but suffer them to enter; where they abused the King's Mother, offering to kiss her, in such rude manner, that she fell into a swoon: And finding in the place *Simon Theobold*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor, and Sir *Robert Hales* also Lord Treasurer, they led them to the *Tower-hill*, and there in most cruel manner struck off their heads, as also of divers others. Neither spared they sacred places: For breaking into the Church of the *Augustine* Friers, they drew forth thirteen *Flemmings*, and beheaded them in the open streets; as also seventeen others out of other Churches. Yet after all these outrages, the King proclaimed Pardon to all such as would lay down Arms, and go quietly home; which the *Essex* men did, but the *Kentish* men continued still with their Captain *Wat Tyler*. To whom when the King sent Sir *John Newton* to understand what his meaning was, *Wat Tyler*, offended because he came on Horseback, told him it became him to light from his Horse in his presence; and therewith drew out his dagger to strike him. The King perceiving his Knight to be in danger, bade him alight from his Horse; but when this would not pacify him, the Major of *London*, *William Walworth*, by the King's appointment rode to him, and arrested him, and gave him such a blow on the head, that he astonied him; and then other of the King's Servants drew their Swords, and thrust him through in divers parts of his body, so as he died there in the place. When the Commons saw this, they cried out, Our Captain is slain, let us revenge it. Here the King, though very young, not above fifteen years of age, yet had the courage to ride unto

They agree to receive no King that should be called *John*, and why.

They set upon the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaster*'s house.

Two and thirty of them burnt drinking in the Cellar.

They came to the *Tower*, and abused the King's Mother.

They beheaded the Chancellor and the Treasurer.

Wat Tyler's insolent carriage before the King.

William Walworth Lord Major kills him.

to them, telling them, that now their Leader was dead, he would be their Leader himself; and if they would follow him into the Fields, they should have whatsoever they desired. In the mean time the Lord Major *Walworth* had gone into the City, and raised a thousand armed men and meeting Sir *Robert Knolls* by chance, got him to be their leader; who coming into the fields where the Rebels were, so daunted them, that throwing down their Weapons, they cried for mercy: That it was a wonderful thing to see how suddenly fear overtook Presumption; for scarce their words of insolency were out of their mouths, when they fell to words of most servile submission. And as strange an alteration in those about the King, to see how suddenly Boldness surprised Fear; for scarce they left trembling at the sight of the Rebels, when suddenly upon sight of this aid their fingers itched to be setting upon them, but that the King would not suffer it, because some amongst them were there by compulsion; and to set upon them thus mingled, might as well be the death of the innocent as of the guilty. But to pacify them the more, the King caused his Charter of Manumission to be sent unto them; which yet stayed them not from committing outrages at St. *Albans*, and cancelling the ancient Charters of the Abbots and Monks there. Besides, the sedition was more general, than that the appeasing it in one place could be final; for at the same time there were gathered together in *Suffolk* to the number of fifty thousand, by the setting on of one *John Wraw* a lewd Priest: And these fell to destroying the houses of Lawyers especially; and Sir *John Cavendish* Lord Chief Justice of *England* they beheaded, and set his head upon the Pillory in St. *Edmundsbury*. The like commotion of the Commons was at the same time also in *Cambridgeshire*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and in *Norfolk*, under the guiding of one *John Litster* a Dyer: And to countenance their proceeding the more, they had a purpose to have brought *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* into their fellowship; but he advertised of their intention, suddenly rose from supper, and got him away: But many other Lords and Knights they compelled to be sworn to them, and to ride with them, as the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Morley*, Sir *John Brewis*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and Sir *Robert Salle*, who not induring their insolencies, had his brains dasht out by a Countrey Clown who was his bondman. The rest terrified by this example, were glad to carry themselves submissively to their Chieftain, *John Litster*, who named himself King of the Commons; and counted preferment for any to serve him at his Table, in taking the essay of his meats and drinks, with kneeling humbly before him as he sate at meat. And now these fellows, upon a consultation, send two choice men, namely the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John Brewis*, with three of their chief Commons to the King, for their Charter of Manumission and Enfranchising: Who being on their way at *Ichingham*, not far from *Newmarket*, they met with *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*; and he examining them if there were any of the Rebels in their company, and hearing that three of the chief were there present, he presently caused their heads to be struck off; and then pursuing on towards *Northwalsham* in *Norfolk*, where the Commons stayed for an answer from the King; By that time he came thither, where he had at first but eight Launces, and a small number of Archers in his company, his number was so increased, that it came to be a compleat Army; with which he set upon the Rebels, discomfited them, and took *John Litster* and their other Chieftains, whom he caused all to be executed: And by this means the Countrey was quieted. After this the Major of *London* sate in Judgment upon Offenders, where many were found culpable, and lost their heads; amongst other, *Jack Straw*, *John Kerby*, *Alane Tredder*, and *John Sterling*, who glorified that he was the man that had slain the Archbishop. Also Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice was appointed to sit in Judgment against the Offenders; before whom above fifteen hundred were found guilty, and in sundry places put to death: Amongst others *John Ball* Priest, their Incendiary. Of whom it is not impertinent to relate a Letter he wrote to the Rebel-rabble of *Essex*; by which we may see how fit an Orator he was for such an Auditory: And what strength of persuaon there was in Nonsense.

Sir *Robert Knolls* daunteth the Rebels.

An insurrection at the same time in *Suffolk*. They beheaded the Chief Justice.

An Insurrection at the same time in *Cambridgeshire* and *Norfolk*.

The insolency of *John Litster* their Captain.

But is set upon by the Bishop of *Norwich*; taken and beheaded.

Fifteen hundred of them put to death.

John Sheep St. *Mary* Priest of *York*, and now of *Colchester*, greeteth well *John Namelesse*, and *John* the Miller, and *John Carter*, and biddeth them that they beware of guile in *Borough*, and stand together in God's name; and biddeth *Piers Plowman* go to his work and chastise well *Hob* the Robber, and take with you *John Trewman*, and all his fellows, and no moe. *John* the Miller ye ground small, small, small; the King's Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Beware or ye be woe: Know your friend from your foe: Have enough and say ho; and do well and better: Flee sin, and seek peace, and hold you therein: And so biddeth *John Trewman* and all his fellows.

John Ball's letter of Non sense.

Neither is it impertinent to declare the Confession of *Jack Straw* at his Execution. "When "we were assembled (said he) upon *Black-heath*, "and had sent to the King to come to us, our "purpose was to have slain all Knights and Gen-"tlemen that should be about him: And as for the "King, we would have kept him amongst us, "to the end the people might more boldly have "repaired to us, and when we had gotten power "enough, we would have slain all Noblemen, and "specially the Knights of the *Rhodes*; and lastly, "we would have killed the King, and all men of "possessions, with Bishops, Monks, Parsons of "Churches, only Friers Mendicants we would "have spared for administration of the Sacra-"ments. Then we would have devised Laws ac-"cording to which the people should have lived; "for we would have created Kings, as *Wat. Tiler* "in *Kent*, and others in other Countries: And "the same evening that *Wat Tyler* was killed, we "were determined to set fire in four corners of "the City, and to have divided the spoil amongst "us: And this was our purpose, as God may help "me now at my last end. For his service done in this seditious business, the King Knighted the Major *Will. Walworth*, and gave him a hundred pounds a year in Fee. Also he Knighted 5 Aldermen his brethren, girding them about the waste with the girdle of Knighthood, which was the

The Confession of *Jack Straw* at his execution.

William Walworth the Major how rewarded.

manner of Graduating in those days: But as *Stow* saith, the manner of Knighting was rather thus; to cause him to put a Basenet on his head, and then the King with a Sword in both his hands, to strike him strongly on the neck. And to do the City it self honour, the King at this time granted there should be a Dagger added to the Arms of the City; for till this time the City bore only the Cross without the Dagger.

The manner of Knighting at this time.

A Dagger added to the Arms of the City.

And now all parts being quiet, the King by Proclamation revoked and made void his former Charters of Infranchising the Bondmen of the Realm; and that they should stand in the same condition they were before. In the time of this sedition, the Duke of *Lancaster* had been sent into *Scotland*, to keep the *Scots* quiet; who so carried the matter, that before the *Scots* heard of the sedition, a Truce was concluded for two or three years. But the Duke coming back to *Berwick*, was denied by the Captain Sir *Matthew Redman*, to enter the Town, because of a Commandment given him by the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the Marches, not to suffer any person to enter the same; which the King indeed had appointed to be done, forgetting the Duke of *Lancaster* that was then in *Scotland*: But howsoever, this bred such a spleen in the Duke against the Earl, that at his coming home he laid many things to the Earl's charge, and the Earl as stoutly answered his Objections; and so far it proceeded, that both of them came to the Parliament which was then beginning, with great numbers of Armed men, and themselves in Armour, to the great terror of the people; but the King wisely taking the matter into his own hands, made them friends. At which time the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Emperor *Wenceslaus*, and affianced Wife to the King, was come to *Callice*; whereupon the Parliament was prorogued. The Lady was brought to *London*, joined in marriage to the King, and Crowned Queen at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with great solemnity. After the marriage, the Parliament began again; in which *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* being chosen by the Knights of the Shires to deliver, in behalf of the Commonwealth, certain matters concerning the same; the very day and hour in which he should have done the business, as he went up the stairs towards the upper House, he suddenly fell down and died, having been merry and well before, to all mens Judgments. About this time the Lord *Scroop* was deposed from the Chancellorship, for refusing to seal some Grants which the King had made; and the King receiving the Great Seal at his hands, kept it a certain time, and sealed with it such Grants and Writings as he pleased: Till at length it was delivered to *Robert Braibrook*, Bishop of *London*, who was made Lord Chancellor.

A difference between the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earl of *Northumberland*.

1382.

K. *Richard* marries the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Emperor *Wenceslaus*.

William Ufford Earl of *Suffolk* dieth suddenly.

The King keeps the Great Seal in his own hands.

1383.

Henry Spencer Bishop of *Norwich*, had lately with the King's leave, raised an Army, and was gone into *France* in behalf of Pope *Urban*, against the Anti-pope *Clement*; and entring first into *Flanders*, he took and sacked many Towns; at last besieged *Ypres*, till by an Army of *French* (greater than was thought could have been raised in *France*) he was forced to raise his siege; and then passing divers places, he came to *Gravelling*, from whence he writ to K. *Richard*, that if he ever meant to try Battel with the *French*, now was the time. The King was at that time at *Daintry* in *Northamptonshire*; and being at supper when the word was brought him, he instantly rose from the Table, got to Horseback, and rode in Post with such speed, that he came to St. *Albans* about midnight; where making no stay, but while he borrowed the Abbots Gelding, he hasted forth till he came to *Westminster*, as tho he had meant never to rest till he had given Battel to the *Frenchmen*. But after he had taken a counsel of his Pillow, his mind was altered, and he thought it better to imploy some other, than to go himself; so the Duke of *Lancaster* is thought the fittest man: But he protracted the time so long in making preparation, that before he could be gone, the Bishop was come away. And this indeed is the condition of many, to spend so much time in preparing, that they utterly lose all opportunity of acting; like to men that are putting on their cloaths so long, till it be time to put them off again. Shortly after, a Truce was concluded between *England* and *France*, to endure till the Feast of St. *Michael*, which should be in the year 1384.

The King's haste soon delayed.

A Truce is concluded between *England* and *France*.

Of his Acts done after he came of Age.

THE *Scots* in this mean time had made Roads into *England*, and taken and burnt divers Towns upon the Borders; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster*, with his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, is sent with a mighty Army to repress them: But having entred *Scotland*, and not able to draw the *Scots* to a Battel, they only burnt certain Towns, and then returned.

1368.

About this time an *Irish* Frier of the Order of the *Carmelites* charged the Duke of *Lancaster* with heinous crimes; as that he intended to destroy the King, and usurp the Crown: Shewing the time, the place, and other circumstances of the whole Plot. But the Duke called to his answer, so cleared himself, at least gave such colours of clearing, that the accuser was committed to the custody of *John Holland* the King's half-brother, till a day appointed for further Trial. The night before which day, the said Lord *Holland* and Sir *Henry Green* are said to have come to this Frier, and putting a cord about his neck, tied the other end about his privy-members: And after hanging him up from the ground, laid a stone upon his belly, with the weight whereof his very back-bone burst asunder: Thereby putting him to a most tormenting death. An act not more inhumane than unadvised; for though it took away the Accuser, yet made the Accusation more suspicious.

A Frier accusing the Duke of *Lancaster* with treason, is secretly put to a miserable death.

At this time tho a Truce had been made with the *Scots*, yet they would not be quiet, but entred and won the Castle of *Berwick*, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was Captain, but had committed the keeping of it to another: For which being blamed, he went not against them with an Army, but took an easier course; for with the sum of two thousand Marks he bought them out, and had the Castle surrendred into his hands again. The King upon some new displeasure, being now incensed against the Duke of *Lancaster*, had a purpose to have him arrested

The *Scots* win *Berwick*, but are bought out with money.

arrested and arraigned of certain points of Treason, before Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice, tho he ought to be tried by his Peers: But the Duke having intimation hereof, got him to his Castle of *Pomfret*, and stood upon his guard; till the King's Mother (notwithstanding her indisposition of body, by reason of her corpulency) riding to and fro between them, pacified the King, and made them friends.

In the ninth year of K. *Richard's* Reign, the *French* King sent the Admiral of *France* into *Scotland*, with a thousand men of Arms, besides Cross-bows and others, to aid the *Scots* against the *English*; with which aid the *Scots* encouraged, enter the *English* Borders. Whereof K. *Richard* advertised, himself with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, and coming to *Edenborough*, and finding all the people fled, he set fire on the houses, burnt the Church of St. *Giles*, only *Holy-Rood-House* was spared at the Duke of *Lancaster's* suit, in remembrance of the friendship he had formerly received in that house. The *Scots* by no means could be drawn to any Battel; but to divert the King's Army, they entered *Cumberland*, and besieged *Carlile*, where by the valour of Sir *Lewis Clifford*, and Sir *Thomas Musgrave*, they were repelled: And hearing of the King's Army coming towards them, and fearing to be inclosed, they drew back into *Scotland*, and the King returned into *England*. But in this mean while, the *English* of *Callice* took many prizes of *French* Ships at Sea, and many booties also by land, at one time four thousand Sheep, and three hundred head of great Cattel.

1386.

K. Richard with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, burns some Towns and returns.

This year the King called a Parliament at *Westminster*, where he created two Dukes, one Marques, and five Earls: *Edmund* of *Langely* Earl of *Cambridge*, the King's Uncle, was created Duke of *York*: *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Earl of *Buckingham*, his other Uncle, Duke of *Glocester*: *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, was made Marques of *Dublin*: *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, was created Earl of *Derby*: *Edward Plantagenet*, Son to the Duke of *York*, was made Earl of *Rutland*: *Michael de la Pool*, Chancellor of *England*, was created Earl of *Suffolk*: And *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*, was made Earl-Marshal. Also by Authority of this Parliament, *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Edmund Mortimer*, and of the Lady *Philip*, eldest Daughter and Heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to K. *Edward* the third, was established Heir apparent to the Crown of the Realm, and shortly after so proclaimed: But going into *Ireland* to his Lordship of *Ulster*, was there by the wild *Irish* slain. This *Roger* Earl of *March* had issue, *Edmund*, *Roger*, *Anne*, *Alice*, and *Eleanor*, which *Eleanor* was made a Nun: The two Sons died without issue: *Anne* his eldest Daughter was married to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund* of *Langley*; which *Richard* had issue by the said *Anne*, a Son, called *Richard*, that was after Duke of *York*, and Father to K. *Edward* the fourth: Also a Daughter named *Isabel*, married to the Lord *Bourchier*. Also this year *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* Earl of *Derby*, married the Daughter and Heir of *Humphery Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, in whose right he was afterward made Duke of *Hereford*.

Dukes and Earls created.

Roger Mortimer proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown. His Issue.

This year also King *Richard* holding his *Christmas* at *Eltham*, *Leo* King of *Armenia* came thither to him, who in fear to have his Kingdom conquered by the *Turks*, was come into Christendom to seek for aid: But his chief errand into *England* was to have procured a Peace betwen the two Kings of *England* and *France*; but their Spleens were so great against one another, that it was not in the power of his Physick to cure them.

At this time the Duke of *Lancaster*, taking with him his Wife the Lady *Constance*, and a Daughter he had by her, named *Katherine*, and two other Daughters which he had by his former Wife, sailed into *Spain*. He was attended in his journey with the Lord *Lucy*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Basset*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Walter*, *Poynings*, *Bradston*, and many other Lords and Knights, to the number of fifteen hundred men of Arms; whereof a thousand at least were Knights and Esquires. The King at his taking leave gave him a Crown of Gold, and commanded he should be called King of *Spain*: And the Queen likewise gave another Crown of Gold to the Duchess. He landed first at *Brest*, and freed that Castle from the *French*. From thence he sailed, and arrived at the *Groin* in *Spain*, where he remained a month; and then went to *Compostella*, where he stayed a while: In which time his Constable Sir *John Holland* won divers Towns. At *Manson*, the K. of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Lancaster* met; where a marriage was concluded between the said King of *Portugal*, and the Lady *Philip*, Daughter to the Duke: which marriage shortly after was consummated, and the Lady sent into *Portugal* honourably accompanied. The Duke continued at *Compostella* all the Winter. At *March* the King of *Portugal* and he entred the Confines of *Castile*, where they took many Towns; and passing over the River of *Dare*, entred into the Countrey *Del-Campo*: But the *Spaniards* not willing to come to a Battel, but meaning to weary them out with delays; the *English* not used to such hot air, fell daily into many Diseases, which the Duke seeing, accorded to a Truce. There died in this action the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Richard Burley*, a Knight of the Garter; the Lord *Poining*, and Sir *Henry Piercy*, Cousin-german to the Earl of *Northumberland*; also the Lord *Talbot*; and in all twelve great Lords, fourscore Knights, two hundred Esquires, and of the meaner sort above five hundred. When the Army was broken up, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Duchess his Wife went into *Portugal*; and after some stay there, they sailed to *Bayon*, in the Marches of *Gascoin*, where he rested a long time after. In which mean while there were offers made for a marriage to be had between the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French* King, and the Lady *Katharine*, Daughter to the Duke of *Lancaster*: Which the King of *Spain* understanding, he began to doubt, lest if that marriage went forward, it might turn to his disadvantage; and thereupon by earnest suit, at length concluded a Peace with the Duke of *Lancaster*, on this wise, That his eldest Son *Henry* should marry the Lady *Katharine*, the Duke of *Lancaster's* daughter, and be intituled Prince of *Asturgus*: And in consideration of this

The Duke of Lancaster goes with a great train into Spain, whom K. Richard commands to be called K. of Spain.

The K. of Portugal marries a Daughter of the Duke of Lancaster.

Many Lords about the Duke die of sickness.

The K. of Spain's eldest Son marries the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter.

this marriage, and that all claims ſhould ceaſe, which the Duke in right of his Wife might challenge or pretend, It was agreed, that the ſaid Duke ſhould receive yearly the ſum of ten thouſand Marks, during the lives of him and his Ducheſs: And to have in hand the ſum of two hundred thouſand Nobles.

A Navy of 1287. Ships prepared by the *French* to invade *England.*

At this time the *French* had a purpoſe to invade *England*, with no leſs a hope than to make a Conqueſt; and to that end, they prepared a mighty Navy: So as in the month of *September*, there were numbred about *Sluce*, *Dam*, and *Blankerke*, 1287 Ships, beſides thoſe which were rigged in *Britain* by the Conſtable, who had cauſed an Incloſure of a Field to be made of Timber, that when they were landed in *England*, they might therewith incloſe their Field, and ſo lodge at more ſurety. But it ſo fortuned that the Lord *William Beauchamp*, Captain of *Callice*, took two of their Ships, whereof one was laden with a piece of the ſaid incloſure; and after that, another Ship laden with Guns, Gunpowder and other Inſtruments of War; and after that again two Ships more, laden with parcels of the ſaid incloſure, which K. *Richard* cauſed to be reared and ſet up about *Winchelſey* Town. At laſt the aforeſaid Army came into *Flanders*, and arrived at *Sluce*; where after ſome ſtay, they were ſo diſtreſſed for Victuals, that in the end of *November* they were glad to be gone, and return into *France*.

But by *William Beauchamp* Captain of *Callice*, ſome of them taken, and the reſt diſtreſſed.

Robert Vere Earl of *Oxford* is created Duke of *Ireland*; And *Michael de la Pool* a Merchants Son is made Earl of *Suffolk* and Lord Chancellor.

At this time, in a Parliament, *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and Marqueſs of *Dublin*, was created Duke of *Ireland*; and *Michael de la Pool*, a Merchants Son, had lately been before created Earl of *Suffolk*, and made Chancellor of *England*. And now begins King *Richard* to enter (I may ſay) upon the Confines of his Deſtiny. His gracing of undeſerving men, and diſgracing of men deſerving; if they were not the cauſes, they were at leaſt the occaſions of his own diſgracing, and deſtruction in the end. He was now come to full age to do all himſelf, which was indeed to be of full age to undo himſelf; for the faults of his younger years might have the excuſe to be but errors: But the faults of the age he was now at, were peremptory againſt him, and admitted no defence. And to haſten the pace of his deſtiny the faſter, the ill counſel which before was but whiſpered in his ear, was now ſcarce forborn to be given him aloud. It is told him, that he is under tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controuled, as in former times he had been; That to be croſt of his will by his Subjects, was to be their ſubject. It is no Soveraignty, if it be not abſolute. At the inſtigation of which Counſel, the King in a Parliament now aſſembled, fell to expoſtulate with the Lords, asking them what years they thought him to be of? Who anſwering, that he was ſomewhat more than one and twenty; Well then (ſaid he) I am out of your Wardſhip, and therefore look to enjoy my Kingdom as freely as your ſelves at the like years enjoy your Patrimonies. But his flattering Favourites ſhould have remembred, that tho the King may not be controuled, where he can command; yet he may be oppoſed where he can but demand, as now indeed he was: For when he came to demand a Subſidy towards his Wars, he was anſwered, That he needed no Subſidy from his Subjects, if he would but call in the Debts which the Chancellor owed him: And if he were ſo tender of him, that he could not find in his heart to do it himſelf, they would do that work for him. And thereupon charged him with ſuch crimes, that all his Goods were confiſcate, and himſelf adjudged to die, if the King ſo pleaſed: Tho ſome write, his ſentence was only to pay a Fine of twenty thouſand Marks, and a thouſand pounds yearly beſide. Upon this provocation, the oppoſite ſide ſeek preſent revenge. It is deviſed, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* as principal, and other Lords that croſſed the King's courſes, ſhould be invited to a ſupper in *London*, and there be murthered. In the execution of which plot, the former Lord Major, Sir *Nicholas Brember*, had a ſpecial hand: But the preſent Major *Richard Exton*, moved to it by the King, would by no means conſent; and thereupon the plot proceeded not. But for all theſe harſh ſtrains, and many ſuch other that paſſed this Parliament, a Subſidy was at length granted to the King, of half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth; but with condition, that it ſhould not be iſſued, but by order from the Lords: And the Earl of *Arundel* was appointed to receive it. But before this time, both Houſes had directly agreed, that unleſs the Chancellor were removed, they would meddle no further in the Parliament. The King advertiſed hereof, ſent to the Commons that they ſhould ſend unto *Eltham* (where he then lay) forty of their Houſe to declare their minds unto him: But upon conference of both Houſes, it was agreed, that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Thomas Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*, ſhould in the name of the Parliament go unto him; who coming to the King, declared that by an old Statute the King once a year might lawfully ſummon his Court of Parliament, for reformation of all corruption and enormities within the Realm: And further declared, That by an old Ordinance alſo it was enacted, That if the King ſhould abſent himſelf forty days, not being ſick, the Houſes might lawfully break up, and return home. At this the King is ſaid to ſay, Well, we perceive our people go about to riſe againſt us; and therefore we think we cannot do better than to ask Aid of our Couſin the King of *France*, and rather ſubmit us to him than to our own Subjects. To which the Lords anſwered, They wondered at this opinion of his Majeſty, ſeeing the *French* King was the ancient Enemy of the Kingdom, and he might remember what miſchiefs were brought upon the Realm in K. *John*'s time, by ſuch a courſe. By theſe and the like perſuaſions the King was induced to come to the Parliament: And ſoon after *John Fortham* Biſhop of *Durham*, is diſcharged of his office of Lord Treaſurer, and in his place was appointed *John Gilbert*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, a Frier of the order of Preachers: Alſo *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, is diſcharged of his Office of Chancellor; and *Thomas Arundel*, Biſhop of *Ely*, by conſent of Parliament, placed in his room. Alſo by order of Parliament, thirteen Lords were choſen to have overſight under the King, of the whole Government of the Realm: Of which thirteen there

The King takes the Government upon himſelf.

The Chancellor is cenſured by the Parliament.

A plot to murther the Duke of *Gloceſter* and others that oppoſed the King. But ſtopped by *Richard Exton* Major.

The Parliament requires to have the Chancellor removed.

If the King abſent himſelf from the Parliament forty days it may lawfully break up.

The Lord Treaſurer and Lord Chancellor are diſcharged of their Offices.

Thirteen Lords appointed to govern the Realm.

there were three of the new Officers named; as the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of *Hereford* Lord Treasurer, and *Nicholas*, Abbot of *Waltham*, Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal: The other ten were, *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander* Archbishop of *York*, *Edmund* of *Angly* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloucester*, *William* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, *Richard* Lord *Scroop*, and *John* Lord *Devereux*. But this participation of the Government being found inconvenient, held not long. Also in this Parliament it was granted that *Robert de Vere*, lately before created Duke of *Ireland*, should have and receive to his own use 30000. Marks which the *French* men were to give for the Heirs of the Lord *Charles de Blois*; but it was granted upon this condition, That before the next *Easter* he should pass over into *Ireland*, to recover such Lands as the King had there given him: So desirous the Lords and Commons were to have him removed from the King's presence. But tho the King gave way to this torrent of the Parliament for the present, yet as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he dissolved also all that had been done either against the Lord Chancellor, or against the Duke of *Ireland*; or against *Alexander Nevill*, Archbishop of *York*; and received them into more favour than ever he had done before.

As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, all they had done was presently again undone.

In his tenth year, about the beginning of *March*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, appointed Admiral, and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, went to Sea, with a warlike power of Men and Arms, to watch for the Fleet of *Flanders*, that was ready to come from *Rochel* with Wines; and meeting with them, they set upon them, took of them to the number of a hundred Vessels, all fraught with Wines: So as Wine grew so plentiful, that it was sold for thirteen shillings four pence the Tun; and the best and choicest for twenty shillings. Besides this, they landed in *Flanders*, where they relieved and fortified *Brost*, and demolished two Forts which the Enemy had built against it. But this happy service of the Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Simon Burley*, and Sir *Richard Sturrey*, who continued still about the King, seemed rather to envy than to commend; insomuch that when the Earl of *Nottingham*, that had ever been the play-fellow, and of equal age to him, came to the Court, he was neither received by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good welcome, nor by the King with any good countenance; and therefore indeed not by the King with any good countenance, because not by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good welcom.

The English Admiral takes 100. Ships all laden with *Rochel* Wines.

1387.

About this time the Duke of *Ireland* fought to be divorced from his lawful Wife, Daughter to the Lady *Isabel*, one of King *Edward* the Third's Daughters; and took to Wife one *Lancerona*, a Vintners Daughter of *Bohemia*, one of the Queen's Maids: At which indignity, the Duke of *Gloucester*, that was Uncle to the Lady thus forsaken, took great displeasure; which the Duke of *Ireland* understanding, studied how by some means he might dispatch the Duke of *Gloucester* out of the way. *Easter* was now past, the time appointed for the Duke of *Ireland*'s going over into *Ireland*; when the King with shew to bring him to the waters side, went with him into *Wales*: And in his company *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Tresilian*, Lord Chief Justice, and divers others who there consulted how they might dispatch the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, with divers others of that Faction. But when the King had remained in those parts a good while, he returned, and brought back the Duke of *Ireland* with him; and so his Voyage into *Ireland* was clean forgotten. About the same time, *Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice, came to *Coventry*, where he indicted two thousand persons. The King and the Queen came to *Groby*; and thither came by his Commandment the Justices of the Realm, *Robert Belknap*, Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*; *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorpe*, and *William Borough*, Knights: To whom it was propounded, to answer to these Questions following:

The Duke of *Ireland* puts away his lawful Wife near akin to the Duke of *Gloucester*, and marries a *Bohemian* Maid.

Which the Duke of *Gloucester* offended at, it is plotted to dispatch him out of the way.

Questions propounded by the King to the Judges against the Lords: who all answer as the King would have them.

First, Whether the new Statute and Commission made in the last Parliament, were against the King's Prerogative, or no? To which they all answered, it was.

Secondly, How they ought to be punished, that procured the said Statute and Commission to be made? They answered with one assent, that they deserved death, except the King would pardon them.

Thirdly, How they ought to be punished who moved the King to consent to the making of the said Statute and Commission? They answered, they ought to lose their lives, unless the King would pardon them.

Fourthly, How they ought to be punished that compelled the King to the making of that Statute? They answered, they ought to suffer as Traitors.

Fifthly, Whether the King might cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited, before they proceed to any other? They answered, That in this the King should over-rule: And if any presumed to do contrary, he was to be punished as a Traitor.

Sixthly, Whether the King might not at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart? They all answered, He might.

Seventhly, Whether the Lords and Commons might, without the King's will, impeach Officers and Justices upon their Offences in Parliament, or no? It was answered, They might not; and he that attempted contrary, was to suffer as a Traitor.

Eighthly, How he is to be punished, who moved in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein *Edward* the Second was Indicted in Parliament, might be sent for; by Inspection of which Statute, the present Statute was devised? It was answered, That as well he that moved it, as he that brought the Statute into the House, were to be punished as Traitors.

Ninthly, Whether the Judgment given in Parliament against *Michael de la Pool* were erroneous and revocable? They answered, It was erroneous and revocable: And that if the Judg-

Judgment were now to be given, the Juſtices would not give the ſame.

In witneſs of the Premiſes, the Juſtices aforeſaid, to theſe Preſents have ſet their Seals, in the preſence of *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *John* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael* Earl of *Suffolk*, *John Ripon* Clerk, and *John Blake*.

At this time the *Londoners* incurred much obloquy; For having before been pardoned by the King of ſome crimes laid to their charge, they were now ready to comply with the King in his deſires; and thereupon being impannelled, they indicted ſome Lords of many crimes informed againſt them. But not only the Juſtices aforeſaid, but all other Juſtices and Sheriffs of the Realm were called at this time to *Nottingham*; the chief cauſe was to underſtand what power of men they could aſſure the King of to ſerve him againſt the Lords: And further, that whereas he meant ſhortly to call a Parliament, they ſhould ſo uſe the matter, that no Knight or Burgeſs ſhould be choſen, but ſuch as the King and his Council ſhould name. To which the Sheriffs made Anſwer, That it lay not in their power to aſſemble any forces againſt the Lords, who were ſo well beloved: And as for chuſing Knights and Burgeſſes, the Commons would undoubtedly look to enjoy their ancient liberty, and could not be hindered. But yet the King and the Duke of *Ireland* ſent into all parts of the Realm, to raiſe men in this quarrel againſt the Lords; whereof the Duke of *Gloceſter* being adverтiſed, he came ſecretly to conference with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*: Who upon conſultation determined to talk with the King, with their Forces about them; and the King on the other part, took advice how he might apprehend them apart; and thereupon ſent the Earl of *Northumberland*, and others, to the Caſtle of *Rygate*, to take the Earl of *Arundel*, who lay there at that time: But howſoever it fortuned, they failed of their purpoſe. After this he ſent others to apprehend him, but he being warned by a Meſſenger from the Duke of *Gloceſter*, conveyed himſelf away by night; and by morning was come to *Haringey* Park, where he found the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, with a great power of men about them. The King hearing of this Aſſembly at *Haringey* Park, called his Council, to hear their opinion what was fit to be done. Some were of opinion, that the King ſhould aſſemble his friends, and joining them with the *Londoners*, give them Battel; the chiefeſt of this mind was the Archbiſhop of *York*. Others thought beſt, the King ſhould ſeek to appeaſe the Lords with fair promiſes, till a fitter opportunity to ſuppreſs them. But the King not yet reſolved what courſe to take, cauſed only order to be taken, that no Citizen of *London* ſhould ſell to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earl of *Arundel*, or to any other of the Lords, any Armour or Furniture of War, under a great pain. But for all this, the Lords proceeded in their courſe, and ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *John Lovel*, the Lord *Cobham*, and the Lord *John Devereux*, requiring to have delivered to them ſuch as were about the King, that were Traitors and Seducers both of him and the Realm; and further to declare, that their aſſembling was for the honour and wealth both of him and the Kingdom. The Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and two or three other about the King, perſuaded him to offer *Callice* to the King of *France*, to have his aſſiſtance againſt the Lords. Withal, the King ſent to the Mayor of *London*, requiring to know how many able men the City could make? To which the Mayor anſwered, That he thought it could make fifty thouſand men at an hours warning. Well then (ſaid the King) go and prove what will be done. But when the Mayor went about it, he was anſwered, They would never fight againſt the King's friends, and defenders of the Realm. At the ſame time the Earl of *Northumberland* ſaid to the King: Sir, *There is no doubt but theſe Lords have always been, and ſtill are your true and faithful Subjects, though now diſtemper'd by certain perſons about you, that ſeek to oppreſs them; therefore my advice is, That you ſend to them, to come before your preſence in ſome publick place: And I verily believe they will ſhew ſuch reaſons of their doings, that you will hold them excuſed.* The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Ely* Lord Chancellor, and other of the Biſhops there preſent, approved all of the Earl's advice; whereupon the King ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Biſhop of *Ely* to the Lords, requiring them to come to him to *Weſtminſter* on *Sunday* then next following: Which upon oath given by the Archbiſhop and the Chancellor, that no fraud nor evil practice ſhould be uſed againſt them, they were content to do. But when the Lords were ready to come at the day appointed, they heard of an Ambuſh laid to intrap them at the *Mews*; and thereupon ſtayed, ſo as they came not at the time appointed. Whereupon the King asking why they came not according to their promiſe? It was anſwered, Becauſe he kept not his promiſe: There being an Ambuſh of a thouſand armed men laid to ſurprize them at the *Mews*. The King hearing this was aſtonied, and ſwore he knew of no ſuch thing, and commanded preſently the place ſhould be ſearched: But it was true, an Ambuſh was laid; but not at the *Mews*, but in a place about *Weſtminſter*, where Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brember* had aſſembled them. This one action might have made the King ſenſible of his favourites abuſing his Authority; but that where affection makes the conſtruction, all things are taken in a good ſenſe. Or was it perhaps they had a Warrant Dormant, to proſecute the King's ends without the King's knowledge? Yet the Lords, after this, receiving a ſafe conduct from the King, came to *Weſtminſter*; of whoſe coming when the King heard, he apparelled himſelf in his Royal Robes, and with his Scepter in his hand, came into the great Hall, before whom the Lords upon their knees preſented themſelves, the King bidding them welcome, and taking each of them by the hand. Then the Lord

No man to be gotten to fight againſt the Lords.

The King would have no Burgeſſes choſen to the Parliament but ſuch as he ſhould name; but this could not be.

The King ſeeks to apprehend the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and others.

The Lords require to have ſome about the King delivered to them.

What power the City could make upon a ſudden.

The King requires the Lords to come unto him, but they hearing of an Ambuſh laid for them, forbore.

But ſafe conduct from the King they came, and the King receiveth them in ſhow kindly.

Lord Chancellor making a ſpeech, wherein he blamed them for raiſing of Arms; and requiring to know the cauſe; they anſwered, *They had done it for the good of the King and Kingdom, and to take away the Traitors about the King.* Upon this the King himſelf ſpake, asking them whether they thought to compel him by ſtrong hand? *Have not I* (ſaith he) *ſufficient men to beat you down? truly in this behalf I make no more account of you, than of the baſeſt Scullion in my Kitchin.* Yet after theſe great words he lift up the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the reſt alſo to riſe; and then led them courteouſly to his Chamber, where they ſate and drank together. And finally, it was concluded they ſhould all meet again, as well theſe Lords, as thoſe they accuſed, at the next Parliament; which the King promiſed to call ſpeedily, and each party to receive there according to Juſtice, and in the mean time all parties to be in the King's protection. But when the Favourite-Lords heard this, they told the King plainly, *They neither durſt nor would put themſelves to the hazard of ſuch a meeting; and therefore the Duke of* Ireland, *and the reſt of that faction, left the Court, to be out of the way:* But the King not enduring their abſence, appointed *Thomas Molineux*, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, to raiſe an Army, and to ſafe-conduct the Duke of *Ireland* to him. But they being come as far as *Radcoat*-Bridge, were encountred by the Earl of *Derby*; and the Duke of *Ireland* not daring to join Battel with him, fled, and being to paſs a River, caſt away his Gantlets and Sword (to be the more nimble) and giving his horſe the ſpur, leapt into the River, and ſo eſcaped. But when theſe things were afterward found, it was verily thought that he had been drowned, till news came he was got into *Holland*; where being no very welcom gueſt, he went from thence into the Biſhoprick of *Utrech*, and after two or three years ſcambling about in manner of a fugitive, at *Lovain* in *Brabant* he ended his Life. A man of many good parts, and worthy enough of his Prince's favour, if with that favour he had not grown proud, and in that pride injurious and inſulting over others no leſs deſerving than himſelf. He was valiant enough againſt any man but the Earl of *Derby*, and of him indeed both the Genius of the Duke of *Ireland*, and of K. *Richard* himſelf ſeemed to ſtand in fear; for neither of them durſt meet him in the field, tho incouraged to it by thoſe about them.

1388. It is concluded that at the next Parliament all parties ſhould be heard.

The Duke of *Ireland*, flies into *Holland*, and after two or three years died at *Lovain*.

The Earl of *Derby* a terror both to the Duke of *Ireland*, and to the King himſelf.

About this time the Duke of *Suffolk* doubting ſome plots laid to ſurprize him, fled over to *Callice* in diſguiſe, ſhaving his beard, and counterfeiting himſelf a Poulterer, to ſell certain fowl which he had gotten; but being come to *Callice*, was by the Lord *William Beauchamp*, Deputy of the Town, ſent back into *England*: Whom the King notwithſtanding permitted to go at large, to make it be thought he was more afraid than hurt, more ſuſpicious than he needed. By this time the Lords had gotten matter enough againſt the King, at leaſt to juſtify their Arms; and thereupon with an Army of 40000 men, they came to *London*, where after ſome debate, they were received; and then the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Derby* and *Nottingham* went to the King in the *Tower*. To whom, after humble ſalutations, they ſhewed the Letter which he had written to the Duke of *Ireland*, to levy an Army for their deſtruction: Likewiſe the Letters which the *French* King had written to him, containing a ſafe conduct for him to come into *France*, there to do acts to his own diſhonour and the Kingdoms.

The Lords with an Army of 40000 come to the King at *London*, and ſhew their grievance.

This done, upon the King's promiſe that he would come the next day to *Weſtminſter* to treat further of theſe matters, the Lords departed; only the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Derby*, at the King's inſtance, ſtayed all night: but before the King went to bed, his mind was clean altered for keeping his promiſe to meet the Lords the next day at *Weſtminſter*; which the Lords underſtanding, they ſent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his promiſe, they would chuſe another King that ſhould hearken to the faithful counſel of his Lords. This touched the King ſo to the quick, that the next morning he went and met the Lords; who there declared to him, *How much it concerned the good of the Kingdom, that thoſe Traitors ſo often ſpoken of, ſhould be removed from the Court.* To which the King, tho much againſt his will, yet at laſt condeſcended; And thereupon preſently *Alexander Nevill* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Thomas Ruſhoke*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Confeſſor to the King, were expelled the Court; who not willing to come to after-reckonings, fled no man knew whither. They expelled alſo *John Fordham*, Biſhop of *Durham*, Lord-Treaſurer; the Lord *Zouch* of *Haringworth*, the Lord *Burvel*, the Lord *Beaumont*, *Albery de Vere*, *Baldwin de Bereford*, *Richard Adderbury*, *John Worth*, *Thomas Clifford*, and *John Lovel*, Knights; but conſtrained to put in ſureties to appear at the next Parliament. Alſo certain Ladies were expelled the Court, as the Lady *Poynings*, the Lady *Mouling*, and others, bound to appear at the next Parliament. There were alſo arreſted and committed to ſeveral Priſons, Sir *Simon Burley*, *William Elmham*, *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the King's Houſe, Sir *John Salisbury*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *James Berneys*, Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*, and Sir *Nicholas Brembar*, Knights. Alſo *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincoln*, *Richard Mitford*, the King's Chaplains: *Nicholas Sclake*, Dean of the King's Chappel, and *John Blake* a Lawyer.

They threaten to chuſe a new King.

Hereupon the King removes or puts in priſon all thoſe whom the Lords required.

Shortly after the Parliament began, (called afterward, the Parliament that wrought wonders,) on the firſt day whereof, were arreſted, as they ſate in their places, all the Juſtices (but only Sir *William Shipwith*:) as Sir *Roger Fulthorpe*, Sir *Robert Belknappe*, Sir *John Cary*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *William Brook*, and *John Alacton*, the King's Sergeant at Law; and were all ſent to the *Tower*, for doing contrary to an Agreement made the laſt Parliament. Alſo in the beginning of this Parliament, *Robert Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevill* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Robert Treſilian* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, were openly called to anſwer *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Duke of *Gloceſter*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham*, upon certain Articles of High-Treaſon: And becauſe none of them appeared, it was ordained by the whole conſent

The Parliament that wrought Wonders.

Where all the Judges but one are arreſted and ſent to the *Tower*.

of Parliament, that they ſhould be baniſhed for ever, and all their Lands and Goods ſeiſed into the King's hands (their intailed Lands only excepted.) Shortly after the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Robert Treſilian*, was found in an Apothecaries houſe in *Weſtminſter*; where being taken, he was brought to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who cauſed him the ſame day to be had to the *Tower*, and from thence drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged. On the morrow after, Sir *Nicholas Brember* was brought to his anſwer; who being found guilty, was beheaded with an Ax which himſelf had cauſed to be made for beheading of others. After this Sir *John Salisbury*, and Sir *James Berneys*, luſty Young men, were drawn and hanged; as alſo Sir *John Beauchamp*, Lord Steward of the King's Houſe, *John Blake* Eſquire: And laſtly, Sir *Simon Burley*, Son to the great Sir *John Burley*, Knight of the Garter, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*; whoſe death the King took more heavily and more hainouſly than all the reſt. Alſo all the Juſtices were condemned to die, but by the Queen's interceſſion they were only baniſhed the Realm, and all their Lands and Goods confiſcate, only a ſmall portion of money was aſſigned them for their ſuſtentation. Finally in this Parliament an Oath was required and obtained of the King, that he ſhould ſtand unto, and abide ſuch rule and order as the Lords ſhould take: And this Oath was required alſo of all the Inhabitants of the Realm.

Robert Treſilian Chief-Juſtice hanged at *Tyburn*, by the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

Divers others executed.

All the Judges baniſhed the Realm.

The King bound by Oath to ſtand to ſuch order as the Lords ſhould take.

In the latter end of the King's eleventh year, the Earl of *Arundel* was ſent to Sea, with a great Navy of Ships and Men of War; with whom went the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Devonſhire*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Camois*, Sir *William Elmham*, and divers other Knights, to aid the Duke of *Britain* againſt the King of *France*; but before they came, the Duke of *Britain* was reconciled to the King of *France*; and ſo needing not their aid, all this great Fleet returned with doing nothing. And it was indeed a year of doing nothing, unleſs we reckon ſome petty Inroads of the *Scots*: and that Sir *Thomas Trivet* died with a fall off his Horſe; and that Sir *John Holland*, the King's Brother by the Mother, was made Earl of *Huntington*; and that there was contention in *Oxford* between the Northern and the Southern Scholars, which was pacified by the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

1389.

A Truce for three years between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*.

In his twelfth year, Commiſſioners were appointed to meet at *Bulingham*, betwixt *Calice* and *Bologne*, to treat of a Peace between the Realms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: And after long debating, a Truce was at laſt concluded, to begin at Midſummer next, and to laſt three years. But now the King to ſhew his plenary Authority of being at full age, removed the Archbiſhop of *York* from being Lord Chancellor, and put in his place *William Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: Alſo he removed the Biſhop of *Hereford* from being Treaſurer, and put another in his place: The Earl of *Arundel* likewiſe, unto whom the Government of the Parliament was committed, and the Admiralty of the Sea, was removed, and the Earl of *Huntington* put in his room.

William Wickham Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made Lord Chancellor.

About this time the Lord *John Haſtings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, as he was practiſing to learn to juſt, was ſtricken about the privy parts by a Knight called Sir *John* St. *John*: Of which hurt he ſoon after died. In whoſe Family, it is memorable, that for many Generations together, no Son ever ſaw his Father (the Father being always dead before the Son was born.) The Original of this Family was from *Haſtings* the *Dane*, who in the Reign of K. *Alured*, long before the Conqueſt, about the year 890. came with *Rollo* into *England*. But howſoever, in this *John Haſtings* ended the then honourable Titles of the *Haſtings*; for this man dying without Iſſue, his Inheritances were diſperſed to divers perſons: The honour of *Pembroke* came to *Francis* at Court, by the King's gift: The Baronies of *Haſtings* and *Welford*, came to *Reynold Gray* of *Ruthan*; the Barony of *Abergavenny* was granted to *William Beauchamp* of *Bedford*.

A ſtrange accident in the Family of the *Haſtings* Earls of *Pembroke*, and the original of their Family.

About this time *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* was created Duke of *Acquitain*, receiving at the King's hands the Rod and the Cap, as inveſtitures of that Duchy: Alſo the Duke of *York*'s Son and Heir was created Earl of *Richmond*.

1390.

In his thirteenth year a Royal Juſts was proclaimed to be holden within *Smithfield* in *London*, to begin on *Sunday* next after the Feaſt of St. *Michael*; which being publiſhed, not only in *England*, but in *Scotland*, in *Almain*, in *Flanders*, in *Brabant*, and in *France*, many ſtrangers came hither: Amongſt others *Valeran* Earl of St. *Poll*, that had married K. *Richard*'s Siſter; and *William* the young Earl of *Oſtervant*, Son to *Albert de Baviere* Earl of *Holland* and *Heynalt*. At the day appointed, there iſſued forth of the *Tower*, about three a clock in the afternoon, ſixty Courſers apparelled for the Juſts; and upon every one an Eſquire of Honour, riding a ſoft pace: After them came forth four and thirty Ladies of Honour (*Froiſſard* ſaith threeſcore) mounted on Palfries, and every Lady led a Knight with a Chain of Gold. Theſe Knights being on the King's part, had their Armour and Apparel garniſhed with White-Harts; and Crowns of Gold about their necks; and ſo they came riding through the Streets of *London* unto *Smithfield*. The Juſt laſted divers days, *Fabian* ſaith, four and twenty: All which time the King and Queen lay at the Biſhop's Palace by *Paul*'s Church, and kept open houſe for all comers.

A Royal Juſts held in *Smithfield*, and the ſolemnity of it.

1391.

In his fifteenth year the Duke of *Lancaſter* went into *France*, having in his train a thouſand horſe; and met the King of *France* at *Amiens*, to treat of a Peace between the two Kingdoms: But after long debate, a Truce was concluded for a year.

About this time the King required the *Londoners* to lend him a thouſand pounds; which they refuſed to do, and not only ſo, but they abuſed an *Italian* Merchant for offering to lend it. This moved the King to ſome indignation: To which was added the complaint of a Riot committed by the Citizens againſt the Servants of the Biſhop of *Salisbury* Lord Treaſurer; for that where one of the Biſhops Servants, named *Walter Roman*, had taken a horſe-loaf out of a Baker's Basket as he paſſed in the ſtreets, and ran with it into his Lord's houſe; the Citizens thereupon aſſaulted the houſe, and would not be quieted, till the Major and Aldermen were fain to come, and with much ado appeaſed them. Upon complaint hereof

The King diſpleaſed with the City of *London*, and why pacified.

The liberties of the City are ſeiſed, and a Warden is appointed to govern it.

hereof, urged againſt the Citizens, by the Biſhop of *Salisbury* Lord Treaſurer, and *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *York*, Lord Chancellor, the Major and Aldermen, and divers other ſubſtantial Citizens are arreſted; the Major is committed to the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and the other to other Caſtles; the liberties of the City are ſeiſed into the King's hands, and the authority of the Major utterly ceaſed, the King appointing a Warden to govern the City, firſt Sir *Edmund Derlingrug*, and afterward Sir *Baldwin Radington*: Till at length, by the ſpecial ſuit of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the King was contented to come to *London*, to ſo great joy of the Citizens, that they received him with four hundred on Horſe-back, clad all in one Livery, and preſented the K. and Q. with many rich gifts; yet all gave not ſatisfaction, to have their liberties reſtored, till they afterwards paid ten thouſand pounds. This it is to provoke a Lion. It may be fortune enough to us, if by any means we can but keep him quiet; for if once we provoke him to lay his paw upon us, it will be hard getting from him, and not to be torn in pieces.

1393.

In his ſixteenth year, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter* are once again ſent into *France*, to treat of a Peace: But when they could not agree with the *French* Commiſſioners upon Articles propounded, there was only a Truce concluded for four years; tho perhaps a further agreement had then been made, but that the King of *France* fell newly again into his old fit of Frenſy, which called away the *French* Commiſſioners from further Treaty.

1375.

All *Iriſh* then commanded to avoid the Realm, and why.

In his eighteenth year, a Proclamation was ſet forth, That all *Iriſh*-men ſhould avoid this Realm, and return home. The occaſion was, becauſe ſo many *Iriſh* were come over, that *Ireland* in a manner was left unpeopled: Inſomuch, that where K. *Edward* the third had received from thence yearly the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds, the King now laid forth as much to repel Rebels. Whereupon at *Michaelmas*, K. *Richard* went himſelf into *Ireland*, attended with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *March*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*, the Lord *Thomas Piercy*, Lord Steward, and divers other of the *Engliſh* Nobility; to whom came in the great *Oneal* King of *Meth*, *Brian* of *Thomond* King of *Thomond*, *Arthur Macmur* King of *Leynſter*, and *Combir* K. of *Chevency* and *Darpe*: And there K. *Richard* ſtayed all that Winter, and after *Chriſtmas* called a Parliament. At which time alſo the Duke of *York*, Lord Warden of *England*, in the King's name called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; to the which was ſent forth of *Ireland* the Duke of *Gloceſter*, that he might declare to the Commons the King's great occaſions for ſupply of money: Whoſe words ſo far prevailed, that a whole tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity.

K. *Richard* goes into *Ireland*.

1397.

A famous Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, and the manner of

In his twentieth year was a famous Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*: Where was ſet up for King *Richard* a rich Pavilion, a little beyond *Guiſnes*, within the *Engliſh* pale; and another the like for the *French* King, on this ſide *Arge*. The Diſtance betwixt the two Tents was beſet on either ſide with Knights armed with their ſwords in their hands, four hundred *Engliſh* on one ſide, and four hundred *French* on the other. The two Kings before their meeting took a ſolemn Oath for aſſurance of their faithful and true meaning, to obſerve the ſacred laws of amity one toward another in this enterview. After the two Kings were come together, it was accorded, that in the ſame place where they met, there ſhould be builded at both their coſts a Chappel for a perpetual memory, which ſhould be called the Chappel *of our Lady of Peace*. On *Simon* and *Jude*'s day, the Kings talked together of Articles concerning the Peace; and having concluded them, they received either of them an Oath upon the holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve and keep them. This done, the *French* King brought his daughter *Iſabel*, and delivered her to K. *Richard*, who ſhortly after at *Calice* married her; and upon the ſeventeenth of *January* following, ſhe was Crowned Queen at *Weſtminſter*. A match of great honour, but of little conveniency, and leſs profit; for the Lady being but eight years of age, there could be no hope of Iſſue for a long time, which was K. *Richard*'s greateſt want; and as little ſupply of his wants otherwiſe, her Portion perhaps ſcarce paying the charges of his journey to fetch her, which coſt him three hundred thouſand Marks.

K. *Richard* marries *Iſabel* the King of *France*'s daughter being but eight years of age.

The Duke of *Lancaſter*, in the thirteenth year of K. *Richard*'s Reign, had been created Duke of *Aquitain*; but when the *Gaſcoignes* would not receive him, ſhewing reaſons why that Dukedom ought not to be ſeparated from the Crown of *England*, his Grant was revoked, and ſo it remained ſtill in Demeſne of the Crown.

The Duke of *Lancaſter*'s iſſue by *Katharine Swinford*, legitimated by Parliament.

At this time, in a Parliament, the Duke of *Lancaſter* cauſed to be legitimated the Iſſue he had by *Katharine Swinford*, before he married her; of whom *Thomas Beaufort* was created Earl of *Somerſet*.

This year alſo, the King receiving the money back which had been ſent to the Duke of *Britain*, upon *Breſt*, delivered up the Town unto him: And thereupon the *Engliſh* Soldiers that were there in Gariſon were all diſcharged and ſent home: Who, at a Feaſt which the King kept at *Weſtminſter*, coming in companies together into the Hall; as ſoon as the King had dined, and was entring into his Chamber, the Duke of *Gloceſter* aſked him, if he did mark thoſe men that ſtood in ſuch troops in the Hall: Yes marry (ſaid the King) who were they? They were (ſaid the Duke) thoſe Soldiers who by your rendring up of *Breſt* have been ſent home, and now muſt either ſtarve or ſteal; and therewithal, very unadviſedly in words, taxed the King with unadviſedneſs of his deed. To whom the King in great anger replied, Why Uncle, *Do you think me either a Merchant, or a Fool, to ſell my Land? By St.* John Baptiſt, *No: But could I refuſe to render the Town, when tender was made me of the money lent upon it?* Indeed nothing could more diſcover the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s either weakneſs if he knew not that *Breſt* was but only a mortgage; or injuſtice, if knowing it, he would have had the King, tho the money were tendred, to have kept it ſtill; but ſuch is the courſe of many, to take part with the Politicks againſt the Ethicks; work their ends by doing unjuſtly, when doing juſtly

The Duke of *Gloceſter* with unadviſed words moves the King to anger.

ought to be their chiefeſt end. However it was, the multiplying of words about this matter, kindled in the King ſuch diſpleaſure againſt the Duke, that it could never afterwards be quenched, but by his blood. And firſt he complained to his other two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, of his undutiful behaviour towards him; who told the King, their Brother perhaps might let fall ſome unadviſed words, but they knew his heart to be true and faithful. Yet doubting how far the King might preſs upon them to anſwer for their Brother's faithfulneſs, they retired from Court: Which gave the Duke's Enemies time to incenſe the King farther againſt him.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* and other Lords conſpire to ſeiſe upon K. *Richard*, but are diſcovered.

It happened that the Duke of *Gloceſter* had with him one day at his houſe, the Abbot of St. *Albans* that was his Godfather, and the Prior of *Weſtminſter*; and after dinner falling in talk with them, amongſt other communications the Duke required the Prior to tell truth, whether he had any Viſion the night before? To which the Prior was loth at firſt to make a direct Anſwer; but at laſt being earneſtly requeſted, as well by the Abbot as the Duke, he confeſſed that he had a Viſion indeed, which was, that the Realm of *England* ſhould be deſtroyed through the miſgovernance of King *Richard*. By the Virgin *Mary* (ſaith the Abbot) I had the very ſame Viſion. Whereupon the Duke preſently diſcloſed to them all the ſecrets of his mind; and by their devices contrived an Aſſembly of divers great Lords of the Realm, to meet at *Arundel* Caſtle that day fortnight: At which time he appointed to be there himſelf, with the Earls of *Derby*, *Arundel*, *Marſhall*, and *Warwick*; alſo the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of St. *Albans*, the Prior of *Weſtminſter*, with divers others. And accordingly all theſe met at *Arundel* Caſtle, at the day appointed; where receiving firſt the Sacrament, by the hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be aſſiſtant each to other, in all ſuch matters as they ſhould determine, They reſolved to ſeiſe upon K. *Richard*, and upon the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, and commit them to priſon: And all the other Lords of the King's Council they determined ſhould be drawn and hanged. But the Earl Marſhal, that was Deputy of *Callice*, and had married the Earl of *Arundel*'s daughter, diſcovered all their counſel to the King; who thereupon, by a plot deviſed by his Council, took his Brother the Earl of *Huntington* with him, and riſing from ſupper, rode that night to the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s houſe at *Plaſhey* in *Eſſex*. When the King came thither, the Duke was in bed; but informed of it, caſt his Cloak about his ſhoulders, and came down, bidding the King's grace, with all reverence, welcome. The King courteouſly requeſted him to go and make himſelf ready, for that he muſt needs ride with him a little way, to confer of ſome buſineſs. The Duke preſently made him ready and came down; and as ſoon as the King and his company was gone a little way from the houſe, and the Duke with him, the Earl Marſhal arreſted the Duke, as he had been appointed to do by the King, who immediately was ſent to *Callice*: Where after ſome time he was diſpatched of his life, either ſtrangled, or elſe ſmothered with Pillows, as ſome write. At the very ſame time was the Earl of *Arundel* apprehended by the Earls of *Rutland* and *Kent*: The Earl of *Warwick* alſo when the King had invited him to dinner, and ſhewed him very good countenance, was taken and arreſted in the place: As likewiſe at the ſame time were apprehended, and committed to the *Tower*, the Lord *John Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyney*. Shortly after the King procured them to be indicted at *Nottingham*, ſuborning ſuch as ſhould appeal them in Parliament; namely, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marſhal, *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, and the Lord *William Scroop* Lord Chamberlain: And in the mean time, the King ſent for a power of *Cheſhire*-men to keep Watch and Ward about his Perſon.

Divers other Lords committed to the *Tower*.

On the 17 of *September* a Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*; wherein the King complained as well of many things done by the Lords in his Minority, as alſo of the hard dealing which they had uſed towards the Queen, who was three hours at one time on her knees before the Earl of *Arundel*, for one of her Eſquires, named *John Calverley*, who nevertheleſs had his head ſmitten from his ſhoulders: And all the anſwer ſhe could get, was this, *Madam, pray for your ſelf and your Husband, and let this ſuit alone.* Thoſe that ſet forth the King's grievances in this Parliament, were *John Buſhy*, *William Bagot*, and *Thomas Green*. The cauſe of aſſembling the Parliament was ſhewed, That the King had called it for reformation of divers tranſgreſſions againſt the peace of this Land, by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and others. Then Sir *John Buſhy*, Speaker of the Parliament, made requeſt on behalf of the Commonalty, that they might be puniſhed according to their deſervings; and ſpecially the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who then ſat next the King, whom he accuſed of high Treaſon. When the Archbiſhop began to anſwer, Sir *John Buſhy* beſought the King, That he might not be admitted to anſwer, leſt by his great wit and cunning he might lead men away to believe him. And here Sir *John Buſhy* in all his talk did not attribute to the Kings titles of honour due and accuſtomed, but ſuch as were fitter for the Majeſty of God than for any earthly Prince. And when the Archbiſhop was conſtrained to keep ſilence, Sir *John Buſhy* proceeded; requiring on the behalf of the Commons, That the Charters of Pardon granted to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, ſhould be revoked. The King for his part proteſted that they were drawn from him by compulſion; and therefore beſought them to deliver their opinions, what they thought thereof. Whereupon the Biſhops firſt gave their ſentence, that the ſaid Pardons were revocable, and might be called in; but pretending a ſcrupulority, as if they might not with ſafe conſciences be preſent where Judgment of blood ſhould paſs, they appointed a Layman to be their Prolocutor for that turn. The Temporal Lords likewiſe gave their Sentence, That the Pardons were revocable: Only the Judges and Lawyers

Sir *John Buſhy* Speaker of the Parliament, attributes divine titles to the King.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal give their opinions one way, and Judges and Lawyers another.

The King by a wile, ſeiſeth upon the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and ſends him preſently to *Callice*, where ſoon after he loſt his life.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is banished.

Lawyers were not of this opinion. But howsoever the Archbishop of *Canterbury* is hereupon condemned to perpetual Exile, and appointed to avoid the Realm within six weeks. Also the Earl of *Arundel* is by the Duke of *Lancaster*, who sate that day as High-Steward, condemned of Treason, and on the *Tower-hill* beheaded. There went to see the execution, divers Lords, amongst whom was the Earl of *Nottingham*, that had married his Daughter; and the Earl of *Kent*, that was his Daughters Son: To whom, at the place of his execution he said, Truly it would have beseemed you rather to be absent, than here at this business; but the time will come ere long, that as many shall marvel at your misfortune, as they do now at mine. After his death, a fame went, that his head was grown to his body again: Whereupon, the tenth day after his burial, his body by the King's appointment was taken up, and then found to be a Fable. After this, the Lord *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was brought forth, and charged with the like Treasons; but by the intercession of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and other Lords, after confession of his fault, was only confin'd into the Isle of *Man*. Likewise the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyney* were only banished; (or as *Fabian* saith) condemned to perpetual Prison. The Parliament after this was held at *Shrewsbury*; where, for the love the King bore to the Gentlemen and Commons of the Shire of *Chester*, he caused it to be Ordained, that from thenceforth it should be called and known by the name of the Principality of *Chester*: And herewith intituled himself Prince of *Chester*. At this Parliament also, called the Great Parliament, he created five Dukes, and a Duchess; one Marquess, and four Earls. The Earl of *Derby* was created Duke of *Hereford*; the Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Norfolk*; the Earl of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albemarle*; the Earl of *Kent*, Duke of *Surrey*; the Earl of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exeter*; and the Lady *Margaret Marshal*, Countess of *Norfolk*, was created Duchess of *Norfolk*: The Earl of *Somerset* was created Marquess of *Dorset*; the Lord *Spencer* was made Earl of *Gloucester*; the Lord *Nevill*, Earl of *Westmerland*; the Lord *Scroop*, Earl of *Wiltshire*: And the Lord *Thomas Piercy*, Lord Steward of the King's House, was made Earl of *Worcester*; and for the better maintenance of their Estate, he divided amongst them a great part of those Lands that belonged to the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*. Also in this Parliament the Judges gave their Opinions, That when Articles are propounded by the King to be handled in Parliament, if other Articles be handled before those be first determined, that it is Treason in them that do it. And in this Parliament, the King brought it so about, that he obtained the whole power of the Parliament to be conferred upon certain persons, namely, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Edmund* Duke of *Aumerle*, *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*, *John* Duke of *Exeter*, *John* Marquess of *Dorset*, *Roger* Earl of *March*, *John* Earl of *Salisbury*, and divers others, or to any seven or eight of them; and these by virtue of this Grant, proceeded to conclude upon many things, which concerned generally the things of the whole Parliament, to the great prejudice of the State, and a dangerous example in time to come. A general Pardon was also granted for all offences, to all the King's Subjects, but only to fifty, whose names he would not express, but reserved them to his own knowledge, That when any of the Nobility offended him, he might at his pleasure name him to be one of the number excepted, and so keep them still within his danger. And for the more strengthening the Acts of this Parliament, the King purchased the Popes Bulls, containing grievous censures and curses to them that should break them. And now the Heads of the opposite Faction having lost their heads, and all things as well setled as could be desired, the King was secure, as thinking himself safe; and he had indeed been safe, if Time and Fortune were not Actors in Revenge, as well as men: Or rather if a superior power did not interpose, whose ways are as secret as himself is invincible.

A Miracle reported of him after his death, but found a fable.

Chester made Principality.

Dukes and Earls created.

What Articles are first to be handled in Parliament.

The whole authority of Parliament conferred upon certain persons.

A general pardon, but only to fifty, and why.

1393.

Thomas Mowbray Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* accused each other Whereupon a Combat is agreed upon between them, and in what manner.

It now fell out, (tho Writers differ what it was fell out) for some write, that *Thomas Mowbray* accused the Duke of *Hereford*; others, that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* accused *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk* for speaking words sounding highly to the King's dishonour; to which the Duke of *Norfolk*, being called to answer, charged the Duke of *Hereford* before the King, that he lied falsly. Whereupon a Combat was agreed upon between them. The King laboured to make them friends, but not prevailing, he gave way to proceed in Combat, and the place to be at *Coventry*; where at the day and hour appointed, the Duke of *Hereford* mounted on a white Courser, barded with green and blew Velvet, imbroidered sumptuously with Swains and Antelops of Goldsmiths work, approached the Lists. Of whom the Marshal, being the Duke of *Surrey*, demanding who he was; he answered: *I am* Henry *of* Lancaster, *Duke of* Hereford, *that am come hither to do my endeavour against* Thomas Mowbray *Duke of* Norfolk, *as a Traitor, untrue to God, the King, his Realm, and me*: Then incontinently he swore upon the holy Evangelists, that his quarrel was true and just; and thereupon required to enter the Lists, where in a Chair of green Velvet he sat down and reposed himself. Then came the Duke of *Norfolk*, his Horse barded with Crimson Velvet, imbroidered richly with Lions of Silver, and Mulberry-trees; and when he had taken his Oath before the Constable the Duke of *Aumerle*, that his quarrel was just, he entered the Lists, and sat him down in his Chair of Crimson Velvet, curtained about with white and red Damask. Then the Marshal viewed their Spears, to see that they were of equal length; and the Heralds proclaimed on the King's behalf, they should mount on Horseback, and address themselves to the Combat: but when they were set forward, and had their Spears in their Rests, the King cast down his Warder, and the Heralds cried, Stay, Stay. Then the King caused their Spears to be taken from them, and deliberated with his Council, what was fit to be done in so weighty a cause. After two long hours it was at last concluded, That *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* should within fifteen

• But the King interposeth and baniſheth the Duke of *Norfolk* for ever: the Duke of *Hereford* for ſix years.

fifteen days to depart out of the Realm, and not return before ten years were expired, upon pain of death; and that *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, ſhould likewiſe avoid the Realm, and never return into *England*, upon the like pain. It is obſervable, that this Cenſure was paſſed againſt the Duke of *Norfolk* the very ſame day twelve month in which he had taken order to put the Duke of *Gloceſter* to death at *Callice*, whereof he was then Governor. When theſe Judgments were once read, the King called before him both the Dukes, and made them ſwear that the one ſhould never come in place where the other was. After this the Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Almain*, and from thence went to *Venice*; where after ſome time he died with ſorrow. The Duke of *Hereford*, at the taking his leave of the King, had four years of his baniſhment releaſed; and then went to *Callice*, and from thence to *Paris*; where, of the *French* King he was ſo kindly received, that by his favour he had obtained in marriage the only daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French* King, if K. *Richard* by Meſſengers had not hindred him. The Duke might have made his baniſhment, in manner of a viſitation, if he had gone into *Spain*; for there he had two ſiſters married, the one to the King of *Portugal*, the other to the King of *Spain*, to whom his coming would have been moſt welcome: But he choſe rather to make his ſtay in *France*, as the place where he might ſooneſt have intelligence out of *England*; and indeed before a year came about, he heard of the death of his Father the Duke of *Lancaſter*: And heard withal that K. *Richard* had ſeiſed into his hands all the Lands deſcended upon him, contrary to his promiſe.

The delinquences of great men puniſhed only with baniſhment; and the danger of it.

It was a cuſtom in thoſe days, to puniſh the delinquences of great men by baniſhment out of the Realm, a cuſtom not more grievous to the Subject than dangerous to the Prince: For by this courſe they had means to work ſo cloſely in their minds of revenge, that the Fabrick of a Kingdom was in danger to be blown up before their working could be perceived. An example whereof was never more plainly ſeen than at this time, in the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Hereford*; For they in their baniſhment meeting often together, and aggravating the grievances of King *Richard's* Government, fell at laſt to conſult by what means he might beſt be removed, ſeeing there was no hope he could ever be reclaimed. In the time of their conſultation about it, as if Fortune her ſelf meant to do their work for them, ſollicitations came from many parts of *England*, to move the Duke of *Hereford* to come now and take the Government upon him, wherein they would be ready to aſſiſt him. The Duke heated before by the Archbiſhop's inſtigation, and now ſet on fire by this ſollicitation, gives Fortune no leiſure to alter her mind, by delaying the time; but without further deliberation prepares to be going: And taking with him the Archbiſhop, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpingtun*, and Sir *Thomas Ramſton*, Knights; *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt*, Eſquires, and about ſome three-ſcore other perſons, as many as he could readily get, in three Ships which the Duke of *Britain* lent him, he put to Sea: Where hovering about the Coaſt a while, to mark the countenance of the ſhores, he landed at laſt, about the beginning of *July*, at *Ravenſpurre* in *Yorkſhire*. Which no ſooner was known, but there repaired to him the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Roſs*, *Darcy*, and *Beaumont*; and ſhortly after, at *Doncaſter*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son Sir *Henry Piercy*, with the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and common ſort: Of whom tho ſome had invited him to come to take the Government of the Realm upon him, yet he forbore to pretend that for any cauſe of his coming, but made a ſolemn proteſtation, that he came only to take poſſeſſion of the inheritances deſcended upon him from his Father, which K. *Richard*, moſt unjuſtly, and contrary to his promiſe, had ſeiſed into his hands: For this was a reaſon had no objection: The other he reſerved till his power ſhould not need to regard objections. And indeed no ſnow-ball ever gathered greatneſs ſo faſt by rolling, as his Forces increaſed by marching forward; for by that time he came to *Berkely*, he had got a mighty Army: And within three days after, all the King's Caſtles in thoſe parts were ſurrendred to him. The Duke of *York*, left Governor of the Kingdom, uſed his beſt means to raiſe Forces to reſiſt him; but found few willing to bear Arms againſt him: Whereupon, and perhaps hearing withal that the Duke's coming was but only to take poſſeſſion of his Inheritance, he thought good to go to *Berkley* to him, to have there ſome communication about it. At *Berkley* at that time was arreſted the Biſhop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham*, and Sir *Walter Burleigh*, Knights; *Laurence Drew*, and *John Golofer*, Eſquires. From *Berkley* the two Dukes went forwards towards *Briſtow*, where in the Caſtle were the Lord *William Seroop*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and Treaſurer of *England*; Sir *Henry Green*, and Sir *Henry Buſhy*, who were taken and brought forth bound before the Duke of *Lancaſter*: And the day after arraigned before the Conſtable and Marſhal, found guilty of Treaſon for miſgoverning the King and the Realm, and preſently had their heads ſmitten off. Sir *John Ruſſel* alſo was taken there; but he feigning himſelf to be out of his wits, eſcaped for that time.

The Duke of *Hereford* is ſollicited to return into *England*.

1399. He Lands with three Ships at *Ravenſpurre* in *Yorkſhire*.

He pretends his coming to claim the inheritance deſcended upon him from his Father.

1399. Many Lords repair to him, and all the King's Caſtles are ſurrendred to him.

The Lord *Seroop* Treaſurer of *England*, with Sir *Henry Green*, Sir *Henry Buſhy*, have their heads ſmitten off.

All this while King *Richard* was in *Ireland*, where he performed Acts in repreſſing the Rebels there, not unworthy of him; and having with him amongſt other of the great Lords, the Duke of *Lancaſter's* Son *Henry*, he there for his towardlineſs in ſervice, Knighted him. By which it appeared that he had no great fear of the Father, when he graced the Son; and indeed he needed not have feared him, if his own abſence out of *England* had not given him advantage. Six weeks were now paſſed after the Duke's arrival in *England*; in all which time King *Richard* had no notice of it, by reaſon the winds were contrary to come forth of *England*: But as ſoon as he heard it, and in what hoſtile manner he proceeded, he then determined to return inſtantly into *England*; and had done it, but that the Duke of

K. *Richard* being in *Ireland*, hath no notice in ſix weeks of the Duke's arrival in *England*.

Aumerle

Hearing it, he prepares presently to return; but is otherwise Counselled by the Duke of *Aumerle*.

Aumerle his Principal Counsellor (whether out of a good meaning, but grounded upon errors; or out of an ill meaning, but shadowed with colours) by all means perswaded him to stay so long till things fitting for his journey might be made ready. It was King *Richard*'s ill luck to hearken to this ill counsel: But yet he presently sent the Earl of *Salisbury* into *England*, to provide him an Army out of *Wales* and *Cheshire*, against his own coming; which he promised faithfully should be within six days at the most. The Earl landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and had soon gotten to the number of forty thousand men: But the six days passed, and no news of the King; which made the Soldiers suspect that he was dead, and thereupon were ready to disband; but at the Earl of *Salisbury*'s perswasion, they were contented to stay for some days longer; and when the King came not in that time neither, they then would stay no longer, but departed and went home. At length, about eighteen days after that the King had sent away the Earl of *Salisbury*, he took shipping, together with the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, and divers others of the Nobility; with the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlile*; and landed at *Barklowly* in *Wales*. He had about him some *Cheshire*-men, and was at first in no great doubt of prevailing; but when he heard that all the Castles from the Borders of *Scotland* and *Bristow* were delivered to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and that the greatest part of the Nobility and Commons took part with him, and specially that his principal Counsellors had lost their heads at *Bristow*; then, *solvuntur frigore membra*, he fell so utterly to despair, that calling his Army together, he licensed every man to be gone, and so shift for himself. The Soldiers besought him to be of good chear, swearing they would stand with him to the death: But this encouraged him not at all; so as the next night he stole from his Army, and with the Duke of *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Stephen Scroop*, and some half a score others, he got him to the Castle of *Conway*, where he found the Earl of *Salisbury* determining there to stay, till he might see the world at some better pass. Here the Earl of *Worcester*, Steward of the King's house, broke his white staff, and without delay went to the Duke of *Lancaster*; who understanding that K. *Richard* was returned out of *Ireland*, he left the Duke of *York* at *Bristow*, and came back with his power to *Berkley*, and from thence the next day came to *Glocester*, and then to *Ross*, after to *Hereford*, where came to him the Bishop of *Hereford*, and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*: On the *Sunday* following he went to *Leymister*, and there the Lord *Carleton* came to him: From thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next day to *Shrewsbury*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert Leigh*, and Sir *John Leigh*, and many others, being sent from *Chester*, to offer their service; thither also came to him the Lord *Scales*, and the Lord *Bardolph*, forth of *Ireland*: From *Shrewsbury* he went to *Chester*, and from thence sent for his Son and Heir, and likewise for the Duke of *Glocester*'s Son and Heir (whom K. *Richard* had left in custody in *Ireland*) with all speed to come into *England*,

The King coming over and finding the Army disbanded, falls to despair, and secretly the next night goes him to Conway Castle.

but the Duke of *Glocester*'s Son through misfortune perished at Sea, or as some write, died of the plague; the sorrow whereof caused, shortly after, his Mother's death. After this, the Duke sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to the King, who upon safe conduct coming to him, declared, *That if it might please his Grace to undertake, that there should be a Parliament assembled, in which Justice might be had, and herewith pardon the Duke of* Lancaster *of all things wherein he had offended, the Duke would be ready to come to him on his knees, and as an humble Subject obey him in all dutiful Service.* Yet upon this conference with the Earl, some say the King required only, that himself and eight more, whom he would name, might have honourable allowance, with assurance of a private quiet life, and that then he would resign his Crown; and that upon the Earl's Oath that this should be performed, the King agreed to go with the Earl to meet the Duke; but after four miles riding, coming to the place where they laid an Ambush, the King was inclosed, and constrained to go with the Earl of *Rutland*, where they dined, and from thence to *Flint* to bed. The King had very few of his friends about him, but only the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carliste*, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *Nicholas Ferebye*, and *James d' Artois* a *Gascoign*, who still wore a white Hart, the Cognisance of his Master King *Richard*, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawn to leave it off.

The Duke of *Lancaster* offers conditions to the King.

Which the Earl of *Northumberland* undertakes upon his Oath should be performed.

Hereupon the King goes to meet the Duke, but is intrapped in an *Ambush*, and carried to *Flint* Castle.

1599.

The King being in the Castle of *Flint*, and Duke *Henry* with his Army approaching near the Town, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Duke of *Aumerle* and the Earl of *Worcester*, went before to the King; whom the King spying from the Walls where he stood, went down to meet; and finding they did their due reverence to him on their knees, he took them up, and taking the Archbishop aside, talked with him a good while; and it was reported, the Archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured not to have any hurt as touching his person. After this the Duke of *Lancaster* came to the Castle himself, all armed; and being within the first gate, he there stayed till the King, accompanied with the Bishop of *Carliste*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroop*, who bore the Sword before him, came forth, and sate down in a place prepared for him. As soon as the Duke saw him, he came towards him bowing his knee; and coming forward, did so the second time, and the third, till the King took him by the hand and lift him up, saying, *Dear Cousin, you are welcome.* The Duke humbly thanking him, said; *My Soveraign Lord and King, the cause of my coming at this present is (your Honour saved) to have restitution of my Person, my Lands, and Heritage*: Whereto the King answered, *Dear Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception.* After this coming forth of the Castle, the King called for Wine; and after they had drunk, they mounted on horseback, and rode to *Chester*, the next day to *Nampwich*, then to *Newcastle*, from thence to *Stafford*, then to *Lichfield*, and there rested *Sunday*: After that they

The Duke's reverence to the King in coming to him.

they rode forward, and lodged firſt at *Coventry*, then at *Daintree*, then at *Northampton*, next day at *Dunſtable*, then at St. *Albans*, and ſo came to *London*. In all which journey they ſuffered not the King to change his apparel, but made him ride ſtill in one ſute of rayment; and that but a ſimple one, tho he in his time was exceeding ſumptuous in Apparel, having one Coat which was valued at thirty thouſand Marks: And in this ſort he was brought the next day to *Weſtminſter*, and from thence the next day had to the *Tower*, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody. After this, a Parliament was called by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, but in the name of K. *Richard*; in which many heinous points of Miſgovernment were laid to his charge, and were ingroſſed up in three and thirty Articles; the chief were theſe:

But yet is baſely carried away and committed to the *Tower*.

Articles delivered to the Parliament againſt K. *Richard*.

That he had waſtefully ſpent the Treaſure of the Realm.

That without Law or Juſtice, he had cauſed the Duke of Gloceſter *and the Earl of* Arundel *to be put to death.*

That he had borrowed great ſums of money, and given his Letters-Patents to repay the ſame, and yet not one penny ever paid.

That he had ſaid, The Laws of the Realm were in his head and breaſt: By reaſon of which fantaſtical opinion he deſtroyed Noblemen, and impoveriſhed the Commons.

That he changed Knights and Burgeſſes of the Parliament at his pleaſure.

That moſt tyrannouſly he ſaid, That the lives and goods of all his Subjects were in his hands, and at his diſpoſition.

That whereas divers Lords were by the Court of Parliament appointed to treat of matters concerning the ſtate of the Kingdom; they being buſied about the ſame Commiſſion, he went about to impeach them of high Treaſon.

That by force and threats, he enforced the Judges of the Realm, at Shrewsbury, *to condeſcend to his way, for the deſtruction of divers of the Lords.*

That he cauſed his Father's own Brother, the Duke of Gloceſter, *without Law to be attached and ſent to* Callice, *and there without reaſon ſecretly murthered.*

That notwithſtanding the Earl of Arundel, *at his arraignment pleaded his Charter of Pardon, yet he could not be heard, but was ſhamefully and ſuddenly put to death.*

That he aſſembled certain Lancaſhire *and* Cheſhire *men, to make War upon his Lords; and ſuffered them to rob and ſpoil without prohibition.*

That though he had made Proclamation, That the Lords were not attached for any crime of Treaſon, yet afterward in the Parliament he laid Treaſon to their charge.

That notwithſtanding his Pardon granted to them, he inforced divers of the Lords partakers to be again intolerably Fined, to their utter undoing.

That without the aſſent of the Peers, he carried the Jewels and Plate of this Kingdom into Ireland.

He is by Parliament depoſed.

Upon theſe, and ſome other Articles, he was by Parliament adjudged to be depoſed from all Kingly Honour, and Princely Government. And thereupon, the King being adviſed by his own ſervants, rather voluntarily to reſign the Crown, than by compulſion to be forced to it, on the Monday before the nine and twentieth day of *September*, in the year 1399. he made a ſolemn reſignation before divers Lords and others, ſent to him for that purpoſe; and an inſtrument of his reſignation being made, he would needs read it before them all himſelf, and then ſubſcribed it: And withal made it his ſuit, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* might be his Succeſſor, and King after him; and for a ſign of his deſire hereof, he took his ſignet Ring of Gold from his finger, and put it upon the Duke of *Lancaſter*; that never man who had uſed a Kingdom with ſuch violence, gave it over with ſuch patience, or rather ſuch willingneſs, that he ſeemed rather to affect it, than that he was any way forced to it. This Reſignation of King *Richard* being ſhewed to the Parliament, both Houſes gave their aſſent; and then Commiſſioners were appointed to pronounce openly the ſentence of his depoſing, which was done by the Biſhop of *Aſaph*, and all Allegiance renounced to him.

He voluntarily reſigns his Crown to the Duke of *Lancaſter*.

And now it is eaſy to be obſerved, what a wonderful concurrence of fortunes, in behalf of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and againſt King *Richard*, happened together; whereof if any one had been miſſing, he had never been turned out of his Throne in ſuch manner as he was: For firſt, if it had not happened that King *Richard* had been in *Ireland* at the time when the Duke began his attempt, it had not been poſſible for him to compaſs his deſign as he did: And then if King *Richard* being in *Ireland*, he had not by misfortune of weather been kept ſix weeks from hearing of the Duke's arrival, he had not given him ſo large a time for raiſing of Forces, and ſo more eaſily might have reſiſted him: Or after King *Richard* heard of the Duke's arrival, if he had followed the Earl of *Salisbury*, and not ſtayed ſo many days longer than he promiſed, he had found an Army ready to receive him, ſufficient at leaſt to have given a ſtop to the Duke's proceedings: Or when at laſt he came over, and found his Army to fail him, if withal his own courage had not failed him, but that he had manfully put it to the hazard of a Battel, as his Soldiers themſelves would have had him to do, he could not chuſe but have made a better end of his buſineſs than now he did. But when all is done, there is no warding the blows of Fortune; or to ſay better, no reſiſting the Decree of Heaven: But ſeeing that Decree is an *Abyſſus* to us, and may perhaps but be conditional, we ſhall manifeſtly be Traitors to our ſelves, if we uſe not our utmoſt endeavours to divert it. Thus it may truly be ſaid, K. *Richard* loſt his Crown, more by his own Treaſon, than by the Treaſon of any other.

Of his Taxations.

IN his ſecond year, in a Parliament held at *Gloceſter*, was granted to be paid by the Merchants upon every ſack of Wool a Mark for this preſent year; and for every pounds-worth of Wares brought from beyond Sea, and ſold here, ſix pence of the buyer. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, a Subſidy was granted to be levied of the great men

A Subsidy granted where the Commons are spared.

men of the Realm, to the end the Commons might be spared: The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Britain* paid twenty Marks; every Earl six Marks; Bishops and Abbots with Mitre, as much: Every Monk three shillings four pence: Also every Justice, Sheriff, Knight, Esquire, Parson, and Vicar, were charged after a certain rate; but no Commons of the Laity. Also this year in another Parliament, was granted a Tenth by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity; but with this condition, That from henceforth, which was in *March* 1380. till the Feast of St. *Michael*, which should be in the year 1381. there should be no more Parliaments: But yet was not observed. In his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, a new kind of Subsidy was granted; of every Priest Secular or Regular, six shillings eight pence; and as much of every Nun; and of every man or woman, married or not married, being sixteen years of age (beggers only excepted) four pence. In his fifth year a Subsidy was granted by the Merchants of certain Customs of their Wools which they bought and sold, called a Maletot, to endure for four years. In his seventh year was granted him one Moiety of a Fifteenth of the Laity; and shortly after a Moiety of the Tenth by the Clergy. In his ninth year, half of a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth by the Laity. In his eleventh year there was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity. In his twelfth year at a Parliament was granted of every sack of Wool, forty shillings; whereof ten shillings to be applied presently to the King's use; the other thirty to remain in the hands of Treasurers, towards the charges of Wars, if any should happen. Also there was a Subsidy granted, of sixpence in the pound; whereof fourpence to the use last mentioned, the other twopence to be at the King's pleasure. In his fifteenth year, at a Parliament, was granted a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity, towards the charges of *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, sent into *France*. In his eighteenth year a Tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity, towards his own journey into *Ireland*. In his twentieth year the Clergy granted him a Tenth to be paid that year. In his one and twentieth year, upon pretence of having aided the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* against him, he caused blank Charters to be made, which he compelled both Citizens and Gentlemen in the Countrey to seal, whereby he might charge them afterward to pay whatsoever he required. In his two and twentieth year a Fifteenth and a half was granted; and for the Customs of Wools fifty shillings upon every sack, of *English*-men born, and three pounds of strangers.

A Maletot what it was.

Blank Charters commanded to be sealed by Gentlemen, that he might charge them afterward at his pleasure.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN his second year, in a Parliament at *Glocester*, it was enacted, That Merchant-strangers might buy and sell in Gross, or by Retail, within this Realm. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, it was ordained, that the Privileges and Immunities of the Abby of *Westminster* should remain inviolate; but with this Proviso, against those that took Sanctuary with purpose to defraud their Creditors, That their Lands and Goods should be liable to their Debts. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, in which the Major of *London*, upon suggestion that the Fishmongers used great deceit in uttering of their Fish, obtained to have it Enacted, That from henceforth none of that Company, nor of the Vintners, Grocers, Butchers, or other that sold any Provision or Victuals, should be admitted Major of the City: but in the Parliament next following were restored to their liberty again, saving that they might not keep Courts among themselves, but that all transgressions of their Customs should be tried at the Major's Court. In his eleventh year, K. *Richard* created *John Beauchamp* of *Holt*, Baron of *Kederminster*, by his Letters Patents; the first that was so made: For before this time Barons were always made by calling them to Parliaments by the King's Writ.

Barons first made by Letters Patents.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the second year of this King's Reign, there came messengers from the new elected Pope *Urban*, to require the King's aid against such Cardinals as he named Schismaticks, that had elected another Pope, whom they named *Clement*: which Cardinals sent Messengers likewise to crave his aid for them, but through persuasion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Urban*'s request was granted, and *Clement* rejected. In his fourth year *John Wickliffe* set forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, in such sort as the Church of *Rome* did then teach. In his sixth year, *Henry Spencer*, Bishop of *Norwich*, received Bulls from Pope *Urban*, to grant all privileges of the *Crusado* to all such as would come over and assist him against the Anti-Pope *Clement*; which being debated in Parliament, it was after much opposition agreed, that it should go forward: And thereupon the Bishop not only gathered much money from such as would contribute to the expedition, but drew many great Captains to go themselves in person; as namely, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Farington*, the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and divers others. The money raised by contribution, came to 20000 Franks, and the Army to 3000 Horse, and 15000 Foot; with which Forces, the Bishop passing over into *Flanders*, won the Towns of *Graveling*, *Dunkirk*, and *Newport*: But at last encountred by a mighty Army of the *French*, he was put to the worst, and returned into *England*. In the twelfth year of this King's Reign, an Act was made that none should pass the Seas to purchase promotions or provisions (as they termed them) in any Church or Churches. Also in this year *Thomas* the late Earl of *Lancaster*, by reason of miracles reported to be done by him, was Canonized for a Saint. At this time also the *Wickleviſts* marvellously increased, Preaching against Pilgrimages and Images, whose greatest opposer was the Bishop of *Norwich*. In his thirteenth year, Proclamation

Divers Lords and others undertake the Cross.

Thomas late Earl of *Lancaster*, Canonized for a Saint.

was made that all beneficed men abiding in the Court of *Rome*, ſhould return into *England* by a certain day, under pain of forfeiting their Benefices; and all other not Beneficed, under a certain pain likewiſe. Alſo about this time a Statute was wade, That no Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould poſſeſs Mannors, Houſes, Lands, Revenues, or Rents whatſoever at the hands of the Feoffee, without the King's Licenſe and the chief Lords. In his eighteenth year the *Wickleviſts* were perſecuted, and Excommunication pronounced againſt them by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In this Schiſm of the two Popes, the *French* Clergy wrote in behalf of *Clement* their Pope, and ſent it into *England*; the Clergy of *England*, on the contrary, wrote in behalf of Pope *Urban*, and ſo nothing was agreed.

The *Wickleviſts* perſecuted.

Works of Piety in his time.

IN the twentieth year of this King's Reign, *William Bateman* Biſhop of *Norwich* builded *Trinity* Hall in *Cambridge*. In the third year of his Reign, *John Philpot*, Mayor of *London*, gave to the City certain Tenements, for the which the Chamberlain payeth yearly to thirteen poor people, to every of them ſeven pence the week for ever; and as any of thoſe thirteen perſons dieth, the Mayor appointeth one to ſucceed, and the Recorder another. In the one and twentieth year of his Reign, King *Richard* cauſed the great Hall at *Weſtminſter* to be repaired, both the Walls, Windows, and Roof. In his time, *Simon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſlain by the Rebels upon *Tower-Hill*, built the Weſt-gate of *Canterbury*, and from thence to the North-gate, commonly called the long Wall. *Thomas Fitz-Alan*, or *Arundel*, being Biſhop of *Ely*, built the great Gate-Houſe of *Ely* Houſe in *Holborn*; and being after Biſhop of *Canterbury*, he built a fair Spire Steeple at the Weſt end of his Church there, called to this day, *Arundel* Steeple, and beſtowed a tunable ring of Five Bells upon the ſame.

Trinity Hall in *Cambridge*, by whom founded.

Arundel Steeple in *Canterbury*, by whom built.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his third year, ſo great a mortality afflicted the North parts of *England*, that the Countrey became almoſt deſolate. In his ſixth year, on the 24th. day of *May*, there happened ſo great an Earthquake, or (as ſome write) a Waterſhake, that it made Ships in the Havens to beat one againſt the other. In *July*, in the year 1389. whilſt the King was at *Sheene*, there ſwarmed in his Court ſuch multitudes of Flies and Gnats, skirmiſhing with one another, that in the end they were ſwept away with Brooms by heaps, and Buſhels were filled with them. In his twelfth year, in *March*, firſt there were terrible Winds; afterwards followed a great mortality, and after that a great dearth, that a buſhel of Wheat was ſold for thirteen pence, which was then thought a great price; for the years before it was ſold for Six pence, and Wool was ſold for two ſhilling a ſtone. In his fourteenth year, on *Chriſtmas* day, a Dolphin was taken at *London-Bridge*, being ten foot long, and a monſtrous grown Fiſh. In his eighteenth year, an Exhalation, in likeneſs of fire, appeared in the night in many places of *England*; which when a man went alone, went as he went, and ſtayed as he ſtayed; ſometimes like a Wheel, ſometimes like a Barrel, ſometimes like a Timber-log; but when many went together, it appeared to be afar off. Alſo in a Parliament-time there was a certain Image of Wax made by *Necromancy* (as was ſaid) which at an hour appointed, uttered theſe words:

The Head ſhall be cut off; the Head ſhall be lift up aloft; the feet ſhall be lift up above the Head; and then ſpake no more. This happened in the Parliament called the *Marvellous* Parliament, not long before the Parliament that *wrought Wonders*. In his one and thirtieth year, a River, not far from *Bedford*, ſuddenly ceaſed his courſe, ſo as the channel remained dry by the ſpace of three miles; which was adjudged to ſignifie the revolting of the Subjects from their natural Prince. In his two and twentieth year, almoſt through all *England*, all Bay-Trees withered, and afterwards grew green again; which was ſuppoſed to import ſome ſtrange event. About the year 1280. the making of Guns was found by a *German*, which may well be reckoned amongſt caſualties, ſeeing it was found by caſualty; for this *German* having beaten Brimſtone in a Mortar to Powder, and covered it with a ſtone, it happened that as he ſtruck fire, a ſpark chanced to fall into the powder, which cauſed ſuch a flame out of the Mortar, that it raiſed the ſtone a great height; which after he perceived, he made a Pipe of Iron, and tempered the Powder with ſome other ingredients, and ſo finiſhed that deadly Engine. The firſt that uſed it were the *Venetians* againſt the Inhabitants of *Genoa*.

The price of Wheat and Wool in a dearth.

A *Dolphin* taken at *London-Bridge*.

A ſtrange Exhalation.

An Image of Wax, made by *Necromancy*, ſpake certain words.

All Bay-Trees withered, and after grew green again.

Guns found about this time by a *German*.

Of his Wives.

KIng *Richard* in his time had two Wives, the firſt was *Ann*, Daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth, and Siſter to the Emperor *Wenceſlaus*; who lived his Wife ten years, and died without iſſue at *Sheene* in *Surrey*, in the year 1392. Whoſe death King *Richard* took ſo heavily, that he cauſed the buildings of that Palace to be thrown down and defaced; as though to revenge himſelf upon the place, could eaſe his mind, and mitigate his ſorrow. His ſecond Wife was *Iſabel*, Daughter of *Charles* the ſixth King of *France*; ſhe was married to him at eight years of age, and therefore never co-habited. After King *Richard*'s death ſhe was ſent home, and married to *Charles* Son and Heir to the Duke of *Orleance*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was the goodlieſt perſonage of all the Kings that had been ſince the Conqueſt; tall of ſtature, of ſtraight and ſtrong limbs, fair and amiable of countenance; and ſuch a one as might well be the Son of a moſt beautiful Mother. Concerning his conditions, there was more to be blamed in his Education, than in his Nature; for there appeared in him many good inclinations, which would have grown to be abilities, if they had not been perverted by corrupt flatterers in his youth. He was of a credulous diſpoſition,

diſpoſition, apt to believe, and therefore eaſie to be abuſed. His greateſt tranſgreſſion was, that he went with his friends *ultra aras*, where he ſhould have gone but *uſque ad aras*; His greateſt imbecility, that he could not diſtinguiſh between a flatterer and a friend. He ſeemed to have in him both a *French* Nature and an *Engliſh*; violent at the firſt apprehenſion, calm upon deliberation. He never ſhewed himſelf more worthy of the Government, than when he was depoſed as unworthy to Govern; for it appeared, that his Regality was not ſo dear unto him, as a private quiet life: Which if he might have enjoyed, he would never have complained that Fortune had done him wrong.

Of his Death and Burial.

KIng *Richard* after his Reſignation, was conveyed to the Caſtle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret*; where the common fame is, That he was ſerved with coſtly meat, like a King, but not ſuffered once to touch it, and ſo died of forced Famine. But *Thomas Walſingham* referreth it altogether to a voluntary pining of himſelf, through grief of his misfortunes. But one Writer, well acquainted with King *Richard*'s doings, ſaith, that King *Henry* ſitting one day at his Table, ſaid ſighing, Have I no faithful friend that will deliver me of him who will be my death? This ſpeech was ſpecially noted by one Sir *Piers* of *Exton*, who preſently with eight perſons in his company went to *Pomfret*, commanding the Eſquire that took the Aſſay before King *Richard*, to do ſo no more, ſaying, Let him eat now, for he ſhall not eat long. King *Richard* ſitting down to dinner, was ſerved without Aſſay; whereat marvelling, he demanded of his Eſquire, why he did not his duty; Sir (ſaid he) I am otherwiſe commanded by Sir *Piers* of *Exton*, who is newly come from King *Henry*. When King *Richard* heard that word, he took the Carving Knife in his hand, and ſtroke the Squire on the head, ſaying, The Devil take Henry of *Lancaſter* and thee together: And with that word Sir *Piers* entered the Chamber with eight armed men, every of them having a Bill in his hand. King *Richard* perceiving this, put the Table from him; and ſtepping to the foremoſt man, wrung the Bill out of his hands, and ſlew four of thoſe that thus came to aſſail him: But in concluſion was felled with a ſtroke of a Poll-axe, which Sir *Piers* gave him upon the head, with which blow he fell down dead: Though it be ſcarce credible, that a man upon his bare word, and without ſhewing any warrant, ſhould be admitted to do ſuch a fact. Sir *Piers* having thus ſlain him, wept bitterly: A poor amends for ſo hainous a treſpaſs. King *Richard* thus dead, his body was embalmed, and covered with lead, all ſave the face, and then brought to *London*; where it lay at *Pauls* three days together, that all men might behold it, to ſee he was dead. The Corps was after had to *Langley* in *Buckinghamſhire*, and there buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers: But afterward by King *Henry* the Fifth, it was removed to *Weſtminſter*, and there honourably Entombed, with Queen *Ann* his Wife; and that beautiful Picture of a King, ſitting Crowned in a Chair of State, at the upper end of the Coire in St. *Peters* at *Weſtminſter*, is ſaid to be of him: Although the *Scots* untruly write, that he eſcaped out of Priſon, and led a ſolitary and vertuous life in *Scotland*, and there died, and is buried (as they hold) in the *Black-Friers* at *Sterling*. He lived three and thirty years, reign'd two and twenty and three months.

Starved.

Murthered.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Valour in his time were ſo many, that to reckon them all would be a hard task, and to leave out any would be an injury; yet to give an inſtance in one, we may take *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, whoſe valour was no leſs ſeen abroad than at home; In *France*, in *Germany*, in *Spain*; in all which places he left Trophies of his Victories. But of Learned Men we may name theſe: *William Thorne* an *Auguſtin* Frier of *Canterbury*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Adam Merimouth*, a Canon of *Pauls* Church in *London*, who wrote two Hiſtorical Treatiſes; one intituled *Chronicon* 40. *annorum*; another *Chronicon* 60. *annorum*. *William Packington* ſometimes Secretary to the *Black Prince*, an excellent Hiſtoriographer. *William Badby* a *Carmelite* Frier, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Confeſſor to the Duke of *Lancaſter*: *John Bourg*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: *William Sclade*, a Monk of *Buckfaſt* Abby in *Devonſhire*; *John Thoriſbury* Archbiſhop of *York*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, and a Cardinal: *William Berton* Chancellor of *Oxford*, an adverſary to *Wickliffe*: *Philip Pepinton* Abbot of *Leiceſter*, a Defender of *Wickliffe*: *Walter Brit*, a Scholar of *Wickliffe*'s, a Writer both in Divinity and other Arguments: *John Sharp*, a great adverſary to *Wickliffe*, who wrote many Treatiſes: *Peter Pateſhul*, a great favourer of *Wickliffe*: *Marcel Ingelno*, an excellent Divine, one of the firſt Teachers in the Univerſity of *Heydelberg*: *Richard Witbee* a learned Prieſt, and an earneſt follower of *Wickliffe*: *John Swaſham* Biſhop of *Bangor*, a great adverſary to the *Wickleviſts*: *Adam Eſton*, a great Linguiſt, and a Cardinal: *John Treviſe*, a *Corniſhman*, and a ſecular Prieſt, who tranſlated the Bible: *Bartholomew*, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; *Polychronicon* of *Ranulph Higden*, and divers other Treatiſes: *John Moon*, an *Engliſhman*, but a Student in *Paris*, who compiled in the *French* Tongue, *The Romant of the Roſe*: tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Geoffry Chaucer*, and divers others.

The *Romant of the Roſe* tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Geoffry Chaucer*, by whom compos'd.

The Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Reign.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Nicolas Brembar* was Mayor.
Nicholas Twiford, *Andrew Pikeman*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
John Philpot was Mayor.
John Boſcham, *Thomas Cornwallis*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
John Hadley was Mayor.
John Heliſdon, *William Barras* Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
William Walworth was Mayor.
Walter Doget, William Knighthade, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
John Northampton was Mayor.
John Rotn, John Hinde, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Northampton continued Mayor.
Adam Bramme, John Sely, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* was Mayor.
Simon Winchcome, John More, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* continued Mayor.
Nicholas Exton, John French, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* continued Mayor.
John Organ, John Churchman, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Nicholas Exton was Mayor.
William Standon, William More, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Nicholas Exton continued Mayor.
William Venor, Hugh Falstalfe, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Nicholas Twiford was Mayor.
Thomas Austen, Adam Carlelul, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
William Venor was Mayor.
John Walcot, John Love, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Adam Brumme was Mayor.
John Francis, Thomas Vivent, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John Hinde was Mayor.
John Shadworth, Henry Vamere, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
William Standom was Mayor.
Gilbert Maffeld, Thomas Newington, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
John Hardley was Mayor.
Drew Barintin, Richard Whitington, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *John Froyſhe* was Mayor.
William Bramſton, Thomas Knolls, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *William More* was Mayor.
Roger Ellis, William Sevenoke, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Adam Brown was Mayor.
Thomas Wilford, William Parker, Sheriffs.

In his twenty firſt year,
Sir *Richard Whitington* was Mayor.
John Wodcock, William Aſcham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſecond year,
Sir *Drew Barintin* was Mayor.
John Wade, John Warner, Sheriffs.

THE

THE REIGN OF King HENRY IV.

Of his coming to the Crown.

An. Dom. 1399.

AFTER the Resignation of K. *Richard* and the sentence of his Deposing openly read in Parliament, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* riseth up from his seat; and first, making the Sign of the Cross upon his Forehead and Breast, he said, *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*: *I* Henry *of* Lancaster *claim the Crown of* England, *as descended by right line from King* Henry *the Third*; And having thus spoken, he sate down again. Upon this the Archbishop conferred with the Lords, and having heard their opinions, he turned to the Commons, asking them, if they would join with the Lords, in chusing *Henry* of *Lancaster* for their King; who all with one voice cried, Yea, Yea: Whereupon going to the Duke, he bowed his knee, and taking him by the hand led him to the Royal Seat; and then began a Sermon, taking for his Text, out of the first Book of the Kings *cap.* 9. *Vir dominabitur in populo*: Wherein he declared what a happiness it is to a Nation to have a King of Wisdom and Valour, and shewed the Duke of *Lancaster* to be such a one; and as much the defects in both, of the late King *Richard*. The Sermon ended, the King thanked them all for his Election; and testified to them, That he meant not to take advantage against any man's estate, as coming in by Conquest: But that every one should freely enjoy his own, as in times of lawful succession. And now a time was appointed for his Coronation; accordingly, upon the 13*th.* day of *October* following, the very day wherein the year before he had been banished, he was Crowned at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Ceremonies accustomed. At his Coronation he was anointed with an Oil which a Religious man had given to *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*, together with this Prophecy, That the Kings anointed with this Oil, should be the Champions of the Church. This Oil, coming to the hands of K. *Richard*, as he was looking amongst his Jewels, going then into *Ireland*, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* told him, it was not lawful to be anointed twice: Whereupon putting it up again, at his coming afterwards to *Flint*, the Archbishop got it of him, and kept it till the Coronation of King *Henry*, who was the first King of the Realm that was anointed with it. The day before the Coronation, the King in the *Tower* made one and forty, some say but twelve Knights of the *Bath*, whereof four were his own Sons, *Henry*, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Humphrey*, all then alive; and with them, three Earls, and five Barons. Upon the Feast-day, many claimed Offices as belonging to their Tenures; to which, upon shewing their right, they were admitted. And now the King made divers new Officers: The Earl of *Northumberland* he made Constable of *England*; the Earl of *Westmorland* was made Lord-Marshal; Sir *John Serle*, Chancellor; *John Newbery* Esquire, Treasurer: And Sir *Richard Clifford* was made Lord-Keeper of the Privy-Seal. The Lord *Henry*, his Eldest Son being then about thirteen years of Age, was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*, and soon after also Duke of *Aquitain*: And the Crown was by Parliament Entailed to K. *Henry*, and the Heirs of his body lawfully begotten.

K. *Henry* claims the Crown as descended from K. *Henry* the third.

He is Crowned the very day wherein the year before he had been banished.

Anointed with a special Oil.

After this a Parliament is holden, in which the Acts made in the eleventh year of King *Richard* were revived, and the Acts made in his one and twentieth year were wholly repealed; and they who by that Parliament were attainted were restored to their Lands and Honours: whereupon *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* was delivered out of Prison, and the Earl of *Arundel*'s Son recovered his Inheritance; and many other also that were banished, or imprisoned by King *Richard*, were then fully restored to their Liberty and Estates. Also the King gave to the Earl of *Westmorland* the County of *Richmond*, and to the Earl of *Northumberland* the Isle of *Man*, to be holden of him by bearing the Sword wherewith he entred into *England*. And now was the time for shewing of Spleens. Sir *John Bagot* then Prisoner in the Tower, accused the Earl of *Aumerle* for speaking words against the Duke of *Lancaster*, now King: also the Lord *Fitzwater* accused him for the death of the Duke of *Glocester*. The Lord *Morley* appealed the Earl of *Salisbury* of Treason; and one *Hall* accused the Duke of *Exeter* for conspiring the Death of *John* of *Gaunt*, the King's Father: But King *Henry* having entred a Throne in a storm, was willing now to have a calm; and therefore laying aside the one's Accusations, he accepted of the other's Excuses, and received

Accusations against many, but connived at by the King.

ceived the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Duke of *Exeter* into as much favour, as if they had never been accuſed.

K. *Henry* acquaints foreign Princes by what Title he came to the Crown.

And to qualify the hard opinion which foreign Princes might conceive of K. *Richard*'s Depoſing, he ſent Ambaſſadors into divers Countries, to make it known, by what title, and by what favour of the people he came to the Kingdom. To the Court of *Rome*, he ſent *John Trenevant*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Knight, and *John Cheyney* Eſquire: Into *France*, he ſent *Walter Sherlow*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Thomas Piercy*, Earl of *Worceſter*: Into *Spain* he ſent *John Trevor*, Biſhop of *Aſaph*, and Sir *William Parre*: And into *Germany*, he ſent the Biſhop of *Bangor*, and certain others. Moſt of theſe Princes ſeemed either not to regard what was done, or were eaſily perſuaded that all was done well: Only *Charles* King of *France*, was ſo diſtemper'd with this indignity offered to his Son-in-Law K. *Richard*, that by violence of his paſſion he fell into his old pangs of Frenſy; but ſomewhat recovered, he reſolved to revenge it; wherein many Lords of *France* ſhewed themſelves forward, but eſpecially the Earl of St. *Paul*, who had Married King *Richard*'s half Siſter: Yet having prepared an Army in readineſs, when afterward they heard of K. *Richard*'s death, they diſſolved it again, as conſidering the time was then paſt. The *Aquitains* alſo, and ſpecially the Citizens of *Burdeaux*, as being the place where K. *Richard* was born, were mightily incenſed: But Sir *Robert Knolls*, Lieutenant of *Guyen*, and afterward *Thomas Piercy*, Earl of *Worceſter*, being ſent to them by the King, ſo perſuaded them, that with much ado they continued in obedience.

It was about this time moved in Parliament what ſhould be done with King *Richard* (for he was not as yet murthered); whereupon *Thomas Merks*, Biſhop of *Carlile*, a Learned man, and wiſe, and who never had given allowance to the Depoſing of K. *Richard*, now that he was in a place of freedom of ſpeech, roſe up and ſaid:

The Biſhop of *Carlile*'s bold Speech in behalf of K. *Richard*, and againſt K. *Henry*.

"My Lords, The matter now propounded "is of marvellous weight and conſequence; "wherein there are two points chiefly to be "conſidered; the firſt, Whether K. *Richard* be "ſufficiently put out of his Throne: The ſe- "cond, Whether the Duke of *Lancaſter* be "lawfully taken in. For the firſt, How can that "be ſufficiently done, when there is no power "ſufficient to do it? The Parliament cannot, "for of the Parliament the King is the head; "and can the body put down the head? You "will ſay, But the head may bow it ſelf down; "and may not the King reſign? It is true; but "what force is in that which is done by force? "And who knows not that K. *Richard*'s Re- "ſignation was no other? But ſuppoſe he be "ſufficiently out, yet how comes the Duke of "*Lancaſter* to be lawfully in? If you ſay by "Conqueſt, you ſpeak Treaſon; for what Con- "queſt without Arms? And can a Subject take "Arms againſt his lawful Sovereign, and not "be Treaſon? If you ſay, by Election of the "State, you ſpeak not reaſon; for what power "hath the State to elect, while any is living "that hath right to ſucceed? But ſuch a Suc- "ceſſor is not the Earl of *Lancaſter*, as deſcend- "ed from *Edmund Crouchback*, the elder Son "of K. *Henry* the Third, tho put by the Crown "for deformity of his body; for who knows "not the falſeneſs of this allegation? Seeing "it is a thing Notorious, that this *Edmund* was "neither the elder Brother, nor yet Crook-backt, "(though called ſo for ſome other reaſon) "but a goodly perſonage, and without any de- "formity. And your ſelves cannot forget a "thing ſo lately done, who it was that in the "fourth year of K. *Richard* was declared by "Parliament to be Heir to the Crown, in caſe "K. *Richard* ſhould die without iſſue; but why "then is not that claim made? Becauſe *Silent* "*leges inter arma*, What diſputing of Titles "againſt the ſtream of Power? But howſoe- "ver it is extreme injuſtice that K. *Richard* "ſhould be condemned without being heard, "or once allowed to make his defence. And "now, my Lords, I have ſpoken thus at this "time, that you may conſider of it before it be "too late; for as yet it is in your power to undo "that juſtly, which you have unjuſtly done.

Much to this purpoſe was the Biſhop's ſpeech, but to as little purpoſe as if he had gone about to call back Yeſterday. The matter was too far gone; and ſcarce a perſon there preſent, that had not a hope of either a private or publick benefit by that which was done. Yet againſt this ſpeech of the Biſhop there was neither Proteſting nor Excepting; It paſſed in the Houſe as but one man's opinion; And as for the King, it was neither fit he ſhould uſe much ſeverity againſt any member of that Parliament which had ſo lately ſhewed ſo much indulgence towards him; nor indeed ſafe, to be too hot in his Puniſhment, when he was yet ſcarce warm in his Government. Yet for a warning to uſe their liberty of ſpeech with more moderation hereafter, the Biſhop was arreſted by the Marſhal, and committed to priſon in the Abby of St. *Albans*, but afterward without further cenſure ſet at liberty, till upon a conſpiracy of Lords, wherein he was a party, he was condemned to dye, tho through extremity of grief he prevented execution. But as for King *Richard* and *Edward Mortimer* Earl of *March*, enough was ſpoken by the Biſhop in both their behalfs to undo them both; and indeed K. *Richard* was ſoon after made away: The Earl ſecured himſelf by retiring far off, to his Lordſhip of *Wigmore*; avoiding the danger of Contention, by not entring the Liſts of Aſpiring. But although the Divine Providence, for cauſes hidden from human knowledge, gave way at this time to the advancement of the younger, the houſe of *Lancaſter*; yet in the third Generation after, the elder, the Houſe of *Clarence* recovered its right in K. *Edward* the Fourth; that we may know it is but ſtaying the leiſure of Heaven, for every one to have his Right, either in Perſon, or by Proxy.

But did K. *Richard* more hurt than good.

1400.

But whether incited by this Speech of the Biſhop, or otherwiſe out of the rancor of envy in ſome, and malice in others, it was not long after, before there grew in the minds of many both Lords and others, a malignant inclination towards

A Conspiracy of Lords, begun in the house of the Abbot of *Westminster.*

towards King *Henry*; and came first to be a Conspiracy in the House of the Abbot of *Westminster*. This Abbot was a kind of a Book-statesman, but better read in the Politicks of *Aristotle* than of *Solomon*; who remembring some words of K. *Henry*, which he had spoken long before, when he was but Earl of *Derby*, That Princes had too little, and Religious men too much; and fearing, lest being now King, he should reduce his words into act, he thought it better to use preventing Physick beforehand, than to stand to the hazard of a curing afterward: And thereupon invited to his house the discontented Lords; as namely, *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, *Thomas Holland* his Brother's Son, Duke of *Surrey*; *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Spencer* Earl of *Gloucester*, *John* Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Maudlin* one of K. *Richard*'s Chappel; who after dinner conferring together, and communicating their spleens against King *Henry* one with another, they resolved at last, both to take away the King's life, and of the way how to do it. The device was this; they would publish a solemn Justs to be holden at *Oxford*, at a day appointed, and invite the King to honour it with his presence; and there, in the time of acting the Justs, when all mens intentions should be otherwise busied, they would have him be murthered. This device was resolved on; Oaths for secrecy were taken; and Indentures sextipartite for performing conditions agreed upon between them, sealed and delivered. The Justs are proclaimed; the King is invited, and promiseth to come; secrecy of all hands kept most firmly to the very day. But though all other kept counsel, yet Fortune would not, but she discovered all; For it fortuned, that as the Duke of *Aumerle* was riding to the Lords to *Oxford*, against the day appointed, he took it in the way to go visit his Father the Duke of *York*; and having in his bosom the Indenture of Confederacy, his Father as they sat at dinner chanced to spy it, and asked what it was? to whom his Son answering, It was nothing that any way concerned him; By S. *George*, saith his Father, but I will see it; and therewithal snatching it from him, read it; and finding the Contents, and reviling his Son for being now the second time a Traitor, before to K. *Richard*, and now to King *Henry*, he commanded his Horses instantly to be made ready, and with all the speed he could make, rode to *Windsor*, where the King then lay: But the younger years of his Son out-rid him, and came to the Court before him; where locking the Gates, and taking the Keys from the Porter, pretending some special reason, he went up to the King, and falling on his knees, asked his Pardon. The King demanding, for what offence? He then discovered the whole Plot; which he had scarce done, when his Father came rapping at the Court-gates, and coming to the King, shewed him the Indenture of Confederacy which he had taken from his Son. This, tho it amazed the King, yet it informed him of the truth of the matter, whereof he was before doubtful; and thereupon lays aside his journey to see the Justings of others in jest, and takes care that he be not justled in earnest out of his Throne himself. In the mean time the Confederate Lords being ready at *Oxford*, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Aumerle*, nor seeing any preparation for the King's coming, were certainly persuaded that their Treason was discovered. Whereupon falling into consideration of the case they were in, they found there was no place left for them of Mercy, and therefore were to stand upon their Guard, and provide the best they could for their safety. To which purpose, the first thing they did was to apparel *Maudlin* in Princely Robes, a man as like to King *Richard* in countenance and personage as one man lightly can be to another, and give forth that he was King *Richard* escaped out of Prison, thereby to countenance their proceedings: The next thing was to dispatch Messengers to the King of *France*, and require his assistance. This done, they set forward in Battle-array towards *Windsor*, against King *Henry*; but finding him gone to *London* before they came, they then deliberated what course to take: Some advised to set K. *Richard* at liberty, before their counterfeit *Richard* should be discovered; others thought best to follow the King to *London*, and set upon him unprovided, and before he had gathered Forces. In this division of Advices, when they could not do both, they did neither; but as men amazed marched on, though they knew not well whither, till they came to *Colbrook*: By which time the King had gathered an Army of twenty thousand, and was marching towards them: But they not thinking so well of their Cause, that they durst put it to the trial of a Battel; or perhaps staying for aid out of *France*, withdrew themselves back to *Sunnings* near to *Reading*, where the young Queen lay: To whom their coming gave some flashes of comfort, but quenched before they were throughly kindled: And from thence they march to *Cicester*, where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* took up their lodging in one Inn; the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Gloucester* in another. And now a strange Accident, beyond the reach of all consultation, gave a period to their design; for who would think that a private company durst oppose those Lords, having their Army so near them? Yet the Bayliff of the Town (upon Intelligence no doubt that these Lords were up in Arms against the King) taking with him a company of Townsmen, in the night assaulted the Inn where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* lay; who thus assaulted made shift to defend themselves till Three a Clock in the afternoon: But then being in danger to be taken, a Priest, one of their company, set divers houses in the Town on fire, thinking thereby to divert the Assailants from prosecuting the Lords to save their Houses; but this inflamed them the more; and so hotly they pursued their assault, that they wounded the Duke and the Earl to death; who dying that night, their heads were stricken off and sent up to *London*. With them also were taken, Sir *Bennet Shelly*, Sir *Bernard Brocas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and eight and twenty other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen; who were sent to *Oxford*, where the King then lay,

Which was to invite the King to a Justs at *Oxford*, and there to seize upon him.

How discovered.

The Lords provide an Army, but are by the King dispersed.

By what accident.

lay, and there were put to execution. The Duke of *Exeter* in the other Inn, hearing of this aſſault, fled out of the backſide towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Army to the reſcue; but the Soldiers having heard a clamor, and ſeeing fire in the Town, ſuppoſing the King had been come with all his Forces, out of a ſudden fear diſperſed themſelves and fled; which the Duke ſeeing, he alſo with Sir *John Shelly*, fled into *Eſſex*, where wandring and lurking in ſecret places, he was at laſt apprehended as he ſate at ſupper in a friend's houſe, and led to *Plaſhey*, and there ſhortly after beheaded; the place, where by his counſel and countenance, the Duke of *Gloceſter* formerly had been apprehended: That we may obſerve how the Divine Providence in revenging of injuries takes notice, and makes uſe of the very circumſtance of place where the injuries are done. The Earl of *Gloceſter* fled towards *Wales*, but was taken and beheaded at *Briſtow*. *Maudlin*, the counterfeit King *Richard*, was apprehended and brought to the *Tower*, and afterwards hanged and quartered; with Mr. *Fereby*, another of King *Richard*'s Chaplains. Divers other Lords, and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great number of mean perſons, were in other places put to death; that ſo much Noble blood, at one time, and for one cauſe, hath ſcarce been heard or read of. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, in whoſe houſe the plot was contrived, hearing of theſe misfortunes, as he was going between the Monaſtery and his Manſion, fell ſuddenly into a Palſy; and ſhortly after, without ſpeech, ended his life. About this time alſo, a ſtrange piece of Treaſon is reported to have been practiſed againſt the King's life: That there was found in his Bed-cloaths an Iron with three ſharp ſpikes ſtanding upright; that when the King ſhould have laid him down, he might have thruſt himſelf upon them. But ſeeing there is no farther mention of inquiring after it, it ſeems to have been but an Idle rumor not worth believing.

Maudlin the counterfeit K. *Richard* is hanged and quartered.

Another Treaſon is practiſed againſt the King.

1402.

Owen Glendour ſtirreth up the *Welſh* to rebel.

But now that the hot *Engliſh* blood was well allayed, the *Welſh* blood ſprings up as hot; For now *Owen Glendour* an Eſquire of *Wales*, brought up at the Inns of Court in *London*, partly out of a deſire to revenge a wrong done him (as he conceived) in a ſuit for lands in controverſy between the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin* and him; but chiefly out of an humor of aſpiring, endeavoured to draw the *Welſhmen* to a general defection, telling them, that the *Engliſh* being at variance amongſt themſelves, now was the time to ſhake off their yoke, and to reſume their own ancient Laws and Cuſtoms. To whoſe perſuaſions the *Welſhmen* hearkening, made him their King and Captain; and he having gotten a competent Army, ſets firſt upon his Old Adverſary *Reynold* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, and takes him priſoner; yet with promiſe of releaſement, if he would marry his daughter; which offer tho the Lord *Grey* at firſt not only refuſed, but ſcorned, yet out of neceſſity at laſt he was contented to accept; when notwithſtanding his deceitful Father-in-Law trifled out the time of his enlargement till he died. But the *Welſhmen* growing confident upon this ſucceſs, break into the borders of *Herefordſhire*, making ſpoil and prey of the Country as freely as if they had leave to do it; for indeed none oppoſed them but only the Lord *Edmund Mortimer*, who had formerly withdrawn himſelf to the Caſtle at *Wigmore*, and having aſſembled the forces of the Countrey, and joining Battle with them, was taken Priſoner, and then fettered and caſt into a deep and vile Dungeon. It was thought if *Glendour* had as well known how to uſe his victory, as to get it, he might at this time have put the *Engliſh* yoke into a great hazard to be ſhaken off: But he having killed One thouſand of the *Engliſh*, thought he had done enough for that time, and ſo giving over the purſuit, retired. The inhumanity of the *Welſh* Women was here memorable, who fell upon the dead carkaſſes of the *Engliſh*, firſt ſtripping them, and then cutting off their privy parts and noſes; whereof the one they thruſt into their Mouth, the other they preſſed between their Buttocks. Many Noble men, eſpecially his Kinſmen the *Piercies* ſolicited King *Henry* to deliver *Mortimer*; but the King was deaf of that ear, he could rather have wiſhed both him and his two Siſters in Heaven, for then he ſhould be free from conceal'd Competitors.

Theſe affronts were at this time ſuffered in the *Welſh*, becauſe the King was now imployed in a more dangerous ſervice with the *Scots*; for they taking advantage of the diſtraction of the Kingdom (as it was always their cuſtom to do) had made an Inroad into the Countrey of *Northumberland*, and ſuddenly one night ſet upon the Caſtle of *Werk*, took and ſpoiled it, and then returned. In revenge whereof, the *Engliſh* invaded and ſpoiled certain Iſlands of the *Orkneys*. Then the *Scots* ſet forth a Fleet, under the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon*; but before he came to any action, he was encountred, and the greateſt part of his Fleet taken. But theſe were but ſuch affronts, as often happen between troubleſome neighbours; for all this while the Peace was ſtill in being between the Nations: But at laſt it brake out into an open War upon this occaſion. *Robert* King of *Scots* had offered to match his Son *David* with a Daughter of *George* Earl of *Dunbarre*, and had received money of him in part of her portion; and afterward, would neither ſuffer the Match to proceed, nor yet pay back the money: but married his Son to a Daughter of *Archibald* Earl of *Douglaſs*. Upon which indignity, *George* of *Dunbarre* flies into *England* to King *Henry*, and with his aid, makes divers incurſions into *Scotland*: Whereupon *Robert* King of *Scots* ſent to K. *Henry*, That if he would have the truce between them to continue, he ſhould deliver to him *George* of *Dunbarre*. K. *Henry* anſwered, That he had given him a ſafe conduct, and could not now recal it with his Honour; but as for continuing the Truce, K. *Robert* might do in that what he thought beſt. Upon this anſwer, the King of *Scots* preſently proclaimed War againſt him; but King *Henry* as ready in that matter as he, ſtayed not for King *Robert*'s invading of *England*: but himſelf with a puiſſant Army invaded *Scotland*, burning Caſtles and Cities, and not ſparing Churches and Religious Houſes. About the

The Peace between *England* and *Scotland* how it broke out into open war.

the end of *September*, he beſieged the Caſtle of *Maydens* in *Edenbourgh*; where Prince *David*, and the Earl of *Douglaſs* were: At which time, *Robert* D. of *Albany*, who in the King of *Scots* ſickneſs managed the buſineſs, ſent an Herald to K. *Henry*, proteſting upon his Honour, That if he would ſtay but ſix days he would give him Battle. K. *Henry* rewarded the Herald, and ſtayed; but ſix times ſix days paſſed, but neither the D. of *Albany*, nor any other for him appeared. And now Winter came on, victuals grew ſcant, and which was worſe, a Mortality began in the *Engliſh* Camp; for which cauſes K. *Henry* removed his ſiege and returned into *England*. As ſoon as he was gone, Sir *Patrick Hepborne* a *Scottiſh* man, having a good opinion of his valour, thought to do great matters; and with a competent Army of the men of *Lough-dean*, he invaded *Northumberland*, making great ſpoil, and loading his Soldiers with prey and priſoners: But in the Retreat marching looſly and licentiouſly, was ſet upon by the Earl of *Northumberland*, Vice-Warden, at a Town called *Neſbei*, where *Hepborne* himſelf and all the flower of *Lough-dean* were ſlain; Sir *John* and *William Cockborne*, Sir *Will. Buſſe*, *John* and *Tho. Hablington*, Eſquires, and a multitude of Common Soldiers taken Priſoners: On the *Engliſh* part few ſlain, and none of any rank or quality. In revenge whereof, *Archibald Douglaſs* with an Army of twenty thouſand entred *Northumberland*; but in a place called *Hamildon*, were encountred by the *Engliſh*, under the leading of *Henry* L. *Piercy*, ſurnamed *Hotſpur*, and *George* Earl of *March*, who put them to flight; and after the ſlaughter of Ten thouſand of them, took five hundred priſoners; whereof the chief were *Mordack* Earl of *Fife*, (Son of the General, who in the fight loſt one of his Eyes) *Thomas* Earl of *Murrey*, *Robert* Earl of *Angus*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Menteith*; and amongſt the ſlain, were Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gourden*, Sir *John Leviſton*, Sir *Alexander Ramſey*, and three and twenty other Knights.

The *French* aid *Owen Glendour*, but without ſucceſs.

In this mean time, *Glendour* of *Wales* had ſolicited the K. of *France* for aid, who ſent him Twelve hundred men of quality; but the winds were ſo contrary, that they loſt twelve of their Ships, and the reſt returned home. The *Engliſh* deriding this ill ſucceſs of the *French*, ſo exaſperated the *French* King, that preſently after, he ſent twelve thouſand, who landed ſafely, and joined with the *Welſh*; but as ſoon as they heard of the *Engliſh* Army's approach whether miſtruſting their own ſtrength, or ſuſpecting the *Welſhmens* faithfulneſs, they ran to their Ships, and diſgracefully went home.

K. *Henry* marries the Lady *Jane de Navarre*, the relict of *John Montford* ſurnamed the Conqueror.

King *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors lately ſent into *Britain* to fetch the Lady *Jane de Navarre*, Ducheſs of *Britain*, the relict of *John de Montford* ſurnamed the Conqueror, with whom the King by procurations had contracted Matrimony, in the beginning of *February* returned with her in ſafety: The King met her at *Wincheſter*, where the ſeventh of *February* the Marriage was ſolemnized.

About this time ſome affronts were offered by the *French*. *Valerian* Earl of St. *Paul*, with 1700 men landed in the *Iſle* of *Wight*, where he burnt two Villages and ſome few Cottages; but hearing the people of the Iſland to have aſſembled, he made haſte to his Ships, and returned home. Alſo *John* Earl of *Clermont* (the Heir of *Bourbon*) won from the *Engliſh* the Caſtles of St. *Peter*, St. *Mary*, and the *New Caſtle*: The Lord *de la Brett* won the Caſtle of *Calaſin*; places of great conſequence to the *Engliſh*.

Another Conſpiracy hatching againſt K. *Henry*, and why.

And now to make K. *Henry* ſenſible that a Crown can hardly ever ſet eaſy upon the head, if it be not ſet on right at firſt, a new Conſpiracy is hatching againſt him. The *Piercies* Earls of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, with *Henry Hotſpur*, began about this time to fall off from K. *Henry*; their reaſon was, *Firſt*, becauſe the King at their requeſt refuſed to redeem their Kinſman *Mortimer* from *Glendour*'s ſlavery; and then becauſe he denied them the benefit of ſuch priſoners as they had taken of the *Scots*, at *Hamildon*, or *Neſby*: Whereupon they went of themſelves, and procured *Mortimer*'s delivery, and then entred into a League offenſive and defenſive with *Glendour*; and by their Proxies, in the houſe of the Archdeacon of *Bangor*, they agreed upon a Tripartite Indenture under their hands and ſeals, to divide the Kingdom into three parts; whereby all *England* from *Severn* and *Trent*, *South* and *Eaſtward*, was aſſigned for the portion of the E. of *March*: all *Wales* and the lands beyond *Severn Weſtward*, were aſſigned to *Owen Glendour*: And all the remainder of land from *Trent Northward*, to be the portion of the Lord *Piercy*. In this, as *Glendour* perſuaded them, they thought they ſhould accompliſh a Prophecy; as tho K. *Henry* were the Mouldwarp curſed of God's own mouth, and they were the Lion, the Dragon and the Wolf which ſhould divide the land among them. In this mean time King *Henry*, not acquainted with this Conſpiracy, cauſed a Proclamation to be made, intimating that the Earl of *March* had voluntarily cauſed himſelf to be taken priſoner, to the end, the Rebels having him in their cuſtody, might pretend ſome colour for their Conſpiracy; and therefore he had ſmall reaſon to take care for his deliverance. Hereupon the *Piercies* aſſiſted with a Company of *Scots*, and drawing to their party the Earl of *Stafford* and *Richard Scroop* Archbiſhop of *York*, and many others, purpoſed to join with the Captain of the *Welſh*; but firſt they framed certain Articles againſt the King, and ſent them to him in writing; That he had falſified his Oath given at his landing, ſwearing, That he came but only to recover his Inheritance, and would not meddle with the King, or with the Crown. That moſt traiterouſly he had taken arms againſt his Sovereign Lord, impriſoned him, and then moſt barbarouſly cauſed him to be murthered. That ever ſince the death of King *Richard* he had unjuſtly kept the Crown from his Kinſman *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom of right it belonged. That upon no occaſion he had impoſed divers Taxes upon the people. That by his Letters he procured Burgeſſes and Knights of the Parliament to be choſen; for which cauſes and many other, they defied him, and vowed his deſtruction, and the reſtoring of the Earl of *March* to his right. King *Henry* could not but know, that all theſe Articles againſt him were true; yet ſeeing the knowing it hindered him not from ſeeking to get the Crown when he had it not, it could leſs hinder him from ſeeking to keep it now that he had it: And if he were able, being a private man, to get it from a

Articles framed by the Lords againſt K. *Henry*, and ſent unto him.

King, he was likely to be more able, being now a King to keep it from private men; and as for any Objections that Conſcience could make, he had enough to anſwer them all; For, if his Title were good againſt K. *Richard* by his Reſignation, it was good againſt *Mortimer* by his ſwearing Allegiance; and upon theſe grounds, with a mind as confident as if all circumſtances were of his ſide, he raiſed an Army, and marched towards the Lords, taking care they might by no means join with the *Welſh*; and about *Shrewsbury* on *Saturday*, St. *Mary Magdalen*'s Eve, he encountered them: In which fight tho the *Scots* and *Henry Hotſpur* ſhewed much valour, yet the victory reſted on the King's ſide; *Hotſpur* himſelf was ſlain, the Earl of *Worceſter* was taken priſoner, together with Sir *Richard Vernon*, Sir *Theobald Truſſel*, the Baron of *Kinderton*; and the reſt fled. On the King's part, (beſides the Earl of *Stafford*, who had that morning revolted from the Conſpirators) were ſlain, Sir *Hugh Shirley*, Sir *John Clifton*, Sir *John Cockayn*, Sir *Nicholas Cauſell*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *John Calverley*, Sir *John Maſſie* of *Puddington*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, and Sir *Robert Gauſell*; all which had been but that morning dubbed Knights, with Sir *Thomas Wendſley*, who died afterwards of his wounds; of Common Soldiers about 1600: but of the Conſpirators above 6000, whereof 36 the King ſlew with his own hands; but was once unhorſed by *Douglaſs*, who in his preſence ſlew Sir *Walter Blunt*, with divers others, that day in all things attired like to the King; for which exploit, *Douglaſs* (being after by the fall off his Horſe taken priſoner) was by the King's command carefully attended, and without Ranſom ſet at liberty. In this battel, the young Prince *Henry*, tho wounded in his face with an Arrow, yet was not wounded in his courage, but continued fighting ſtill. After this Victory, the King cauſed publick thanks to be given to God, and then cauſed the Earl of *Worceſter* to be beheaded, and many other of that Rebellion to be drawn, hanged and quartered, and their heads placed on *London-Bridge*: And then the King ſent his Son *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, with his whole Army into that Countrey; but before his coming, *Owen Glendour* was abandoned by all his Company; and lurking in the Woods, was there famiſhed: Many of his aſſociates were taken and put to death. Whilſt the Prince was in *Wales*, *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, of his own accord, came and ſubmitted himſelf to the King, proteſting his innocency, as not being once acquainted with any intent of Treaſon and Rebellion; whoſe excuſe the King received for the preſent with gentle language, the rather for that he had the poſſeſſion of *Berwick* Caſtle, and other places of ſtrength in his power: But yet he wiped not off the ſcore of his Miſdemeanors out of his mind.

1403. K. *Henry* with an Army encounters the Lords, where *Henry Hotſpur* is ſlain; the Earl of *Worceſter* taken priſoner, with divers others.

K. *Henry* ſlays 36 of his adverſaries with his own hands.

The Earl of *Worceſter* beheaded.

Owen Glendour lurking in the Woods, is famiſhed.

And now with the fourth year of his reign ended all the great Troubles of this K. *Henry* the Fourth. Thoſe that follow are but ſuch accidents as are frequent in all times both abroad and at home. The *Britains* under the leading of the Lord of *Du Caſtile*, ſpoiled the Town of *Plimouth*. In revenge whereof, the Weſtern-men, under command of *William Wilford*, ſet forth a Fleet, which arriving in *Britain*, took forty Ships laden with Oil and Wines, and burnt forty more. Again, the *French* landed a thouſand men in the *Iſle* of *Wight*, where they got together a great booty of Cattel; but the Iſlanders coming upon them took away their booty, and made many of them leave their Carkaſſes for a booty to the Iſland. Yet the *French* would not leave ſo; but a while after, as having gotten new ſpirits, they caſt Anchor before the *Iſle* of *Wight*; and require no leſs than to have the Iſland into their poſſeſſion: But a reſolute anſwer of the Iſlanders frighted them away, and made them glad they were gone. Soon after this the Duke of *Orleance*, brother to the *French* King, in a vaunting ſtile, ſent a challenge to K. *Henry* to meet him in the field, each of them to have a hundred in his Company. To which the King anſwered, *That for his own valour it had ſufficiently been tried; and for this Challenge of the Duke's, neither the Perſon nor the Cauſe were worthy of his undertaking.* Upon this refuſal of the King's, divers tants and jeers were bandied between them, till at laſt the Duke in great paſſion falls upon *Vergie* a Town in *Guyen*; but after three months aſſaulting it, being valiantly defended by Sir *Robert Antfield* and 300 *Engliſh* men, he was glad to give over with loſs, and return inro *France*. Preſently upon this the Admiral of *Britain*, accompanied with the Lord *Du Caſtile*, and Thirty ſale of Ships, attempted to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonſhire*, but were repelled, and the Lord *Du Caſtile*, and two of his Brothers, and four hundred of his men were ſlain, beſides two hundred taken priſoners; of whom the Lord *Baquevile* Marſhal of *Britain*, was one. After this five hundred men of Arms, five hundred Croſs-bows, and a thouſand *Flemmings*, under the conduct of the Earl of St. *Paul*, laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Mark*, three leagues from *Callice*; but firſt by Sir *Philip Hall* Captain of *Callice*, and after by Sir *Richard Aſton* Lieutenant of the *Engliſh Pale*, they were forced to retire and fly; the Earl of St. *Paul* eſcaped to St. *Omers*, but left many of his men of quality behind him, and more taken priſoners. After this *Thomas* D. of *Clarence*, the King's ſecond Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, with competent Forces entred the Haven of *Sluce*, where they burnt four Ships riding at Anchor, and returned to the relief of *Callice*, beſieged at that time by the *French*; and in the way took three Carricks of *Genoua* richly laden, and brought them into the Chamber of *Rye*. And theſe were the Troubles of this King abroad. About this time a Parliament was aſſembled at *Coventry*, which by ſome was called the Lay-mens Parliament, becauſe the Sheriffs were appointed, that none ſhould be choſen Knights for the Counties, nor Burgeſſes for the Cities and Towns, that had any skill of the Laws of the Land.

1404.

The Duke of *Orleance* ſends a challenge to K. *Henry*, and how he anſwers it.

But now at home the Reliques of the former Northern Rebellion began to revive; for now *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroop* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marſhal, the Lords *Haſtings*, *Faulconbridge*, and *Bardolf*, with divers others, conſpired at a time appointed, to meet upon *Yorks Would-Downs*, and there bid defiance to King *Henry*. Articles of Grievances were framed, and ſet up in all publick places, which drew multi-

1405. Another Conſpiracy againſt K. *Henry*.

multitudes to be partakers of the enterprize. But now *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmorland*, with the Lord *John* the King's third Son, the Lord *Henry Fitz Hughes*, *Ralph Evers*, and *Robert Humphreville* make head against them; and coming into a Plain in the Forest of *Galtree*, they sat down right against the Arch-Bishop and his Forces, which were twenty thousand; and *Westmorland* perceiving the Enemies Forces to be far more than theirs, he used this Policy: he sent to the Arch-Bishop, demanding the reason why he would raise Forces against the King? Who answering, That his Arms were not against the King, but for his own defence, whom the King upon the instigation of Sycophants had threatned: withal he sent him a scrowl of their grievance, which *Westmorland* read, and seemed to approve, and thereupon desired a conference with him. The Arch-Bishop more credulous than wise, perswaded the Earl Marshal to go with him to the place appointed to confer. The Articles are read and allowed of; and thereupon *Westmorland* seeming to commiserate the Soldiers, having been in armour all day, and weary, wished the Arch-Bishop to acquaint his party, as he would his, with this their mutual agreement; and so shaking hands, in most Courtly friendship drank unto him. Whereupon the Souldiers were willed to disband, and repair home; which they had no sooner done, but a Troop of Horse, which in a colourable manner had made a shew to depart, wheeled about, and afterward returned: and being come in sight of the Earl of *Westmorland*, arrested both the Arch-Bishop and the Earl Marshal, and brought them both Prisoners to the King at *Pomfret*; who passing from thence to *York*, the Prisoners likewise were carried thither, and the next day both of them beheaded. At *Durham* the Lords *Hastings* and *Faulconbridge*, with two Knights were executed. *Northumberland*, with the Lord *Bardolfe*, fled first to *Berwick*, and after into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David* Lord *Flemming*: whereupon the King gave summons to the Castle of *Berwick*; which at first they refused to obey, but upon the planting and discharging of a Piece, they presently yielded without composition; and here *William Graystock*, *Henry Baynton*, and *John Blunkensop*, Knights, and five others, were presently put to execution, and many others committed to several Prisons. About this time *James*, Son and Heir of *Robert* King of *Scotland*, a child of nine years old, attended by the Earl of *Orkney*, as he was sailing into *France*, was taken by certain Mariners of *Norfolk*, who brought him to the King at *Windsor*, the 30 of *March*, 1408. and the King sent them to the *Tower* of *London*.

But by a policy of the Earl of *Westmorland* defeated.

The Arch Bishop of *York*, and *Mowbray* Earl Marshal beheaded.

1408.

Northumberland and *Bardolfe*, after they had been in *Wales*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to raise a power against King *Henry*, returned back into *Scotland*; and after a year with a great power of *Scots* entered *England*, and came into *York-shire*, making great spoil and waste as they passed: but Sir *Thomas Rokesby* Sheriff of *York* levying the forces of the County, upon *Braunham-Moor* gave them Battel; in which *Northumberland* was slain, *Bardolfe* taken, but wounded to death, and the rest put to flight. About this time also Sir *Robert Umbrevile*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, with ten men of War entred *Scotland*, burnt their *Galiot*, and many other ships over-against *Leith*, and brought away with him fourteen tall Ships laden with Corn and other staple commodities, which at his return he sent into the Markets round about; and thereby brought down the prices of all things; and purchased to himself the name of *Mend-market*.

The Earl of *Northumberland* slain.

Sir *Robert Umbrevile* called *Mend-market*, and why.

The Prince had been a Student in Queens Colledge in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of his Unkle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellor of that University, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, and lastly made a Cardinal, by the title of *Eusebius*. From *Oxford* the Prince was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester* was made his Governour: but coming afterward to be at his own disposing, whether being by nature valorous, and yet not well stayed by time and experience; or whether incited by ill Companions, and emboldened by the opinion of his own greatness, he ran into many courses so unworthy of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he came to be King once. It is said he lay in wait for the Receivers of his Fathers Rents, and in the person of a thief set upon them and robbed them. Another time, when one of his Companions was arraigned for Felony before the Lord Chief Justice, he went to the Kings Bench Bar, and offered to take the Prisoner away by force; but being withstood by the Lord Chief Justice, he stepped to him, and struck him over the face; whereat the Judge nothing abashed, rose up and told him, That he did not this affront to him, but to the King his Father, in whose place he sate; and therefore to make him know his fault, he commanded him to be committed to the *Fleet*. You would have wondered to see how calm the Prince was in his own cause, who in the cause of his Companion had been so violent; for he quietly obeyed the Judges sentence, and suffered himself to be led to Prison. This passage was a little pleasing to the King, to think that he had a Judge of such courage, and a Son of such submission: but yet for these and such other pranks he removed him from being President of the Council, and placed in it his third Son *John*. This made the Prince so sensible of his Father's displeasure, that he thought it necessary to seek by all means to recover his good opinion; which he endeavour'd to do by a way as strange as that by which he lost it; for attiring himself in a garment of blue Sattin, wrought all with eyler-holes of black silk, at every hole the needle hanging by which it was sow'd, and about his arm a thing in fashion of a Hound's Collar, studded with S S. of Gold, he came to the Court at *Westminster*; to whom the King (though not well in health) caused himself, in a Chair, to be brought into his Privy Chamber; where in presence of but three or four of his Privy Council, he demanded of the Prince the cause of his unwonted habit and coming; who answered, That being not only his Subject but his Son, and a Son so tenderly always regarded by him, he were worthy of a thousand deaths if he should intend, or but imagine, the least offence to his Sacred Majesty; and therefore had fitted himself to be made a sacrifice: and therewithal reached his dagger, holding it by the point to

1410.

Prince *Henry's* disorderly courses.

He strikes the Lord Chief Justice, who commits him to the *Fleet*.

In what manner the Prince presents himself to his Father.

The King makes his Son *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and his Son *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glocester*; also Sir *Thomas Beaufort* he made Earl of *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Arundel* Duke of *York*.

his Father, For (said he) I desire not to live longer, than I may be thought to be what I am, and shall ever be, your faithful and obedient Vassal. With this or the like answer, the King was so moved, that he fell upon his Son's neck, and with many tears embracing him, confessed that his ears had been too open to receive reports against him; and promising faithfully, That from thenceforth no reports should cause any disaffection toward him. The King about this time made his Son *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and his Son *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glocester*; he made also Sir *Thomas Beaufort* Earl of *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Arundel* he created Duke of *York*.

1412.

The rest of K. *Henry*'s days, from this time forward, being scarce a year, was free from all trouble both abroad and at home, unless perhaps he might be troubled in mind for having shed so much *English* and Noble blood; for expiation whereof, or else to the end he might join Valour and Devotion in one Action together, which hitherto he but used singly, he took upon him the *Crusado*; and at a Council in *White-Friers*, order was taken, and great preparation was made for his journey to *Jerusalem*: But it was otherwise decreed in Heaven, and yet not so otherwise, but that he ended his life in *Jerusalem*, as shall be shewed hereafter.

K. *Henry* takes upon him the *Crusado*.

Of his Taxations.

IN the very beginning of his Reign, it might pass instead of a Taxation, that he found in K. *Richard*'s Coffers, in Money and Jewels, to the value of Seven hundred thousand pounds. In his fourth year, an extraordinary Subsidy was granted him; twenty shillings of every Knight's Fee, and of every one that had twenty shillings a year in Land, twelve pence, and upward, according to that rate; and of every one that had twenty pounds in goods, twelve pence, and upward, according to that rate; but with caution and protestation, That it should not hereafter be drawn for a precedent; and that no Record thereof should be made. In his sixth year the Clergy granted to the King a Tenth. In his seventh year the Clergy granted a tenth and a half, and the Commons two fifteens. In a Parliament holden the ninth year of his Reign, the King moved to have allowed him in every year, wherein there was no Parliament kept, a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity; to which demands the Bishops assented, but the Commons would not. In his seventeenth year a Parliament began, which lasted almost a whole year, in which a Subsidy was at last granted; so sharp, that even Priests and Friars who lived of Alms, were forced every one to pay a Noble.

Of Laws and Ordinances made in his time.

Controversies in Religion first punished by burning.

IN this King's days, burning and execution by fire for Controversies in Religion was first put in practice.

Also in the first year of his Reign, an Act was made, That no person of what degree soever, should after that day alledge for his excuse, any constraint or coarcting of his Prince for doing of any unlawful act; and that such excuse, after that day, should stand him in no stead.

Also an Act was made, That no Lord, nor other, might give any Liveries to any but their household and menial Servants. In his twelfth year, the King caused a new Coin of Nobles to be made, which was of less value than the old Noble by four pence.

Also that all Ripiers, and other Fishers from any of the Seacoasts, should sell their Fish in *Cornhill* and *Cheapside* themselves, and not to Fishmongers that would buy to sell again.

The *Duchy* Court instituted by King *Henry*.

Also this King instituted the *Duchy* Court, which he did in Honour of the House of *Lancaster*, to the end the Lands belonging to the *Duchy*, might in all following times be distinguished and known from the Lands of the Crown. In his sixth year, the King called a Parliament at *Coventry*, and sent Process to the Sheriffs, that they should chuse no Knights nor Burgesses that had any knowledge in the Laws of the Realm; by reason whereof, it was called the *Unlearned Parliament*. In his seventh year, the Major of *London*, for preservation of Fish, obtained, that all Wears which stood between *London* and seven miles beyond *Kingston*, as also such as stood between *London* and *Gravesend*, should be pulled up and taken away.

The unlearned Parliament, and why so called.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

BY reason of discord between *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishop either in durance could not, or in fear durst not come to the Parliament House at a time when the King required a supply of money; but the Clergy unanimously affirming, That without their Brother, the Bishop of *Winchester*'s presence, they neither can nor will consult of any thing; he is presently sent for, and by the King secured. In the Parliament last mention'd, the Commons presented a Petition to the King and the upper House, desiring that the King might have the Temporal possessions of the Bishops and Clergy; the value whereof they pretended would be sufficient maintenances for an hundred and fifty Earls, one thousand five hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and an hundred Hospitals for maimed Soldiers. They craved likewise, that Clerks convict should not be delivered to the Bishops Prison; and that the statute made in the second year of the King against *Lollards* might be repealed. But the King denied their Petition, and in Person commanded them from thenceforth not to presume to trouble their Brains about any such business, for he was resolved to leave the Church in as good state as he found it. In the twelfth year of his Reign certain learned men in *Oxford* in their Sermons maintained the Opinions of *Wickliffe*, but the Bishops and Doctors of the University inhibited and condemned them. In his time was great Schism in the Church, by reason of two Anti-Popes; but afterwards in an Assembly of Cardinals and Bishops, a third man was elected, named *Alexander* the fifth, who had been trained up at *Oxford*.

The Temporal possessions of the Clergy required to be given to the King; and how great it was.

A Schism in the Church, by two Anti-Popes.

Works

Works of Piety done in his time.

The Conduit in *Cornhil* begun to be built.

KIng *Henry* founded a College at *Battlefield* in *Shropshire*, where he overcame the Lord *Henry Piercy*. In his third year the Conduit upon *Cornhil* was begun to be built. Also in his time Sir *Robert Knolls* made the Stone-Bridge of *Rochester* in *Kent*; and founded in the Town of *Pontfret* a College and an Hospital: He also re-edified the body of the *White-Friers* Church in *Fleetstreet*, where he was afterward buried: Which Church was first founded by the Ancestors of the Lord *Grey* of *Codnor*. In the eighth year of his Reign, *Richard Whittington* Mayor of *London* erected an House or Church in *London*, to be a house of Prayer, and named it after his own name, *Whittington College*, with lodgings and weekly allowance for divers poor people. He also builded the Gate of *London*, called *Newgate*, in the year 1420. which was before a most loathsome prison. He builded also more than half of St. *Bartholomew*'s Hospital in *West-Smithfield*, and the beautiful Library in the *Grey-Friars* in *London*, now called *Christ*'s Hospital. He also builded a great part of the East end of *Guildhall*, and a Chappel adjoining to it, with a Library of Stone, for the custody of the Records of the City. But he that exceeded all at this time in Works of Piety, was *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*; his first Work was the building of a Chappel at *Tichfield*, where his Father, Mother, and Sister *Perrot* were buried: Next he founded at *Southwick* in *Hampshire*, near the Town of *Wickham*, the place of his birth, as a supplement to the Priory of *Southwick*, a Chauntry, with allowance for Five Priests for ever. He bestowed Twenty thousand Marks in repairing the Houses belonging to the Bishoprick: He discharged out of prison in all places of his Diocess, all such poor prisoners as lay in execution for Debt under Twenty pounds: He amended all the Highways from *Winchester* to *London*, on both sides the River. After all this, on the fifth of *March*, 1379. he began to lay the foundation of that Magnificent Structure in *Oxford*, called *New-College*, and in person laid the first stone thereof; in which place before, there stood St. *Neot*'s Hall, built by K. *Alfred* at St. *Neot*'s intreaty; and for the affinity of the name, came to be called *New-College*. In the year 1387. on the 26 of *March*, he likewise in person laid the first stone of the like foundation in *Winchester*, and dedicated the same as that other in *Oxford* to the Memory of the Virgin *Mary*. The Grocers in *London* purchased their Hall in *Cunny-hope-Lane* for 320 Marks; and then laid the foundation thereof on the Tenth of *May*. K. *Henry* founded the College of *Fodering bey* in *Northamptonshire*; to which K. *Henry* the Fifth gave Land of the Priories of *Monks aliens*, by him suppressed.

William Wickham Bishop of *Winchester*, his Works of Piety.

He builded *New-College* in *Oxford*.

Also the like College in *Winchester*.

John Gower the famous Poet, his Work of Piety.

John Gower, the famous Poet, new builded a great part of St. *Mary Overy*'s Church in *Southwark* where he lies buried. In the second year of this King, a new Market in the *Poultrey*, called the *Stocks*, was builded for free sale of Foreign Fishmongers and Butchers. In his twelfth year the *Guildhall* of *London* was begun to be new edified; and of a little Cottage made a goodly house, as now it is. Also in this King's time *John Colepepper*, one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas, founded a free School with competent yearly maintenance in West *Peckam* in *Kent*.

The *Stocks* in the *Poultrey* builded. *Guildhall* in *London* began to be builded.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN his third year, in the Month of *March*, appeared a blazing Star; first betwixt the East and the North, and then sending forth fiery beams towards the North: Fore-shewing perhaps the effusion of blood that followed after in *Wales* and *Northumberland*. In the same year at *Danbury* in *Essex*, the Devil appeared in likeness of a Gray Friar; who entring the Church put the people in great fear, and the same hour with a Tempest of Whirlwind and Thunder the top of the Steeple was broken down, and half the Chancel scattered abroad. In his seventh year, such abundance of water brake suddenly over the Banks in *Kent*, that it drowned Cattle without number. Also in this year the Town of *Royston* in *Hertfordshire* was burnt. In his ninth year was so sharp a Winter, and such abundance of Snow, continued *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, that almost all small Birds died through hunger.

The Devil appears in likeness of a Gray-Friar.

A Snow that continued four Months.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, the first was *Mary*, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Essex*, and *Northampton*; she died before he came to the Crown, in the year 1394. His second Wife was *Jone*, Daughter to *Charles* the first King of *Navarre*, she being the Widow of *John de Montford*, surnamed *Streany*, or the Conquetor, Duke of *Britain*; who died without any issue by King *Henry*, at *Hotsering* in *Essex*, the year 1437. in the fifteenth year of K. *Henry* the sixth, and lieth buried by her Husband at *Canterbury*. He had four Sons and two Daughters; of his Sons, *Henry* his eldest was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Father, King of *England*. His second Son was *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester*, and Steward of *England*; who was slain at *Beaujay* in *Anjou*, and died without issue. His third Son was *John* Duke of *Bedford*; he married first with *Anne* Daughter of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*; and secondly with *Jacobe* Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxemburgh*, Earl of St. *Paul*, but died also without issue. His fourth Son was *Humphrey*, by his Brother K. *Henry* the fifth created Duke of *Glocester*, and was generally called the good Duke; he had two Wives, but died without Issue, in the year 1446, and was buried at St. *Albans*; though the vulgar opinion be, that he lies buried in St. *Paul*'s Church. Of K. *Henry* the Fourth's daughters, *Blanch* the elder was married to *Lewis Barbatus*, *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Prince Elector: *Philippa* his younger daughter was married to *John* K. of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

CConcerning his body, He was of middle stature, slender limbs, but well proportioned.

Concerning

Concerning his mind, of a ſerious and ſolid diſpoſition, and one that ſtood more upon his own legs than any of his Predeceſſors had done; in caſes of difficulty not refuſing, but not needing the advice of others, which might confirm, but not better his own. He was neither merry nor ſad, but both: beſt pleaſed when he was oppoſed, becauſe this was like to do him good by ſharpning his invention; moſt angry when he was flattered, becauſe this was ſure to do him hurt, by dulling his Judgment. No man ever more loved, nor leſs doated upon a Wife than he. A good Husband, but not uxorious; that if there be reins to that paſſion, we may know he had them. It may be thought he affected the Crown, no ſo much out of Ambition as out of Compaſſion, becauſe the oppreſſions of his Countrey he could not ſo well help being a Subject, as a King; for otherwiſe we may truly ſay, he was a loſer by the Crown, being not ſo great for a King, as he was before for a Subject. The Crown rather was a gainer by him, which hath ever ſince been the richer for his wearing it. We may think he was either weary of his life, or longing for death; for why elſe would he take upon him the *Cruſade*, having been told by a skilful Soothſayer, That he ſhould dye in *Jeruſalem*? but it ſeems he did not believe him.

Of his Death and Burial.

He dies of an Apoplexy.

IN the forty ſixth year of his Age, having Peace both at home and abroad, and being of too active a ſpirit to be idle, he took upon him the *Cruſade*, and great proviſion was made for his Journey to *Jeruſalem*; but alas, his Journey to *Jeruſalem* required no ſuch proviſion; for being at his Prayers at St. *Edward*'s ſhrine, he was ſuddenly taken with an Apoplexy, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*'s houſe, where recovering his ſenſes, and finding himſelf in a ſtrange place, he asked what place it was? and being told that he was in the Abbots houſe, in a Chamber called *Jeruſalem*: Well then (ſaid he) Lord have mercy upon me, for this is the *Jeruſalem* where I Soothſayer told me I ſhould dye. And here he died indeed, on the 20. day of *March*, in the year 1412. when he had lived ſix and forty years, reigned Thirteen and a half. It is worth remembring, That all the time of his ſickneſs, his will was to have his Crown ſet upon his bolſter by him; and one of his fits being ſo ſtrong upon him, that all Men thought him directly dead, the Prince coming in, took away the Crown: when ſuddenly the King recovering his ſenſes, miſſed his Crown, and asking for it, was told the Prince had taken it: whereupon the Prince being called, came back with the Crown, and kneeling down, ſaid, *Sir, to all our Judgments, and to all our Griefs, you ſeemed directly dead, and therefore I took the Crown as being my Right: but ſeeing to all our Comforts, you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully than I took it, and pray God you may long live to wear it your ſelf.* Well (ſaith the King ſighing) what right I had to it, God knows. *But* (ſaith the Prince) *if you dye King, my Sword ſhall maintain it to be my Right againſt all oppoſers.* Well (ſaith the King) I refer all to God: but I charge thee on my Bleſſing, That thou adminiſter the Laws indifferently, avoid Flatterers, defer not to do Juſtice, or be ſparing of mercy. And then turning about, ſaid, *God bleſs thee, and have mercy on me.* And with thoſe words gave up the Ghoſt. His body with all Funeral Pomp was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there ſolemnly buried.

His Admonitions to the Prince.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF Men of Valour in his time, of whom there was ſtore, I ſhall need to ſay no more than what hath already been ſaid in the body of the ſtory; only I cannot but remember Sir *Robert Knolls*, who was born of mean parentage, made himſelf famous over all Chriſtendom, and dying at a Mannor of his in *Norfolk*, was brought to *London*, and buried in the Church of the White-Friars in *London*, which himſelf had re-edified. But for men of Learning, I muſt ſet in the firſt place, *William Wickham* a man of no Learning, yet well worthy to hold the place. In relating of whoſe life, I muſt have leave to expatiate a little. His Father's name was *John Long*, or as ſome ſay, *Perot*; but as *Camplan* proveth, *Wickham*; and not from the place of his dwelling, though he was Pariſh-Clerk of *Wickham* in *Hampſhire*, where he taught Children to write: In which quality his Son *William* proved ſo excellent, that *Nicholas Woddal*, Conſtable of *Wincheſter* Caſtle, took him from his Father, and kept him at School, firſt at *Wincheſter*, afterward at *Oxford*; till himſelf being made Surveyor-General of the King's Works, he ſent for this *William* to ſerve him as his Clerk: who in ſhort time grew ſo expert in that imployment, that *Adam Tarleton* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, commended him to the King, who imployed him preſently in ſurveying his Fortifications at *Dover* and *Queenborough* Caſtles, and afterward made him Surveyor of his Buildings at *Windſor* Caſtle, and his Houſes of *Henly* and *Eaſt-Hampſtead*. And here firſt Envy roſe up againſt him, for having cauſed to be Engraven on a ſtone of a Wall at *Windſor* Caſtle, theſe words, *This made William Wickham*: Some that envied his riſing, complained to the King of his inſolency, as arrogating to himſelf, that excellent piece of Building to be done at his charge: but *Wickham* called before the King about it, made anſwer, That his meaning was not, neither by any indifferent Conſtruction could it import, that *Wickham* made that building, but that the ſame Building made *Wickham*, as being a means of the King's great favour toward him: This anſwer pacified the King, who took him daily more and more into his favour, and being now entred into the Miniſtry, was firſt made Parſon of St. *Martins* in the Fields, then Miniſter of St. *Martins le Grand*, afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Provoſt of *Wells*, and Rector of *Manybins* in *Devonſhire*; ſo as at one time he had in his hand ſo many Eccleſiaſtical Livings, that the value of them in the King's Books amounted to eight hundred ſeventy ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings; beſides which, he was honoured with many Temporal places of great profit and reſpect, as to be his Principal Secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Maſter of the Wards and Liveries, Treaſurer of the King's Revenues in *France*, and ſome other Offices. After which

William Wickham his parentage and riſing.

the

the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* falling void, means was made to the King to beſtow that place upon him. And here, the ſecond time, did envy riſe up againſt him, informing the King that he was a man of little or no learning, and no way fit for ſuch a dignity: Whereupon the King made ſtay of granting it; but when *Wickham* came before the King, and told him, That what he wanted in perſonal learning, he would ſupply with being a founder of Learning: This ſo ſatisfied the King, that he beſtowed the place upon him. After this he was made Lord-Treaſurer of *England*; and here the third time did envy riſe up againſt him: For the King requiring of his Subjects a ſupply of money, it was anſwered, That he needed no other ſupply than to call his Treaſurer to accompt. This blow ſtruck deep upon the Biſhop; for he was preſently charged to give accompt for eleven hundred ninety ſix thouſand pounds: And whilſt he was buſy in preparing his accompt, all his Temporalities, upon importunity of *John* of *Gaunt*, were ſeiſed into the King's hands, and given to the Prince of *Wales*; and himſelf upon pain of the King's diſpleaſure, commanded not to come within twenty miles of the Court. In this caſe he diſmiſſeth his Train, and ſendeth copies abroad of his accompt, if it might be received; but was hindred by the working of *John* of *Gaunt* againſt him, upon this ground (as was thought.) Q. *Philippa*, Wife to K. *Edward* the Third, upon her Death-bed, by way of Confeſſion, told *Wickham*, that *John* of *Gaunt* was not the lawful Iſſue of K. *Edward*, but a ſuppoſititious Son: For when ſhe was brought to bed at *Gaunt* of a Daughter, knowing how deſirous the King was to have a Son, ſhe exchanged the Daughter with a *Dutch* Woman for a Boy whereof ſhe had been delivered about the ſame time with the Queen. Thus much ſhe confeſſed, and withal made the Biſhop ſwear, That if the ſaid *John* of *Gaunt* ſhould at any time either directly or indirectly attempt the Crown, or that rightfully, through want of Iſſue, it ſhould devolve unto him, that then he ſhould diſcover this matter, and make it known unto the King and Council. Afterward the Queen being dead, and the Biſhop finding *John* of *Gaunt*, as he thought, too much aſpiring, he ſecretly told him this relation, and this adjuration of his ſuppoſed Mother, adviſing him not to ſeek higher than a private ſtate; for elſe he was bound by an Oath to make it known to all the World. Thus far the Biſhop did well; but when he ſaw the Son of *John* of *Gaunt* not only aſpiring, but poſſeſſed of the Crown, Why did he not then diſcover it, and join at leaſt with the Biſhop of *Carlile* in oppoſing it? Certainly, we may know, that either the whole relation was but a Fable, or that *Wickham* was a Temporizer, or that *John* of *Gaunt* was a moſt patient man, to ſuffer the affront of ſuch an indignity, with leſs than the death of him that did it. But howſoever it was, it is certain, the Duke bore a mortal grudge to the Biſhop: Who had no way to withſtand ſuch an Enemy, but by making *Alice Pierce* his friend, by whoſe means, after two years, he was reſtored to all his Livings; and afterward K. *Edward* being dead, and *Alice Pierce* baniſhed, by the means of a greater friend than *Alice Pierce* (his full purſe) he obtained in the ſecond year of K. *Richard*, a general Pardon under the great Seal of *England*; and from that time forward enjoyed a quiet life, and died in the fourth year of this K. *Henry* the Fourth, being then of the age of above Eighty years, and lieth buried in the Church of St. *Swithins* in *Wincheſter*, in a Monument of his own making in his life-time; leaving for his Heir *Thomas Perrot*, the Son of his Siſter *Agnes*, married to *William Perrot*.

John of *Gaunt* ſaid to be a ſuppoſitious Son.

Another great example of the volubility of Fortune in Profeſſors of Learning, was *Roger Walden*, who died in the ninth year of this King: He was at firſt a poor Scholar in *Oxford*; and the firſt ſtep of his riſing, was to be a Chaplain in the College there of St. *Mary*'s; from thence by degrees he got to be Dean of *York*; and after this, a high ſtep, to be Treaſurer of *England*; and yet a higher after that upon the baniſhment of *Thomas Arundel*, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but being now at the top, he came down again: For in this King's time, *Thomas Arundel* being reſtored to the Archbiſhoprick, *Walden* was not only put out of that place, but was called to accompt for the Treaſureſhip; and though he ſhewed his *Quietus eſt*, yet all his Temporalities were ſeized, and his perſon impriſoned, till by the mediation of the now Archbiſhop *Arundel*, he was made Treaſurer of *Callice*, and after promoted to be Biſhop of *London*.

Roger Walden his Riſing and Fall.

The next place after theſe, is juſtly due to *Geoffry Chaucer*, and *John Gower*, two famous Poets in this time, and the Fathers of *Engliſh* Poets in all the times after. *Chaucer* died in the fourth year of this King, and lieth buried at *Weſtminſter*: *Gower*, in this King's ninth year, and was buried at St. *Mary Overy*'s Church in *Southwark*. And now come others to be remembred, who lived and died in this King's time. *Hugh Legate* born in *Hertfordſhire*, a Monk of St. *Albans*, who wrote *Scholies* upon *Boetius de Conſolatione*. *Nicholas Gorham*, born alſo in *Hertfordſhire*, a Dominick Friar, and the *French* King's Confeſſor, tho an *Engliſh* man; *Walter Diſſe*, ſo called of a Town in *Norfolk*, where he was born, Confeſſor to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. *Lawrence Holbeck*, a Monk of *Ramſey*, who wrote an Hebrew Dictionary. *John Cotton* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*. *Richard Scroop*, brother to *William Scroop* Lord-Treaſurer of *England*, made Archbiſhop of *York*; and writing an invective againſt K. *Henry*, loſt his head. *William Thorpe*, an earneſt follower of *John Wickliffe*, for which he was committed to *Saltwood* Caſtle, where he died. *Stephen Patrington*, born in *Yorkſhire*, and *Robert Maſcal*, a *Carmelite* Friar of *Ludlow*, both of them Confeſſors to K. *Henry* the Fifth. *Boſton*, a Monk of the Abby of *B[illegible]* in *Suffolk*, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church, and other Treatiſes. *John Purvey*, who was convented for teaching Doctrine contrary to the Church of *Rome*, and compelled to recant. *Thomas Rudburn* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, who wrote a Chronicle. *Nicholas Riſton*, who conſidering the ſtriſe between the then Anti-Popes, wrote a Book *De tollendo Schiſmate*. *Robert Wanſham* a Monk in *Dorſetſhire*, who wrote a Book in Verſe;

Verſe; *Of the Original and Signification of words*; *Robert Wimbledon* an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon he made upon this Text, *Redde Rationem Villicationis tuæ.*

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Thomas Knolls* was Mayor.
William Waldren, William Hende, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Sir *John Francis* was Mayor.
John Wakel, William Ebot, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *John Shadworth* was Mayor.
William Venor, John Fremingham, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
John Walcot was Major.
Richard Marlow, Robert Chichely, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *William Aſcham* was Mayor.
Thomas Falconer, Thomas Pool Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
John Hinde was Mayor.
William Louth, Stephen Spilman, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Sir *John Woodcock* was Mayor.
Henry Barton, William Cromer Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *Richard Whittington* was Mayor.
Nicholas Watton, Geoffry Brooke Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *William Standon* was Mayor.
Henry Pontfract, Henry Halſton, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *Drew Barentine* was Mayor.
Thomas Buck, William Norton, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Richard Marlow was Mayor.
John Law, William Chichely, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *Thomas Knolls* was Mayor.
John Penne, Thomas Pike, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *Robert Chichely* was Mayor.
John Raimvel, William Cotton, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
William Waldren was Mayor.
Ralph Lovenham, William Sevenoke Sheriffs.

THE

THE REIGN OF King HENRY V.

An. Dom. 1412.

HENRY of *Monmouth* (ſo called from the place in *Wales* where he was born) eldeſt Son of King *Henry* the Fourth, ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*, to whom the Lords of the Realm ſwore Homage and Allegiance before he was yet Crowned; an Honour never done before to any of his Predeceſſors: and afterwards on the ninth of *April*, in the year 1412. he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Solemnities in ſuch caſe accuſtomed: And as the Scripture ſpeaks of *Saul*, *That as ſoon as Samuel had anointed him King, he had a new heart given him, and he became another man than he was before*; ſo was it with this King *Henry*. For preſently after his Coronation, he called before him all his Companions, who had been *fratres in malo* with him, ſtrictly charging them not to preſume to come within ten miles of his Court, until ſuch time as they had given good proof of their amendment in manners; and leſt any of them ſhould pretend want of maintenance to be any cauſe of their taking ill courſes, he gave to every one of them a competent means whereby to ſubſiſt. And knowing (as he did) the faſhion of the *Scots* and *Welſh*, that in time of change they would commonly take advantage to make Inroads upon the Borders, he therefore cauſed Forts and Bulwarks in fit places to be erected, and placed Gariſons in them, for preventing or repelling any ſuch incurſions. Immediately after this, he called a Parliament, where a Subſidy was granted without asking; and in this Parliament the Commons began to harp upon their old ſtring of taking away the Temporalties of the Clergy: and the Biſhops fearing how it might take in the King's Ears, thought it beſt to divert him, by ſtriking upon another ſtring, which they knew would be more pleaſing to him, which was, to ſhew him the great right he had to the Crown of *France*. And thereupon *Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in a long Narration deduced the King's right from *Iſabel* Daughter to *Philip* the Fourth, married to King *Edward* the Second; from whom it deſcended by direct line to his Majeſty, and no hinderance of enjoying it, but pretenſion of the *Salique* Laws; which (ſaid he) was neither according to the Law of God, nor yet intended at firſt to that Nation: and though his Predeceſſors by reaſon of their Incumbrances forbore to proſecute their claim, yet he being free from all ſuch incumbrances, had no leſs power than right to do it. This indeed ſtruck upon the right ſtring of the King's inclination; for as he affected nothing more than true glory, ſo in nothing more than in Warlike Actions. Hereupon nothing was now thought of, but the conqueſt of *France*. Firſt therefore he begins to alter in his Arms the bearing of *Semy-de-Luces*, and quarters the Three *Flower-de-Luces*, as the Kings of *France* then bare them; and that he might not be thought to ſteal advantage, but to do it fairly, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Charles* the ſixth, then King of *France*, requiring in peaceable manner the ſurrender of the Crown of *France*; which if he would yield unto, then King *Henry* would take to Wife his Daughter *Katherine*; but if he refuſed to do it, then King *Henry* would with Fire and Sword enforce it from him, or loſe his life. The Ambaſſadors ſent, were the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord High Admiral, and the Biſhop of *Norwich*, with five hundred Horſe; who coming to the Court of *France*, were at firſt received and feaſted with all the honour and ſhew of kindneſs that might be; but as ſoon as their Meſſage was delivered, and that it was known what they came about, the Copy of their entertainment was altered, and they were ſent away with as little Complement, as they were before received with Honour; only told, That the King would ſpeedily make anſwer to the King their Maſter by his own Ambaſſadors; and ſpeedily indeed he did it; for the Earl of *Vendoſm*, *William Baratier* Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, *Peter Freſnel*, Biſhop of *Lyſeaux*, with others, were arrived in *England*, as ſoon almoſt as the *Engliſh* were returned. But being come, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* made a long Oration in the praiſe of Peace, concluding with the tender of the Lady *Katherine*, and 50000 Crowns with her in Dower, beſides ſome Towns of no great importance. To which King *Henry* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made anſwer, that theſe offers were trifles, and that without yielding to his Demands, he would never deſiſt from that he intended. And with this anſwer the *French* Ambaſſadours were diſmiſſed. It is ſaid, That about this time the Dauphin (who in the King of *France* his ſickneſs managed the State) ſent to K. *Henry* a Tun of Tennis Balls, in deriſion of his youth, as fitter to play with them, than to manage Arms; which

K. *Henry* hath homage ſworn to him before he was Crowned.

Being once Crowned, he diſcharged all his diſorderly Companions.

A Subſidy granted him without asking.

The Biſhops ſhew him his right to the Crown of *France*.

He quarters in his Arms the three *Flower-de-luces*.

He ſends Ambaſſadours into *France* to claim the ſurrender of the Crown.

The King of *France* returns anſwer by his Ambaſſadours.

The Dauphin of *France* ſends K. *Henry* a Tun of *Tennis*-Balls in deriſion, and King *Henry*'s Anſwer.

A Treaſon diſcovered againſt K. *Henry*.

Richard Earl of *Cambridg*, *Henry* Lord *Scroop*, Lord Treaſurer, and *Thomas Grey* Earl of *Northumberland* put to death.

1415.

K. *Henry* paſſeth with an Army into *France*.

His Devotion.

King *Henry* took in ſuch ſcorn, that he promiſed with an Oath, it ſhould not be long ere he would toſs ſuch Iron Balls amongſt them, that the beſt Arms in *France* ſhould not be able to hold a Racket to turn them. And now all things are prepared and in a readineſs for the King's Journey into *France*, his men ſhipped, and himſelf ready to go on Shipboard; when ſuddenly a Treaſon was diſcovered againſt his Perſon, plotted by *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Lord *Scroop* of *Maſham* Lord Treaſurer, and *Thomas Grey* Earl of *Northumberland*, and plotted and procured by the *French* Agents. Theſe being apprehended, and upon examination confeſſing the Treaſon, and the money (which was ſaid to be a Million of Gold) by them for that end received, were all of them immediately put to death. From this *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, ſecond Son of *Edmund* of *Langly*, did *Richard* afterward Duke of *York* claim and recover the Crown from the *Lancaſtrian* Family. This Execution done, and the wind blowing fair, K. *Henry* weighs Anchor, and with a Fleet of 1200 Sail, (*Grafton* ſaith but 140 Ships) but *Enguerant* ſaith 1600. attended with Six thouſand Spears, and 14000 Foot, beſides Engineers and Labourers, he puts to Sea; and on our Lady Eve landed at *Caux*, where he made Proclamation, that no man upon pain of death ſhould rob any Church, or offer violence to any that were found unarmed: and from thence paſſing on, he beſieged *Harfleu*; which when no ſuccour came within certain days agreed upon, the Town was ſurrendered and ſacked. Of this Town he made the Duke of *Exeter* Captain, who left there for his Lieutenant Sir *John Falſtaffe*, with a Garriſon of 1500 men. It is ſaid, that when King *Henry* entred *Harfleu*, he paſſed along the ſtreets bare-foot, until he came to the Church of St. *Martin*; where with great devotion he gave moſt humble thanks to God for this firſt atchieved Enterprize. From thence he marched forward, and coming to the River of *Soame*, he found all the Bridges broken; whereupon he paſſed on to the Bridge of St. *Maxenæ*, where 30000 *French* appearing, he pitcht his Camp, expecting to be fought with; and the more to encourage his men, he gave the Order of Knighthood to *John* Lord *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *Reynold Grayſtock*, *Piercy Tempeſt*, *Chriſtopher Moriſby*, *Thomas Pickering*, *William Huddleſton*, *Henry Mortimer*, *John Hoſbalton*, *Philip Hall*; but not perceiving the *French* to have any mind to fight, he marched by the Town of *Amyens* to *Bowes*, and there ſtayed two days, expecting Battle; and from thence marched to *Corby*, where the Peaſants of the Countrey, with certain men of Arms ſent from the Dauphin, charged the right Wing of the *Engliſh*, which was led by *Hugh Stafford* Lord *Bourchier*, and won away his Standard, but was recovered again by *John Bromeley* of *Bromeley*, Commander in the Lord *Stafford*'s Regiment, who with his own hand ſlew him that had taken the Colours; and then taking them up, diſplayed the ſame, with ſight whereof, the *Engliſh* were ſo encouraged, that they preſently routed the *French*, and put them to flight; which valiant exploit, the Lord *Stafford* recompenced, by giving to *Bromeley* an Annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his Lands of *Staffordſhire*. After this the King marched towards *Callice*, ſo ſtrictly obſerving his Proclamation againſt Church-robbing; that when one was complained of for having taken a Silver Pixe out of a Church, he not only cauſed the ſame to be reſtored, but the Soldier alſo to be hanged: which point of Diſcipline both kept the reſt from offending in that kind, and drew the people of the Countrey under-hand to relieve his men with all things neceſſary. The *French* King hearing that King *Henry* had paſſed the River of *Soame*, by advice of his Council, (who yet were divided in opinion) ſent *Montjoy* the *French* King at Arms to defie King *Henry*, and to let him know he ſhould be fought with; which King *Henry*, though his Army was much infected with Fevers, whereof the Earl of *Stafford*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, the Lord *Molines* and *Burnel*, were lately dead; yet he willingly heard, and rewarded the Herald for his meſſage; and firſt having cleared a paſſage over the Bridge, where of neceſſity he was to paſs, on the 22. of *October* he paſſed over with his Army. At which time the Duke of *York* that led the Rereward, had diſcovered the Enemy to come on apace; whereof he ſent word to the King, who thereupon made a ſtand, and appointing his Officers what courſe to hold, and encouraging his Souldiers, they all attended when the Battle ſhould begin. The *French* Army was divided into three Battels; in the firſt were placed Eight thouſand men at Arms, four thouſand Archers, and fifteen hundred Croſs-bows, the Wings conſiſting of Two thouſand two hundred men at Arms. This Battel was led by the Conſtable of *France* himſelf, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Ewe*, *Richmond* and *Vendoſme*, the Lord *Dampier* the Lord Admiral of *France*, the Admiral *Buciqualt*, and others. The middle Battel, wherein were more men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of *Barre* and *Alanſon*, and by the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Salings*, *Blamont*, *Grantpee*, and *Rouſey*. In the Rereward were all the Remainder of the *French* Forces, guided by the Earls of *Marle*, *Dampmartin*, *Fauconbridge*, and the Lord *Lorney*, Captain of *Ardy*. The *Frenchmen* thus ordered, being ſix times, ſome ſay ten times as many as the *Engliſh*, (who were not above nine thouſand) thought of nothing but of the booty they ſhould get. In the mean time King *Henry* having made choice of a piece of ground half fenced on his back with the Village, wherein they had reſted the night before, on both ſides having ſtrong hedges and ditches, begun there to order his Battel; but firſt he appointed an ambuſh of two hundred Archers, which upon a watch-word given, ſhould diſcharge their whole flight upon the whole flank of the Enemies Horſe. The Vauntguard conſiſting of Archers only, was conducted by the Duke of *York*, who out of an Heroick courage made ſuit for that place; with whom were joyned the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope*. The main Battel was led by the King himſelf, which conſiſted of Bill-men, and ſome Bow-men: with him were the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother

His ſtrict Diſcipline.

The *French* Army how marſhalled.

Six times as many as the *Engliſh*.

K. *Henry*'s Army how marſhalled.

ther, the Earl Marſhal, *Oxford*, and *Suffolk*. The Rereward was led by *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, the King's Uncle, conſiſting of all ſorts of weapons; the Horſemen as wings guarded the companies on both ſides. The King to prevent the fury of the *French* Cavalry, by the direction of the Duke of *York*, appointed divers ſtakes ſtudded with Iron at both ends, of ſix foot long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and appointed Pioneers to attend to remove them, as they ſhould be directed. Theſe things thus ordered, publick Prayers were humbly made, and the Onſet was preſently given by the *French* Horſemen: Whereupon Sir *William Orpington*, according to direction, cauſed the Bow-men behind the hedges to let fly their Arrows; which ſo galled the *French* Horſes, that either they caſt their Riders, or through their unruline ſs ſo opened their Ranks, that the Right wing of the *Engliſh* Horſe had way to come in upon the *French* Foot; and withal, the *French* Horſe diſorderly retiring, they were miſerably trodden down and diſranked by their own company. Upon which, the King with his main Battel came on with ſuch reſolution, that himſelf in perſon charged the Duke of *Alanſon*, by whom he was well-near unhorſed; but afterward having firſt ſlain two of the Duke's men, he charged the Duke again, and with his Sword beat him from his Horſe; whom the King's Guard, notwithſtanding the King cried out to the contrary, ſlew outright: And with his Fall the main Battel of the *French* firſt gave ground, then turned their backs, and laſtly caſt away their weapons and fled. But then certain of the *French* Horſemen that firſt ran away, led on by *Robert Bondile* and the Captain of *Agincourt*, meaning to wipe away the blot of running away from Soldiers, by fighting with Boys, ſet upon the Pages and Landreſſes that were left in the Camp; who gave ſuch a lamentable ſhreek, that K. *Henry* verily thought ſome freſh Forces had been come: Whereupon he cauſed all the Arrows that were ſticking in the Field to be gathered, and the ſtakes to be plucked up, and made ready to be again uſed: Amongſt which the Duke of *York*'s body was found, miſerably hacked and defaced: The ſight whereof, together with danger of a ſecond Charge, made K. *Henry* give order the priſoners ſhould be all ſlain except only ſome principal men, whom he cauſed to be bound back to back, and ſo left. For which fact, tho done in cold blood, yet the King could not juſtly be taxed with cruelty, ſeeing the number of the Priſoners was more than of his own Soldiers; and nothing could give aſſurance of ſafety but their ſlaughter. But all was not yet done; for the Earls of *Marle* and *Faucombridge*, with ſix hundred men at Arms, who had ſtood ſtill all day, began now to ſtir, and gave a brave charge upon K. *Henry*'s Army: But being but few, and their horſes galled with the ſtakes, they had only the honour to die bravely; and indeed they ſlew more of the *Engliſh* than the whole Army had done before. And now at laſt, the King being ſatisfied by the ſcouts, that no Enemy was more to be ſeen, he asked what the place was called? And being told *Agincourt*; Well then, (ſaid he) this ſhall be from henceforth called the Battel of *Agincourt*. And preſently he cauſed the whole Army, in their array as they were, to give God thanks; cauſing the Clergy there preſent, to ſing the Pſalm of *David*, *In exitu Iſrael de Ægypto*; and made Proclamation that every one at the Verſe, *Non nobis Domine, ſed nomini tuo da gloriam*, ſhould kneel down, and the horſemen bow their bodies: And then ſinging *Te Deum* and other holy Hymns, they marched to the Enemies Camp, where the Soldiers had liberty given them to take the ſpoil.

A Policy.

The Duke of *York* ſlain.

The priſoners taken were all ſlain; how juſtified.

This Battel was fought at *Agincourt*. 1416.

His devotion after the Victory.

A great Victory, no doubt, but yet a victory by which the *Engliſh* gained not one foot of ground in *France* more than they had before; and which *Monſhelet* attributed not ſo much to the valour of the *Engliſh*, as to the indiſcretion of the *French*, who had ſo ſtreightned the Vant-guard of their Army, and pent them up ſo cloſe together, that they had not room to draw out their Swords; ſo true is that ſaying, *Quos Deus vult perdere dementat.* The next day after the Battel, *French* Heralds came to ask leave to bury their dead, and had it; and the *Engliſh* Heralds appointed to make ſearch, made return, that there were ſlain of the *French* above Ten thouſand, whereof 126. were of the Nobility bearing Banners; of Knights and Gentlemen of Coat-Armor ſeven thouſand eight hundred ſeventy four, whereof 500. were Knighted the night before the Battel, and of common Soldiers about 1600. Amongſt the ſlain of the Nobility, were *Charles le Bretts*, High Conſtable; *Jaquet* of *Chatillon* Admiral of *France*, the great Admiral of *France*, the Maſter of the Croſs-Bows, the Duke of *Alanſon*, *Brabant*, and *Barre*; the Earls of *Nevers*, *Marle*, *Vaudemont*, *Beaumont*, *Grand-pet*, *Rouſey*, *Faucombridge*, *Foys*, and *L'eſtruck*. There were taken priſoners *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*; *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Lords *Dauvers*, *Foſſeux*, *Humiers*, *Roy*, *Cauny*, *Fancourd*, *Noel*, *Boueiqualt*; to the number in all of Fifteen hundred. On the *Engliſh* part were ſlain, *Edward* Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, and not full Six hundred in all; but (ſaith *Caxton*) not above ſix and twenty in all; and *Paulus Æmilius* ſaith, beſides the two Lords only two Knights, and but ten private Soldiers in all: A Miracle rather than a Victory. But not only King *Henry* was the death of the *French* Lords before named, in the field with his Sword; but of another great Prince at home, with his Victory; for *Lewis* the Dauphin, eldeſt Son of *Charles* the ſixth, King of *France*, preſently upon it without any other cauſe apparent, fell ſick and died. Yet King *Henry*, to make his Enemies the better contented with their overthrow, and to take away the envy of his Victory, at his return into *England* with his Priſoners, which was on the ſixth of *November* following, preſently gave ſtraight order, That no Ballad or Song ſhould be made or ſung, more than of Thankſgiving to God for his happy Victory and ſafe return; but without words of either diſgracing the *French*, or extolling the *Engliſh*. At his entrance into *London*, the City preſented him with a Thouſand pounds, and Two Baſons of Gold worth five hundred pounds more. The bodies of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Suffolk* were

An error of the *French* in ordering their Battel, cauſe of the overthrow.

The number of *French* ſlain in the Battel.

And who of the Nobility.

The ſmall number of *Engliſh* that were ſlain.

The Dauphin with grief dieth.

brought into *England*, and the Dukes buried at *Fodringham* in *Northamptonshire*, the Earls at *New-Elme* in *Oxfordshire*.

The Emperor *Sigismund* comes into *England*.

About this time the Emperor *Sigismund*, Cousin-german to K. *Henry*, having been first in *France*, came accompanied with the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, Ambassador from the *French* King, into *England*; for whom there were thirty great Ships sent from the King to wast him over: But approaching to land at *Dover*, the Duke of *Gloucester*, with a company of Gentlemen, having their Swords drawn, stept up to the knees in water, saying to him, *That if he came as the Kings Friend, he should be welcome; but if as claiming any Jurisdiction, they would resist him.* Whereupon the Emperor renounceth all Imperial Authority, and is thereupon admitted to Land, and received with as much honour as could be done him; and afterward together with *Albert* Duke of *Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived at *Winchester*, is elected Companion of the Order of the Garter, and sate in their Cells at the solemnity of the Feast. A principal cause of the Emperor's coming, was to mediate a peace between *England* and *France*; wherein he had brought K. *Henry* to a good degree of inclination, till news came of the besieging of *Harfleet* by the *French*, and of the Earl of *Arminiack*'s setting upon the Duke of *Exeter*, being Governor there: And then he presently grew so averse from Peace, that he would hearken no more to any Treaty of it. Not that he misliked they should treat of Peace with their Swords in their hands, as all wise men would do; but that to treat of Peace, and in the time of the Treaty to do acts of Hostility, was an affront to all honesty; and not to be tolerated with any patience.

1417.

Harfleet besieged by the Earl of *Arminiack*.

And now the Earl of *Arminiack* having set down before the Town, the Vice-Admiral of *France* brought up the whole Navy of the *French*, with intent whilst the Earl should assail it by land, to have entred the Town by the waters side: But of this purpose the valour and diligence of the Duke of *Exeter* prevented them. As soon as K. *Henry* had Intelligence hereof, he would presently have gone himself; but being disswaded by the Emperor, he sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Earls of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers others, with two hundred Sail, to the rescue of *Harfleet*; who upon the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady came to the mouth of the River *Seyne*: Whereupon *Norbon* the *French Admiral* set forward, and got to the mouth of the Haven: And here began a fight, which was resolutely maintained on both sides, until the *English* having sunk five hundred Vessels one and other of the *French*, and taken three great Carricks of *Genoua*, won the Harbor; and at last, though with some opposition made by their Gallies, relieved *Harfleet*, and made the Earl of *Arminiack* glad to raise his siege. Upon the new hereof, the Emperor desisted from mediating any further for Peace with *France*; and entring into a League Defensive and Offensive with King *Henry*, wherein only the Pope was excepted, on the 19. of *October* he departed towards *Germany*,

Five hundred *French* Ships sunk by the *English*.

Harfleet rescu'd by the Duke of *Bedford*.

whom K. *Henry* accompanied to *Calice*, whither the Duke of *Burgundy* came to confirm the League concluded on before by the Earl of *Warwick* and him, concerning *Flanders* and *Artois* only. In the mean time the *French* had hired divers Carricks and other great Ships of the *Genoeses* and *Italians*; which joining with the *French* Fleet, lay at the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, under the command of *Jaques* Bastard of *Bourbon*, to hinder all succors from coming to *Harfleet*; but *John* Earl of *Huntington* (Son to the Duke of *Exeter* beheaded at *Chichester*) being sent to scowr the Coasts, encountred with him, and after a long fight took him Prisoner, and three of his great Carricks, with all the money for the half years pay of the Fleet; and sinking three other of his Carricks, and dispersing the rest, cleared the mouth of the River, and then returned to the King at *Southampton*. And now upon the Twenty third of *July*, in the fourth year of his Reign, the King himself, with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, and *Somerset*; the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroop*, *Mauravers*, *Roucbier*, *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Fanhope*, *Grey* of *Codnor*, Sir *Gilbert Umphreville*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and an Army consisting of Twenty five thousand five hundred twenty eight fighting men, besides a Thousand Artificers and Pioneers, took shipping at *Portsmouth*, and upon the first of *August* landed in *Normandy* near to the Castle of *Tonque*, which he presently besieged, and upon the ninth of *August* had it yielded to him; at which time the Earl of *Salisbury* took the Castle of *Abervilliers*, which the King gave to him and his heirs, being the first Land given by the King in *France*.

The Emperor enters into a League Offensive and Defensive with K. *Henry*.

K. *Henry* with a great Army passeth into *France*, and besieged *Tonque* Castle, and takes it.

At the winning of *Tonque*, the King made eight and twenty Knights; and from thence marched with his Army to *Caen*; where to prevent the Citizens from sallying out, he cast up a mount; and then making many assaults, but finding them to do little good, he caused his Pioneers to undermine the Walls; which being done upon the fourth of *September*, he offered the Besieged their lives, if they would submit; which they refusing, he thereupon made a shew of a general assault, whilst many of his men entered the City under the foundation, of whom the Duke of *Clarence* with his Company was the first; and then coming upon the backs of those that defended the Walls, easily overcame them; and then the whole Army entred without resistance. The next day the King caused all the principal men of the Town to come before him at their Senate-house, where some of them for their stubborn refusing the grace he had offered them, were adjudged to death, and the rest fined. The spoil of the Town was distributed amongst the Soldiers. The Captain of the Castle stood out a while; but being advertised that the King had sworn to shew no mercy, if he did not surrender, he gave twelve Hostages, That if he were not relieved before the Twentieth of *September*, he would then give it up; which not coming, he performed; and so the King had possession both of *Caen* and the Castle.

And now *Charles* the late Dauphin, being but seven-

Difference between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin, makes easy way for K. *Henry*'s proceedings.

seventeen years of age, and bare of money, had got into his poſſeſſion all the Jewels, Plate, and Money of the Queen his Mother; which ſo incenſed her againſt him, that to do him a ſpight, ſhe placed the Duke of *Burgundy* in chief authority about the King, who by reaſon of his infirmity was unable himſelf to manage the State; and the Duke having now the Sword in his hand, meant firſt to repreſs the growing boldneſs of the Dauphin; and afterward to repel the common Enemy: And the Dauphin likewiſe, envying the Duke's advancement above him, meant firſt to take down his ſwelling greatneſs, and afterward to fall upon the foreign Adverſary. And thus while private reſpects were preferred before publick, whilſt the Duke and the Dauphin had their firſt intentions one againſt another, not looking after K. *Henry*; but in the ſecond place, after their own turns ſerved, an eaſy way was left for K. *Henry*'s proceedings, and he went on at his pleaſure with ſmall oppoſition. He ſent the Duke of *Clarence*, who took in the City of *Bayeux*, as likewiſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* the City of *Liſieux*; whilſt himſelf remaining ſtill at *Caen*, put out of the City the Natives that were impotent or young Infants, to the number of 1500. and in their places put *Engliſh* people; and finding a great maſs of Money and Plate depoſited by the Citizens in the Caſtle, he cauſed the ſame, upon proof, to be reſpectively delivered to the right owners, upon condition they would acknowledge him for their Soveraign; which moderate and juſt dealing won him more hearts then the force of his Arms had won him knees; eſpecially with the *Normans*, who are eaſier to be drawn with gentleneſs and love, than forced by violence and compulſion. From hence the King marched the firſt of *October* to *Corſyſe* Caſtle, which within three days yielded. The fourth of *October* he came to *Argenton*, which not relieved by a day agreed upon, was likewiſe ſurrendred. The Town of *Alanſon* endured Eight days ſiege, but in the end did as other their Neighbour-Towns had done. From *Alanſon* the Earl of *Salisbury* was ſent to *Fayles*, to view the ſtrength thereof, whom the King preſently followed, where the beſieged concluded, if it were not relieved before the ſecond of *January*, then to yield up the Town. No Relief coming, the Town was yielded up, and ſoon after upon the like terms the Caſtle. From hence the King returned to *Caen*, to put in execution a Proclamation he had formerly made, That if the Inhabitants of *Normandy* that were fled, returned not by a day aſſigned, he would then grant their Lands to his Soldiers: And thereupon he gave to the Duke of *Clarence*, during his life, the Viſcounties of *Auge*, *Orbec*, and *Pontieu*, with all the Lands of thoſe that were not returned according to the Proclamation. All the Iſſue the King lay at *Bayeux*, whilſt his Navy ſtill kept the Seas, and daily took many *French* Ships; but on the ſixteenth of *July* ſuch a Tempeſt took them, that they were driven to fall in with *Southampton*; and yet, with all their diligence, could not ſo ſave themſelves, but that two Ballingers, and two great Carricks laden with Merchandize were in the very Haven throwned. In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot* beſieged the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dompront*: The Duke of *Clarence* took *Coigny* and *Bourney*, and many other being taken as *Chambois*, *Becheboys*, *Harcourt*, *Pontgerard*, *Crevecuer*, *Moncillers*, &c. yielded; in all of them he placed Captains and Gariſons, and particularly in *Fresny*, Sir *Robert Brunt* lately made Viſcount: The Duke of *Gloceſter* alſo, with the Earl of *March*, and the Lord of *Codnor*, took in all the Iſle of *Conſtantine*, except *Cherebourgh*, and thence returned to the King, but was ſent back to take in that City alſo; which after ſome time, when no Relief came, was, together with the Caſtle, likewiſe ſurrendred; although by this time the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin, by mediation of the Pope, were reconciled, and began to join their Forces to make reſiſtance. And now the Duke of *Exeter*, the King's Uncle, with a ſupply of Fifteen thouſand men out of *England*, came to the King, who preſently took in the City of *Burieux*; and the Earl of *Kyme*, the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mille le Vaſe*.

1418.

K. *Henry*'s liberal dealing with the Citizens of *Caen*.

K. *Henry* beſiegeth *Roan*. His Policies in the ſiege.

The next thing attempted was the ſiege of *Roan*, a City ſtrongly fortified, both with Walls and Ditches; and to which there was no convenient paſſage, but by the City of *Louviers*; to this City therefore he firſt lays ſiege; which, when relief came not within a time agreed on, was ſurrendred; and yet there was another impediment to be removed, a Stone-bridge, which hindered the approach to *Roan*, being exceedingly ſtrongly guarded: For this, K. *Henry* deviſed Floats of Wicker covered with Beaſts Hides, by which the Duke of *Clarence* with his Quarter paſſed the River, and then laid ſiege to the Town on that ſide; and for the other ſide, he had other devices made with Hogſheads and Pipes, faſtned to Pir-poles and Barges, with which he paſſed his men over at pleaſure; and in the mean time he cauſed divers of his Soldiers that could ſwim, to make ſhew of paſſing the River three miles off another way; with which the *French* men being deluded, drew all their Forces thither, and by this means the Fort being left unfurniſhed of ſufficient guard, was preſently forced to ſurrender, and the Soldiers were taken to the King's Grace. The Bridge being thus gained, the Duke of *Exeter* was ſent, and with him *Windſor* the Herald, to ſummon the Citizens to ſurrender the Town; who not only gave proud anſwers, but alſo made a ſally forth, though with the loſs of Thirty of their men. Upon this obſtinacy of theirs, the King preſently orders his ſiege, his own quarter was the *Charteux*, the Duke of *Clarence* at St. *George*, the Duke of *Exeter* at Port St. *Dennis*, and every great Commander had his quarter aſſigned; ſo as the City was begirt round, and a great chain of Iron ſet upon piles, and a ſtrong wooden Bridge for paſſage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River. At this time the Earl of *Kyme* with ſixteen hundred *Iriſh*, came to the King and had their quarter aſſigned them, who behaved themſelves with great valour. The King's Couſin-german, the K. of *Portugal*, ſent likewiſe a Navy of Ships to the mouth of the River *Seyne*, which ſtopped all paſſage of Victuall to *Roan*. Many policies and practiſes were

A treaty for reconciliation appointed between the two Kings of England and France.

uſed

But nothing prevailed till at last Famine

used against the City, but none prevailed till famine forced it; for there being in *Roan* 23000 persons at the beginning of the siege, and the siege continuing long, it grew to that extremity, that the Citizens drank nothing but Vinegar and Water, and had little to eat but Rats and Mice, Cats and Dogs, and such like: Great numbers of the poorer sors were thrust out of the City, who not suffered to pass the *English* Army, miserably perished; only upon *Christmas-Day*, in honour of Christ's Birth, the King relieved and suffered to pass as many as were at first put out; but not others that were put out the second time, but suffered them to perish.

In this distress a Parley is required by the Citizens; who notwithstanding their misery, yet stood upon such high terms, that nothing was concluded, only a Truce for Eight days was granted them; the Eight days ended, and nothing yet agreed upon amongst themselves, they crave one day longer, and neither in that day could any thing be agreed on: Then they crave four days more, in which the multitude and common people so pressed the Magistrates and Governors of the City, that on the fourth day, being about the nineteenth of *January*, the City was surrendred, and the Inhabitants themselves and all their goods were yielded to the King's mercy; the Duke of *Exeter* was appointed to take possession, who accordingly entred with his Soldiers; the next day after, being *Friday*, the Twentieth of *January*, the King himself made his Entry, with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Bishops, sixteen Barons and others, and was by the Clergy conducted to our Ladies Church; where after publick Thanksgiving, he took Homage and Fealty of the Burgesses and Inhabitants; making Proclamation, That all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Sovereign, should enjoy the benefit of his Protection, and retain their Possessions: Whereupon many came in, and many Towns were surrendred. In this time of the King's lying at *Roan*, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Humfleu*, *Monstier de Villiers*, *Ewe*, and *Newcastle*, the Duke of *Clarence* took *Vernon*, and *Naunt*; and the Earl of *Warwick*, *la Roche Guyon*.

Roan is yielded up to K. *Henry*.

1419.

1420.

And now the Duke of *Burgundy* seeing the great successes of King *Henry*, could think of no better way for his own safety, than to make a reconciliation between the two Kings; to which end, Ambassadors are sent to procure their meeting; At which time, K. *Henry* for their service already performed, and in hope of more hereafter, made the valiant *Gascoigne* Captain *le Beauff*, Earl of *Longueville*, Sir *John Gray* Earl of *Tankerville*, and the Lord *Bourchier* Earl of *Ewe*. Upon the last of *May*, K. *Henry* accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Glocester*, and *Exeter*, his Uncle *Beaufort*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Earls of *March*, and *Salisbury*, a Thousand men at Arms, entred the place appointed for the meeting of the two Kings. The *French* Queen (her Husband being taken with the Frensy) with the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and the Earl of St. *Paul*, and a company of Ladies, amongst whom, as a bait to intangle the King's affection, was the King's Daughter, the beautiful Lady *Katherine*; with whose sight, tho the King was marvellously taken, yet he made no shew thereof, till other things should be agreed upon; but the Dauphin having made means to the Duke of *Burgoigne* to hinder all agreement, nothing was effected; whereupon at their parting, the King told the Duke, That he would have both the Lady and all his other demands, or else drive the K. of *France* out of his Kingdom, and him out of his Dukedom. Upon this, the Duke thought it best to agree with the Dauphin; and upon this, the sixth of *July*, Articles of their Reconcilement are signed and sealed. In the mean time the Earl of *Longueville* surprized the Town of *Ponthoyse*, but had scarce been able to make good the surprize if the Duke of *Clarence* had not come to his succor. From thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there stayed two days; but perceiving no shew of sally to be made, he returned to *Ponthoyse*, whither the King himself came; and from thence marching on, took in the Castle of *Vernon Villiers*; and on the last of *August*, the Castles of *Gysors*, and *Galyard*, and *Dumal*; so that now all *Normandy* (*Mount St. Michael* only excepted) was reduced to the possession of the King of *England*, which had been wrongfully detained from him ever since the year 1207.

A meeting for reconciliation appointed between the two Kings of *England* and *France*.

The Dauphin all this while, though outwardly having made a reconcilement with the Duke of *Burgoigne*, yet inwardly bearing a spleen against him, intended nothing so much as his destruction: Which to effect, he procured a meeting between the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at *Monstreu*; where the Duke, though humbling himself in reverence to the Dauphin on his knee, was most barbarously murthered; which act, was so much the less to be pitied in the Duke, by how much in the like kind, upon the like enterview, he had caused *Lewis* the Duke of *Orleance* to be murthered. But tho this barbarous act might justly incense *Philip* Earl of *Carolois*, the Duke of *Burgoigne*'s Heir, to seek revenge; yet as a wise and politick Prince, he forbore for the present to make any shew of choler or distemperature; and considering with himself, that difference between the Dauphin and him would but give K. *Henry* the greater advantage, he endeavoured to propose an overture of Peace between the two Kings: And to that end Ambassadors are sent from the King of *France*, and the young Duke of *Burgoigne*, whom the King kindly entertained, but seemed to intimate unto them, that he could give no great credit to their propositions, unless the Lady *Katherine* would join in them, whose innocence he knew would never abuse him. Whilst these things are in agitation, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Fresney*, and the Earls of *Marshal* and *Huntington* entred into *Mayn*; who approaching *Mentz*, was encountred by the Forces of the Dauphin, whereof they slew Five thousand, and took two hundred prisoners; for which, news being brought to *Roan*, whither K. *Henry* was come to solemnize the Feast of Christ's Birth, Thanksgiving to God was publickly made; and in the instant thereof, arrived other Ambassadors from the King and Queen of *France*, and a Letter from the

The Duke of *Burgoigne* treacherously murther'd by the Dauphin.

the Lady *Katherine* to K. *Henry*, was ſecretly by the Biſhop of *Arras* delivered. The concluſion of all was, that the King of *England* ſhould ſpeed himſelf to *Troyes*, there to be eſpouſed to the Lady *Katherine*; and to have aſſurance of the Crown of *France*, after the deceaſe of the preſent K. *Charles*. Whereupon with a Guard of Fifteen thouſand choice Soldiers, accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, *Longueville*, *Tankerville*, and *Ewe*, the K. of *England* came to *Troyes* in *Campaigne*, upon the 18th. day of *May*, where he was met by the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and divers of the *French* Nobility, who attended him to the Palace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Ducheſs of *Burgoign*, and the Lady *Katherine*, gave him Princely entertainment; and after ſome intercourſe of Complement between the Princes and the Ladies, K. *Henry* tendred to the Lady *Katherine* a Ring of great value, which ſhe (not without ſome bluſhing) received; and afterwards upon the Twentieth day of *May*, ſhe was affianced to him in St. *Peter*'s Church, and on the third of *June* following the Marriage was ſolemnized; and therewithal King *Henry* was publiſhed to be the only Regent of the Realm, and Heir apparent to the Crown of *France*: The Articles whereof, with all convenient expedition were proclaimed both in *England* and in *France*, and the two Kings, and all their Nobles, and other Subjects of account, were ſworn to obſerve them; and in particular the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

K. *Henry* affianced to the Lady *Katherine*, the King of *France*'s daughter; and withal proclaimed Regent of *France* and heir apparent of the Crown.

And thus was the Salique Law violated, and the Heir Male put by his Succeſſion in the Crown, which the *Genius* of *France* will not long endure, a while it muſt; and therefore the main endeavour of both Kings now is, to keep him down, whom they had put down. And thereupon on the fourth of *June* K. *Henry* with the *French* King, *James* King of *Scots*, who was newly arrived, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, the Prince of *Orange*, one and twenty Earls, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army conſiſting of *French*, *Engliſh*, *Scotiſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Dutch*, to the number of ſix hundred thouſand, marched towards the Dauphin; and upon the ſeventh day laid ſiege to the Town of *Seyns*, which ſided with the Dauphin, which after four days ſiege was yielded up. From thence they removed, having the Duke of *Bedford* in their company, who was newly come out of *England* with large ſupplies of men and money to *Monſtreu*, which was taken by *Eſcalado*, only the Caſtle held out ſtill: During the ſiege whereof, K. *Henry* created an Officer of Arms to be King of Heralds over the *Engliſh*-men, and intitled him *Garter*; whom he ſent with offers of mercy to the Caſtle, but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbraided; for puniſhment of which his preſumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in view of Monſieur *Guitrey*, the ſaid Captain and twelve of his friends were executed. Whereupon thoſe of the Caſtle treated for Peace; but the King in eight days together would not grant ſo much as a Parley; ſo that after ſix weeks ſiege they were enforced (their lives ſaved) ſimply to yield. From thence the King marched to *Melun* upon *Seyn*, and beſieged it the thirteenth of *July*; the Captain whereof was *Barbaſon* a *Gaſcoigne*, no leſs politick than valiant, who countermined ſome, and ſtopt other Mines made by the *Engliſh*, and fought hand to hand in the Barriers with K. *Henry*: Yet at laſt through Famine and Peſtilence was forced to yield; but being ſuſpected to have had a hand in the murther of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, he was ſent Priſoner to *Paris*; and preſently thereupon, both the Kings with their Queens, the Duke of *Burgoigne* and his Ducheſs, with a Royal Train came thither, where the *French* King was lodged in the houſe of St. *Paul*; and the King of *England* in the Caſtle of *Louvre*. And here the three States of *France* anew under their hands and ſeals in moſt authentick manner, ratified the former Articles of King *Henry*'s Succeſſion in the Crown of *France*; the Inſtruments whereof were delivered to the King of *England*, who ſent them to be kept in his Treaſury at *Weſtminſter*.

K. *Henry* with an Army of ſix hundred thouſand marcheth againſt the Dauphin.

Garter King of Arms when firſt created.

And now King *Henry* began to exerciſe his Regency, and as a Badge of his Authority, he cauſed a new Coin, which was called a *Salute*, to be made, whereon the Arms of *France* and *England* were quarterly ſtamped: He placed and diſplaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of *Exeter* with five hundred men to the Guard of *Paris*: He awarded out Proceſs againſt the Dauphin, to appear at the Marble-Table at *Paris*; which he not obeying, Sentence was denounced againſt him, as guilty of the Murther of the Duke of *Burgoigne*; and by the Sentence of the Parliament he was baniſhed the Realm.

K. *Henry* makes a new Coin in *France*, called a *Salute*.

After this, the King making *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his Lieutenant-General of *France* and *Normandy*, on the 6th of *January*, with his beloved Queen *Katherine* left *Paris*, and went to *Amyens*, and from thence to *Callice*; and thence landing at *Dover*, came to *Canterbury*, and afterward through *London* to *Weſtminſter*; where the Queen upon St. *Mathias*'s day, the 24th of *February* was Crowned; the King of *Scots* ſitting at dinner in his State, but on the left hand of the Queen, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the King's Uncle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being on the right hand. All were ſerved with covered Meſſes of Silver, but all the Feaſt was Fiſh, in obſervation of the Lent ſeaſon.

1421.

A Coronation Feaſt all of Fiſh.

After this the King took his Progreſs through the Land, hearing the complaints of his poor Subjects, and taking order for adminiſtring of Juſtice to high and low; and then met the Queen at *Leiceſter*, where they kept their *Eaſter*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Clarence* making a Road into *Anjou*, came to the City of *Ampers*, where he Knighted Sir *William Roſſe*, Sir *Henry Goddard*, Sir *Rowland Vydor*, Sir *Thomas Beaufort* his natural Son; and returning home laden with prey, was adverti'ſed that the Duke of *Alanſon* intended to intercept his paſſage: Whereupon he ſent the Scout-Maſter *Andrew Fogoſa*, a *Lombard*, to diſcover the face of the Enemy, who being corrupted, brought report, That their number was but ſmall, and thoſe but ill ordered; that if he preſently charged, there could be no reſiſtance. The

Duke's

Duke's Credulity caused him to draw all his Horses together; and leaving his Bows and Bills behind, which were his chiefest strength, with his Horse only he makes towards the Enemy; but the Traytor leading to a streight, where by his appointment an Ambush was laid, that the Duke could neither retreat nor flee, he soon perceived the Treachery, but finding no remedy, he manfully set Spurs to his Horse, and charged upon the Enemy; but over-laid with Multitude, and wearied with Fight, was himself with the Earl of *Tankervile*, the Lord *Rosse*, the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *John Lumley*, Sir *John Verent*, and about Two thousand *English* slain: The Earls of *Somerset*, *Suffolk*, and *Pearch*, Sir *John Berkley*, Sir *Ralph Nevil*, Sir *William Bows*, and Sixty Gentlemen were taken Prisoners. The Body of the Duke of *Clarence* was by Sir *John Beaufort*, his base Son, (the Duke dying without other Issue) conveyed into *England*, and buried at *Canterbury* besides his Father; and this disaster happened upon Easter-Eve. The King was at *Beverly* when he heard of his Brothers death, and presently thereupon dispatched away *Edmund* Earl of *Mortaigne* into *Normandy*, making him Lieutenant thereof; and then calls his High Court of Parliament to *Westminster*, requiring aid by Money, to revenge his Brothers death; which was readily granted: and the King thus provided, sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* with an Army to *Calice*, consisting of four thousand Men at Arms, and four and twenty thousand Archers, whom about the middle of *May* he followeth himself, and safely arriving at *Calice*, hasted to relieve *Chartres*, which the Dauphin with Seven thousand Men had besieged, but hearing of the King's coming was retired to *Tours*; the King of *Scots*, with the Duke of *Gloucester*, about the 8th of *July* besieged *Dreux*; which agreed, if it were not relieved by the Twentieth of that Month, then to surrender it; no Relief coming, it was surrendred. The King pursued the Dauphin from place to place, but could not overtake him, but in the way surprizing the Town of *Bawgency*, where all that craved it, he took to Mercy, as likewise he did at *Rougement*; from thence he went to *Orleance*, and from thence to *Vignes St. Yon*, and from thence to *Paris*; where having fitted himself with Supplies, he went and sate down before *Menixe* in *Brye*, which after some Opposition, he also took; and thereby had Possession of all the Fortresses in the Isle of *France*, in *Lonuans*, in *Brye*, and in *Champaigne*.

The Duke of *Clarence* by treachery slain, with divers others.

1422.

Upon St. *Nicholas* day, in the Year 1422. Queen *Katherine* was brought to bed of a Son at *Windsor*, who was by the Duke of *Bedford*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Countess of *Holland*, Christned by the name of *Henry*; whereof when the King had notice, out of a Prophetick Rapture he said, *Good Lord! I* Henry *of* Monmouth *shall small time Reign, and much get; and* Henry *born at* Windsor *shall long time Reign, and lose all; but God's Will be done.*

Queen *Katherine* is brought to Bed of a Son at *Windsor*; and King *Henry*'s Prophetical Speech of him.

About this time the Dauphin laid Siege to *Cosney*, which the King was intentive to relieve, as being a Town of the Duke of *Burgoign*'s; and therefore tendred it more than if it had been his own; and making over-hasty Journeys, he over-heat himself with Travel; and coming to *Senleys*, found himself so ill at ease, that he was forced to remain there, and to send his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* to prosecute his design; which the Duke performed, and the Dauphin upon his approach, retired into *Berry*; whereof in Mockage he was after called the King of *Berry*. But the King's Fever and Flux increasing, he was removed to *Boys de Vincens*; where growing worse and worse, within a few days he died. But somewhat before his Departure, he had made his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* Lieutenant Ceneral of *Normandy*, and Regent of the Kingdom of *France*; and his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester*, he had made Protector of *England*, and of his Son's Person: Exhorting all to be true and faithful to the Duke of *Burgoign*, to be at Unity amongst themselves, to be Loyal to their young Prince, to be serviceable to his dearly beloved Queen, to hold and preserve what he by his Valour and God's Assistance had won; and never to conclude Contract of Amity with the Dauphin or Duke of *Alanson*, until they had submitted themselves to the King's Grace. And so giving God thanks for all his Favours and Blessings bestowed upon him, in the midst of saying a *Psalm* of *David* he departed this Life, who might have justly prayed God with *David*, *Take me not away in the midst of my days*, for he died about the Age of Five or Six and thirty years, which in *David*'s Account is the midst of the number of the days of Man's Life; but tho he died in the midst of his Days, yet he died in the fulness of his Glory; and of whom it may be said, ——*Jamque arce potitus, Ridet anhelantes duri ad fastigia montis*; when he had reigned nine Years and five Months.

King *Henry* with over-hasty Journeys in *France* falls sick and dies.

His Exhortations to his Lords at his death.

Of his Taxations.

IN his first year, an incredible Sum of Money was given him by the Clergy, to divert him from a motion propounded to take away their Temporalties; and in the same year a Subsidy was granted him both by the Clergy and the Laity. In his fourth year was granted him towards his Wars in *France*, two whole Tenths of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity; which being far too short to defray his great Charge, he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Bishop of *Beaufort* his Uncle for a great Sum of Money, as also certain Jewels to the Lord Mayor of *London*, for Ten thousand Marks. In his ninth year at a Parliament at *Westminster*, for Revenge of the Duke of *Clarence*'s Death, two tenths of the Clergy, and one Fifteenth of the Laity, which, because the haste of the business could not stay the usual course of Collection, the Bishop of *Winchester* brought in presently Twenty thousand pounds, to receive it again when the Subsidy should be gathered. The same year also the Duke of *Bedford* in the King's absence called a Parliament, whereinwas granted towards his Wars, one Fifteenth, to be paid in such Money as was at that time currant. These were all the Subsidies that were given him, notwithstanding his many and great Atchievements, by which it appears what great matters

King *Henry* pawneth his Crown to raise Money.

matters a moderate Prince may do, and yet not grieve his Subjects with Taxations.

Of Laws and Ordinances made by him, or in his time.

HE Ordained the King of Heralds over the *Engliſh*, which is called *Garter*.

No gold to be offered in payment unleſs it were weight; and thereupon weight ordained.

In his ninth year in a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, it was ordained that no man ſhould offer Gold in payment unleſs it were weight; and thereupon were appointed ballances and weights.

An Act made in the thirteenth year of K. *Richard* the Second, which diſabled the Alien-Religious to enjoy any Benefices within *England*, was in the beginning of this King's Reign put in execution; and further, this King excluded alſo the *French* from all preferment Eccleſiaſtical; and thoſe Priors Aliens Conventual who had inſtitution and induction, were bound to put in ſecurity, not to diſcloſe or cauſe to be diſcloſed, the Councel and Secrets of the Realm.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Sir *John Old-Caſtle* cenſured for maintaining *Wickliff's* Doctrine.

IN the beginning of his Reign, the *Wickleviſts* increaſed greatly, of whom Sir *John Old-Caſtle* was chief; who by marriage of a Kinſwoman of the Lord *Cobham's* of *Cooling* in *Kent*, obtained that Title. This Knight being very valorous, and in great favour with the King, was in a Synod at *London* accuſed for maintaining of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine; whereof the King being informed, ſent for him, and inſtantly dealt with him to ſubmit himſelf to the Cenſure of the Church: But Sir *John Old-Caſtle* told the King, that he owed his Subjection only to his Majeſty: And as for others, he would ſtand for the Truth againſt them to the uttermoſt of his life. Upon this he was ſerved by Proceſs to appear in the Archbiſhop's Court, and not appearing, was condemned of Contumacy; and afterwards in a Synod at *Rocheſter*, was by the Archbiſhop pronounced to be an Heretick; who then enacted that Decree, That the Holy Scriptures ought not to be Tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue. But mark the Judgment that fell upon his own Tongue, whoſe Roots and Blade ſhortly after (as it is recorded) grew ſo big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither ſpeak, nor ſwallow down meat, but in horror lay languiſhing, till at laſt ſtarved by famine, he ſo died. In the mean time Sir *John Old-Caſtle* wrote his Belief, and preſented it himſelf to the King; which the King would in no wiſe receive, but ſuffered him in his Preſence and Privy Chamber to be ſummon'd; who appearing before the Archbiſhop, after divers Examinations, was condemned of Hereſy, and committed to the *Tower* of *London*, from whence ſhortly after he eſcaped, and got into *Wales*. The King by his Proclamation, promiſed a thouſand Marks to any that ſhould bring him in; but ſo much was his Doctrine generally favoured, that the King's offer was not much regarded, but he continued four years after undiſcovered: At laſt he was taken in the Borders of *Wales*, within a Lordſhip belonging to the Lord *Powes*, who brought him to *London*, before the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of the Realm; where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawn from the *Tower* to St. *Giles's* Fields, and there hanged in a Chain by the middle, and after conſumed by fire, the Gallows and all. At the time of his firſt Conviction, four years before, it was rumor'd, that Twenty thouſand men in Arms were aſſembled in St. *Giles's* Field: Whereupon the King, at midnight, himſelf in perſon went thither, where he found many indeed, who upon examination confeſſed, that they came to meet their Captain Sir *John Old-Caſtle*, but without any intent againſt the King: Yet was Sir *Roger Acton*, and Eight and twenty others of them apprehended, and executed in *Smithfield*; and all the Priſons in and about *London* were filled with them.

Sir *John Old-Caſtle* condemned of Hereſy, is hanged in St. *Giles's* field in a chain by the middle.

In his third year, the Order of Church-Service throughout *England*, was changed from the uſe of *Paul's*, to the uſe of *Salisbury*, to the great diſliking of many in thoſe days.

In a Council holden at *Conſtance*, *England* ranked before *Spain*.

In his fourth year, a Council was holden at *Conſtance*, whither he ſent Ambaſſadors, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Biſhops of *Salisbury*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and the Prior of *Worceſter*. In which Council it was decreed, that *England* ſhould have the Title of the *Engliſh* Nation, and ſhould be accounted one of the five principal Nations in rank before *Spain*; which often before had been moved, but never granted till then. And herein were all *Wickliff's* Poſitions condemned; Alſo *John Huſs*, and *Hierom* of *Prague* (notwithſtanding the Emperor's ſafe Conduct) were both of them burned. In this Council, the Schiſm of Anti-Popes, which had continued the ſpace of nine and twenty years, was reformed. *Benedict* the 13. had been elected by the *Spaniard*; *Gregory* the 12. by the *French*; *John* the 24. by the *Italians*: And now in this Council, begun in *February*, 1414, and continued above three years; wherein were aſſembled, beſides the Emperor, the Pope, and the Palſgrave of *Rhine*, four Patriarchs, twenty ſeven Cardinals, ſeven and forty Archbiſhops, one hundred and threeſcore Biſhops; Princes, and Barons with their attendants, above thirty thouſand; The foreſaid elected Popes were all put down, or elſe reſigned; and in the place, as legitimate Pope, was elected *Otho Columna*, by the name of *Martin* the Fifth.

John Huſs burned.

Three Anti-Popes put down, and a fourth eſtabliſhed.

In this year alſo fell out an accident, which ſhews the ſtrict obſervance of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures in thoſe days. The Wives of the Lord *Strange*, and Sir *John Truſſel* of *Warmington* in *Cheſhire*, ſtriving for place at a Sermon in St. *Dunſtan's* Church in the Eaſt, their Husbands being preſent, fell themſelves to ſtriving in their Wives behalf, and great part-taking there was on both ſides, ſome ſlain, and many wounded. The Delinquents were committed to the Counter, the Church ſuſpended; and upon examination, the Lord *Strange* being found guilty, was by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* adjudged to this Penance, which was accordingly performed: The Parſon of St. *Dunſtans* went before, after whom followed all the Lord's Servants in their Shirts; after them went the Lord himſelf bare-headed, with a Wax Taper in his hand; then followed the Lady bare-footed;

Penance enjoined for ſtriving in the Church.

A Judgment of God upon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for denying the Scriptures to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

and then laſt, came the Arch-deacon *Reynold Renwood*: in which order they went from *Pauls* where the Sentence was given, to St. *Dunſtan*'s Church. Where at the re-hallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the veſſels with water; and according to the Sentence, offered to the Altar an Ornament of the value of ten pounds; and the Lord a Pixe of Silver of five pounds. A Penance no doubt which the Lord and the Lady would have redeemed with a great deal of money, if the diſcipline of the Church had in thoſe days allowed it: but it ſeems the commutation of Penance was not as yet come in uſe.

In his ninth year, in a Parliament at *Leiceſter*, a hundred and ten Priories alient were ſuppreſſed, becauſe they ſpoke ill of his Conqueſts in *France*; and their poſſeſſions were given to the King: but by him, and King *Henry* the ſixth were afterward given to other Monaſteries, and Colledges of Learned men.

Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

THis King re-edified his Royal Mannor, which was then called *Sheene*, now *Richmond*, and founded two Monaſteries not far from it; the one of *Carthuſians* which he named *Bethleem*; the other of Religious men and women of the Order of St. *Bridget*, which he named *Sion*: He alſo founded the Brotherhood of St. *Giles* without *Cripplegate* in *London*. In the ſecond year of his Reign, *Moor-gate*, near to *Coleman-ſtreet* was firſt made, by *Thomas Fawkener* Mayor of *London*, who cauſed alſo the Ditches of the City to be cleanſed, and a common Privy that was on the *Moore* without the Wall, to be taken down, and another to be made within the City upon *Walbrook*, into the which Brook he cauſed the water of the City to be turned by Grates of Iron, in divers places. In his ſixth year, *William* of *Sevenoke* Mayor of *London*, founded in the Town of *Sevenoke* a Free-School, and Thirteen Alms-houſes. This man was found at *Sevenoke* in *Kent*, a new born Infant of unknown Parents, but by charitable people was Chriſtned and brought up, bound Prentice in *London*, and came at laſt to be Mayor of the City. Alſo *Robert Chichely* Mayor of *London* gave liberally to the Alms-houſes founded by his Brother *Henry Chichely*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, at *Higham Ferrers* in *Northamptonſhire*, where they were born. But *Henry Chichely* the Arch-Biſhop founded two Colledges in *Oxford*, one called *Bernard* Colledge, renewed by Sir *Thomas White*, and named St. *John*'s Colledge; the other called *All Souls*, which continueth at this day as he left it. Alſo *John Kempe*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, converted the Pariſh-Church of *Wye* in *Kent*, where he was born, into a Colledge of Secular Prieſts.

Moor-gate when firſt built.

The ſtrange fortune of *William Sevenoke*.

St. *John*'s Colledge, and *All-Souls* Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN the fifth year of his Reign, a great part of the City of *Norwich* was burnt, with all the houſe of the Friers Preachers, and two Friers of that Order. In his third year, on the Feaſt of the Purification, ſeven Dolphins came up the River of *Thames*, whereof four were taken.

Seven Dolphins in the River of *Thames*.

Of his Wife and Iſſue.

HE married *Katherine* the Daughter of King *Charles* the ſixth of *France*, who was his Queen about two years and three months, married at *Troys* in *Champaign* the third day of *June*, 1420. and afterward *February* the 14. Crowned at *Weſtminſter*. She ſurviving King *Henry*, was re-married to *Owen Teudor* an Eſquire of *Wales*, who pretended to be deſcended from *Cadwallader* the ancient King of *Wales*, though ſome write him to be the Son of a Brewer, whoſe meanneſs of Eſtate was recompenced by the delicacy of his perſonage, ſo abſolute in all the lineaments of his body, that the only contemplation of it might well make her forget all other circumſtances. By him ſhe had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jaſper*, and *Owen*, and a Daughter that lived but a while. Her Son *Owen* took the habit of Religion at *Weſtminſter*, the other two were by King *Henry* the ſixth (their half-Brother) advanced in honour; *Edmund* was created Earl of *Richmond*, and marrying the ſole Heir of *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, was Father by her, unto *Henry* the ſeventh, King of *England*, the only Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. *Jaſper* her ſecond Son was firſt created Earl of *Pembroke*, and after Duke of *Bedford*, but died without lawful Iſſue. This Queen either for Devotion, or her own ſafety, took into the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* in *Southwark*; who dying the ſecond of *January* 1436. ſhe was buried in our Ladies Chappel within St. *Peter*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*; whoſe Corps taken up in the Reign of King *Henry* the ſeventh, her Grand-child, (when he laid the Foundation of that admirable Structure) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her Husband's Tomb, hath ever ſince ſo remained, and never ſince re-buried, where it ſtandeth (the cover being looſe) to be ſeen and handled of any that will. By her King *Henry* had only one Son, named *Henry*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom.

Owen Teudor marries K. *Hen.* 7's Widow.

Of his Perſonage and Condition.

HE was tall of ſtature, lean of body, and his bones but ſmall, but ſtrongly made, ſomewhat long necked, black hair'd, and very beautiful of face, ſwift in running, ſo as he with two of his Lords, without Bow or other Engine, would take a wild Buck or Doe in a large Park. He delighted in Songs and Muſical Inſtruments, inſomuch that in his Chappel amongſt his private Prayers, he uſed certain Pſalms of *David*, tranſlated into *Engliſh* Metre by *John Lydgate* Monk of *Bury*. And indeed it may be truly ſaid of him as was ſaid of *Æneas*: *Quo juſtior alter, Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis*; for he ſeldom fought battel where he got not the Victory; and nevery got Victory whereof he gave not the Glory to God, with publick Thankſgiving. He was a better man a King than a Subject; for till then he was not in his right Orb, and therefore no marvel if he were ſomething exorbitant. He was of a merciful diſpoſition, but not to the prejudice of wiſdom; as thinking wiſe cruelty to

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be better than fooliſh Pity, He was no leſs politick than valiant; for he never fought Battel, nor won Town, wherein he prevailed not as much by ſtratagem as by force. He was ſo temperate in his diet, and ſo free from Vain-Glory, that we may truly ſay he had ſomething in him of *Cæſar* which *Alexander* the Great had not, that he would not be drunk; and ſomething of *Alexander* the Great, which *Cæſar* had not, that he would not be flattered. He was indeed a great affecter of Glory, but not of the Glory of the blaſt of mens mouths, but of the Glory that fills the ſails of Time. He died of full years, tho not full of years: If he had lived longer, he might have gone over the ſame again, but could not have gone further. If his love were great to Military men, it was not ſmall to Clergymen; inſomuch as by many he was called the Prince of Prieſts.

K. *Henry* called the Prince of Prieſts.

Of his Death and Burial.

SOME ſay he was poiſoned, which *Polydore Virgil* ſaith, was much ſuſpected. The *Scots* write that he died of the Diſeaſe called Saint *Piacre*, which is a Palſy and a Cramp: *Enguerant* ſaith, That he died of St. *Anthony*'s fire. But *Peter Baſſet* Eſquire, who at the time of his death was his Chamberlain, affirmeth that he died of a Pleuriſy, which at that time was a ſickneſs ſtrange, and but little known. Being dead, his Body was embalmed and cloſed in Lead, and laid in a Chariot-Royal richly apparelled in cloth of Gold, was conveyed from *Boys de Vincennes* to *Paris*, and ſo to *Roan*, to *Aberville*, to *Callice*, to *Dover*, and from thence through *London* to *Weſtminſter*, where it was interred next beneath King *Edward* the Confeſſor; upon whoſe Tomb Queen *Katherine* cauſed a Royal Picture to be laid, covered all over with ſilver Plate gilt, but the head thereof altogether of Maſſie Silver: All which at that Abby's ſuppreſſion were ſacrilegiouſly broken off and transferred to prophaner uſes. He died the laſt day of *Auguſt*, in the year One thouſand Four hundred twenty two, when he had reigned nine years and five months, lived eight and thirty years, though ſome ſay two years fewer.

Of Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Valour in his time were ſo frequent, that we may know it to be a true ſaying, *Regis ad exemplum*; and men of Learning likewiſe in ſuch numbers, that we may know the Prince to have been their Patron. Firſt *Alan de Lin*, a *Carmelite* Friar in that Town, who wrote many Treatiſes; Then *Thomas Otterborne* a *Franciſcan* Friar, who wrote an Hiſtory of *England*; Then *John Seguerd*, who kept a School in *Norwich*, and wrote ſundry Treatiſes, reproving as well the Monks and Prieſts, as Poets for writing of filthy Verſes. *Robert Roſe* a *Carmelite* Friar in *Norwich*, who writing many Treatiſes, yet ſaid nothing againſt the *Wickliviſts*. *Richard Cayſter*, born in *Norfolk*, a man of great holineſs of life, favouring (tho ſecretly) the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*: *William Wallis*, a Black Friar in *Lyn*, who made a Book of Moralizations upon *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſis*; *William Taylor*, a Prieſt and Maſter of Arts in *Oxford*, a ſtedfaſt follower of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, and burnt for the ſame at *Smithfield* in *London*, the laſt year of this King's Reign. *Bartholomew Florarius*, called ſo of a Treatiſe which he wrote called *Florarium*; who wrote alſo another Treatiſe of Abſtinence, wherein he reproveth the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and the profeſſion of the Friars Mendicants. Alſo *Titus Livius de Foro Liviſii*, an *Italian* born; but ſeeing he was reſident here, and wrote the life of this King, it is not unfit to make mention of him in this place: Alſo many others.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *William Cromar* was Mayor.
John Sutton, *John Michael*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Sir *Thomas Falconer* was Mayor.
John Michael, *Thomas Allen*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Nicholas Wotton* was Mayor.
William Cambridge, *Alan Everard*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *Henry Barton* was Major.
Richard Whittington, *John Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Richard Marlow was Mayor.
Henry Read, *John Gedney*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
William Sevenoke was Mayor.
John Brian, *John Barton*, *John Parveſi*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Sir *Richard Whittington* was Mayor.
Robert Whittington, *John Butler*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
William Cambridge was Mayor.
John Butler, *John Well*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Robert Chichely* was Mayor.
Richard Goſſeline, *William Weſton*, Sheriffs.

THE REIGN OF King HENRY VI.

Ann. Dom. 1422.

THERE hath been a Race of Princes, of which for Three Generations together it might be ſaid rightly, *Pulcherrima Proles, Magnanimi Heroes nati melioribus Annis*; For King *Edward* the Third had many Sons, not inferior in Valour to the many Sons of King *Priamus*, not excepting his valiant Son *Hector*, having ſo equal a match for him as *Edward* the *Black-Prince*, who wanted but an *Homer* to have been an *Achilles*. Then *John* of *Gaunt* had divers Sons, Men as Valorous as any that Age afforded. Then *Henry* the Fourth had four Sons, of ſo Heroical Diſpoſition all, that you might know them all to be his Sons, only K. *Henry* the Fifth to be his Eldeſt. And now that in him the Heroical Nature was come to the height, it degenerated again in K. *Henry* the Sixth, which muſt needs be attributed to the Mother's ſide; who though in her ſelf ſhe was a Princeſs of a noble Spirit, yet being the Iſſue a crazy Father, what marvel if ſhe proved the Mother of a crazy Iſſue? And yet even this Iſſue of hers, a Prince no doubt, of excellent parts in their kind, though not of parts kindly for a Prince; in a private man praiſeworthy enough, but the Sword of a King required a harder metal than the ſoft temper of K. *Henry* the Sixth was made of: And in him we may ſee the fulfilling of the Text; *Væ Genti cujus Rex eſt puer*, *Wo to that Nation whoſe King is a Child*; For he was not above eight months old when he ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom. Although that Text perhaps is not meant ſo much of a Child in years, for which there may be helps by good Protectors; as of a Child in abilities of Ruling, whereof though poſſibly there may, yet probably there can be no ſufficient ſupply: Of which in this King we have a pregnant example; for as long as he continued a Child in years, ſo long his Kingdoms were kept flouriſhing by the providence of his careful Uncles; but as ſoon as he left being a Child in years, and yet continued a Child in ability of Ruling, then preſently began all things *In pejus Ruere, & retro ſublapſa referri*, all things went to wrack both in *France* and *England*. And thus much was neceſſary to be ſaid by way of a Preface to that great fall as it were of *Nilus*, in King *Henry* the Sixth.

K. *Henry* but eight months old when his Father died.

Henry, called of *Windſor*, becauſe born there, the only Child of K. *Henry* the Fifth, as yet ſcarce nine months old, ſucceeded his Father, and was proclaimed King of *England* on the laſt of *Auguſt* in the year 1422. by reaſon of whoſe Infancy K. *Henry* his Father had before by his Will appointed, and now the Lords by their conſent confirmed the Regency of *France* to *John* Duke of *Bedford*, the Government of *England* to *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Guard of his Perſon to *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry Beaufort* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord-Chancellor: Wherein it was wiſely provided, that one man ſhould not rule all, leſt it ſhould prove a ſpur to aſpiring, and withal ſtay them from envying one another, when many were alike placed in the higheſt form of Authority: And indeed they all carried themſelves ſo uprightly and carefully in their places, that it well appeared the truſt repoſed in them by the dying King, had made a ſtrong impreſſion of love and loyalty towards his Son.

John Duke of *Bedford* is appointed Regent of *France*, and *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter* Guardian of the King's perſon.

The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, was to keep that by the Sword which King *Henry* the Fifth by his Sword had gotten; wherein he had many and great Aſſiſtants, ſpecially the two Terrors of *France*, *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Saliſbury*, and *John* Lord *Talbot*: And amongſt the *French* themſelves the Duke of *Burgoigne*, a friend no leſs powerful than firm unto him. The Dauphin alſo (now crowned King at *Poictiers*, and called *Charles* the Seventh of *France*, his Father being newly dead, within a little more than a month after K. *Henry*) had likewiſe great aſſiſtants, the Duke of *Alanſon* and many other Peers of *France*, and of the *Scots* many, and ſome perhaps of the *Engliſh* that took part with him; by means whereof the game of Fortune was a long time played between them with great variety. The firſt Act of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Regency, was an Oration which he made to the *French* in *Paris*, which wrought this good effect, that King *Henry* is proclaimed King of *England* and of *France*, and ſuch *French* Lords as were preſent did their Homages, and took their Oaths to be true unto him. The firſt act of hoſtility was performed by the new King of *France*, who ſends the Lord *Granvile* to *Pont Meaulan*, who ſurprized it, putting all the *Engliſh* Soldiers to the Sword; but the Regent ſending thither *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Saliſbury*, ſo ſtrongly beleaguered it, that the Lord *Granvile* not only ſurrendred it, but ſwore Allegiance (though he kept it not) to the King of *England*. From thence the Earl marched to *Seyne*, which he took by aſſault; and

Aſſiſtants to the Duke of *Bedford*.

The Dauphin Crowned King at *Poictiers*, and called *Charles* the Seventh. What aſſiſtance he had.

K. *Henry* is proclaimed in *Paris*, King of *England* and *France*.

and put all the Soldiers (except the Captain Sir *William Maryn*) to the Sword.

1423. The Duke of *Bedford* marries the Sister of the Duke of *Burgoigne.*

At this time the Regent, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, *John* Duke of *Britain*, and his Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Richmond*, (who revolted afterward to the new K. of *France*, and was by him made Conſtable in *France*) met at *Amyens*; and there not only renewed the old League, but further inlarged it to be offenſive and defenſive reſpectively: And to make the friendſhip the more firm, the Regent married *Ann* the Siſter of the Duke of *Burgoigne* at *Troys*. In this mean time the *Pariſians* taking advantage of the Regent's abſence, conſpired to have let in the new King into *Paris*; but the day before the night appointed for his admiſſion, the Regent with his power entred, apprehended the Conſpirators, and put them to publick execution. That done, he furniſhed all the Forts and places of ſtrength with *Engliſh*-men, and ſent Sir *John Falſtaffe*, who took in *Pacye*, and *Courſay*, two ſtrong Caſtles; whilſt himſelf with his Forces took in *Traynels*, and *Braye* upon *Seyne*.

The *Pariſians* aſpiring, are repreſſed by the Regent.

The Conſtable of *France* the mean while with the new King's Forces, laid ſiege to *Cravant* in *Burgoigne*; but the Regent ſent thither the Earl of *Saliſbury*, who ſet upon the *French*, and after a long fight putting them to flight, ſlew about 1800 Knights and Gentlemen of note, and three thouſand Common Soldiers, *Scots* and *French*, took priſoners the Conſtable himſelf, the Earl of *Vendadour*, Sir *Alexander Alerdyn*, Sir *Lewis Forignye*, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen. Of the *Engliſh* part were ſlain Sir *John Grey*, Sir *William Hall*, Sir *Gilbert Halſall*, *Richard ap Maddock*, and one and twenty hundred Soldiers. From thence the Earl led his Forces to *Montaguillon*, and ſate down before it, which after five months ſiege he took, whilſt the Duke of *Suffolk* took in the two ſtrong Caſtles of *Coivey* and *le Roche*.

Tho. Montacute Earl of *Saliſbury* defeats a great Army of the *French.*

1424. *James* the firſt, King of *Scots*, after 18. years impriſonment is releaſed, and the manner of doing his Homage.

Whilſt theſe things are done in *France*, in *England* the Protector ranſomed and inlarged the young King of *Scots*, *James* the firſt (who by the ſpace of eighteen years had been kept a priſoner) which he did out of opinion, that he might withdraw the *Scots* out of *France*, taking Homage and Fealty of him for the Crown of *Scotland* in theſe words: *I* James Stuart, *King of* Scots, *ſhall be true and faithful to you Lord* Henry, *King of* England *and* France, *the Superior Lord of* Scotland, *and to you I make my fidelity for the ſaid Kingdoms, which I hold and claim of you, and ſhall do you ſervice for the ſame; So God me help and theſe holy Evangeliſts.* And therewithal, with conſent of all the Nobility, the Protector gave him to Wife *Jane* Daughter to the deceaſed Duke of *Somerſet*, and Couſin-german to the King, with a large Dowry, and married them at St. *Mary Overy*'s-in *Southwark*; yet all this courteſy could not keep him afterward from being unfaithful and unthankful.

And now the Protector ſent over to the Regent Ten thouſand well furniſhed Soldiers, with which freſh ſuccor he won many Towns and places of ſtrength; which the *French* ſeeing, and finding themſelves too weak by plain force to withſtand the *Engliſh*, they ſought by ſubtilty to compaſs their ends: And firſt, they work upon the inconſtancy of the Duke of *Britain*, and his Brother *Arthur*, by King *Henry* the fifth created Earl of *Yewry*, whom by Gifts and promiſes they ſuborned, perfidiouſly to deliver over into their poſſeſſion the Caſtles of *Cratoyne* and *Yerney*; but the *Engliſh*, before the *French* Gariſons were ſetled, fell upon *Crotoye*, and recovered it; and that done, the Regent beſieged *Yerney*; and by ſecret mining, and violent Batteries, ſo ſhook the Walls, that they agreed to yield it up, if not relieved by a certain time. Whereupon the Duke of *Alanſon* with ſixteen thouſand *French* came to the reſcue; but perceiving the *Engliſh* prepared to receive them, he wheeled about to *Vernoyle*, and ſwore to the Townſmen that he had put the Regent to flight, and reſcued *Yerney*; which they believing, rendred up *Vernoyle* to him; but the Regent followed him thither, when by the encouragement of ſome freſh Companies of *Scots* come to his ſuccor, he came to a Battel in the Field, where the *Engliſh* with the loſs of Two thouſand One hundred Common Soldiers, and Two of the Nobility, the Lord *Dudley* and the Lord *Charleton*, got the honour of the day; and ſlew of their Enemies, five Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty Barons, and above ſeven thouſand other of the *French*, beſides Two thouſand ſeven hundred *Scots* lately arrived, and took priſoners the Duke of *Alanſon* himſelf, the Lord of *Hernit*, and divers other *French*; and Sir *John Tourbul* and two hundred Gentlemen, beſides Common Soldiers. This Battel was fought the eight and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, in the yeat 1424. and thereupon *Vernoyle* was preſently re-delivered. After this, the Earl of *Saliſbury* with Ten thouſand men taketh in the ſtrong Town of *Maunts*, the Town of St. *Suſan*, the Fort of St. *Bernard*, and others; from thence he went to *Anjou*, where he performed ſuch Heroick Acts, that his very name grew terrible in all *France*; as for inſtance, the new High-Conſtable, perfidious *Richmond*, with Forty thouſand men, laid ſiege to the good Town of St. *James* in *Beuvon*, the Gariſon whereof conſiſted but of ſix hundred *Engliſh*; who being driven to ſome extremity, ſallied forth, crying, St. *George*, a *Saliſbury*; which words of *Saliſbury* ſo frighted the *French*, thinking he had been come to reſcue them, that caſting away their weapons, they ran all away, ſaving ſome few that yielded themſelves priſoners, leaving all their Tents, fourteen pieces of Ordnance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, much Armour, and ſome Treaſure behind them. After which, other Caſtles, as that of *Beaumont*, of *Vicount*, *Teuney*, *Gilly*, *Oſce*, *Ruſey*, *Vaſick*, and many other were taken in by Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *John Falſtaffe*; ſo as once again the *French* are glad to betake themſelves to their old courſe of fraud; they compounded with a *Gaſcoigne* Captain for delivery of *Alanſon* to them; whereof the Regent having notice, he ſent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Falſtaffe* to prevent it; who encountring with *Charles de Villiers*, that with two hundred Horſe and three hundred Foot was come to the place appointed for entry, took and ſlew them all, except ſome few Horſe which ſaved themſelves by flying. After which, the Earl of *Saliſbury* took in and demoliſhed above forty

The Regent gives the *French* a great overthrow at *Vernoyle.*

The Earl of *Saliſbury* doth great acts in *France.*

His very name defeated an Army of Forty thouſand.

The *French* uſe fraud, but to their own hurt.

forty Caſtles and ſtrong Piles, for which there was publick Thankſgiving to God in *London*.

Whilſt theſe things were done in *France*, an unkind variance fell out between the Protector and his Brother the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chancellor; for appeaſing whereof, the Regent having ſubſtituted the Earl of *Warwick* Lieutenant-General in his abſence, came into *England*; where in a Parliament he compounded all differences between them. In honour whereof K. *Henry* kept a ſolemn Feaſt, at which time the Regent dubbed the King Knight, not yet above four years old; and then the King preſently inveſted with that Dignity, many of his Servants; and *Edmund Mortimer*, the laſt Earl of *March*, at this time dying, his Inheritance deſcended to *Richard Plantagenet*, Son and Heir to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, beheaded at *Southampton*, who was now created Duke of *York*, and was afterward Father to K. *Edward* the Fourth: And at this time alſo, *John Mowbray*, Son and Heir to *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, baniſhed before by K. *Richard* the Second, was reſtored by the Title of Duke of *Norfolk*. And now all things peaceably ſetled in *England*, the Regent with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* returned into *France*; where, at the interceſſion of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, the Duke of *Alanſon* was ranſomed for two hundred thouſand Crowns: And the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* returned to *Callice*, where he was inveſted with the Dignity and Hat of Cardinal, which his Brother the Regent put upon his head.

K. *Henry* at four years old dubbed Knight by the Regent.

Richard Plantagenet created Duke of *York*, Father to K. *Edward* the Fourth.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made a Cardinal.

In the fourth year of this King's Reign, a Parliament was holden at *Leiceſter*, called of the common people, *the Parliament of Bats*; becauſe, being commanded to lay by their Swords, Servants took great Bats to follow their Lords and Maſters to the Parliament.

An. Reg. 4. 1425.

About this time the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Protector, took ſome blemiſh in his Honour, by marrying another man's Wife, *Jaquelme* Counteſs of *Heynault*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, who was married before to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, yet living, and had lived with him ten months as his lawful Wife; but at that time upon ſome diſcontent gone from him, intending to be divorced. At which injury offered to the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being his Couſin, took ſo great offence, that firſt by friendly Letters he admoniſhed the Duke of *Gloceſter* of it; and that not prevailing, they grew to terms of Challenge, and a Combat between them was appointed; but in the mean time the Lady betrayed, was carried to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who conveyed her to *Gaunt*; from whence, by friendſhip of a *Burgoignian* Knight, in man's apparel ſhe eſcaped into *Holland*, and there made a defenſive War againſt her Husband the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Burgoigne*. To her aid, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſent the Lord *Fitzwater*, with a power of a Thouſand men; but ſhe being diſcomfited by the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Pope alſo pronouncing the firſt Marriage legal, the Duke of *Gloceſter* deſerted her, and then took for a ſecond Wife *Eleanor* Daughter of the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, his old Miſtreſs: And the Lady *Jaqueline*, after the death of *John* Duke of *Brabant*, married a mean Gentleman; whom the Duke of *Burgoigne* impriſoned, and brought her ſelf to live in much trouble.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* marries another man's Wife, and the trouble that grew about it.

And now in *France*, the Conſtable with forty thouſand men, beſieged the Town of St. *James de Beuron*; and having made a breach fit for aſſault, whilſt his Captains ſtood ſtraining of courteſy, which of them ſhould firſt enter, Sir *Nicholas Burdet* with all his Forces ſallied forth, crying aloud, A *Salisbury*, a *Salisbury*; whoſe name ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Beſiegers, that they ſtood like men amazed, of whom ſix hundred were ſlain, two hundred drowned in the Ditches, fifty taken Priſoners, with eighteen Standards, and the Conſtable was glad to quit the place, and give over the ſiege.

Forty thouſand *French* frighted away with crying, A *Salisbury*.

At the ſame time alſo the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Scales*, with ſeven thouſand, beſieged *Pontherſon* many weeks together; but proviſion waxing ſcant, the Lord *Scales* with three thouſand men went a foraging into the Enemy's Countrey: And in his return with plenty of Proviſion, was encountred with ſix thouſand *French*, of whom he ſlew many hundreds, took above a thouſand Priſoners, and then returned ſafe into the Camp.

The Lord *Scales* defeats an Army of *French*.

About this time alſo Sir *John Falſtaffe* beſieged the ſtrong Town of *Gravile*, which after twelve days, offered to render it ſelf by a day, if it were not relieved. The offer was taken, and Pledges delivered; but before the day came, they within the Town had victualled and manned the place; and thereupon neglecting their Pledges, refuſed to render the Caſtle according to agreement: Whereupon the Pledges were brought before the ſight of them within the Caſtle, and there openly put to death.

Pledges put to death for not having promiſe kept.

And now a Conſpiracy of the Clergy and Magiſtrates in *Maunts* ſo prevailed, that the Marſhals of *France* with five hundred Men about midnight came to the Town-Walls, where the Guard of *Engliſh*, by thoſe that ſeemed their friends, were ſuddenly maſſacred; and ſetting upon the Gates, made way for the Enemy to enter: Whereupon the alarum given, the Earl of *Suffolk* with the ſurviving *Engliſh*, withdrew to the Caſtle, wherein they were ſharply aſſailed by the *French*, who yet had more mind to ranſack houſes, and to make good cheer; whereof the Lord *Talbot* having intelligence by Captain *Goſſe*, whom he had ſent to diſcover the ſtate of the *French*, he ſecretly gave notice to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who thereupon ſallied forth of the Caſtle at a time when the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his Troops: And on both ſides crying St. *George*, a *Talbot*, they fell upon the careleſs *French*, who loſt four hundred of their beſt men, the reſt were all taken, the Town regained, and the Conſpirators, thirty Citizens, twenty Prieſts, and fifteen Friars, condemned and put to execution.

An Army of *French* defeated with crying a *Talbot*.

Whilſt theſe things went on proſperouſly in *France*, a great diſaſter fell out in *England*; for the right noble *Thomas Beaufort* (Son of *John* of *Gaunt* and *Katherine Swinford*) Duke of *Exeter*, and Guardian of the King, makes K. *Henry* his Heir; and at *Eaſt-Greenwich* in *Kent*, ended his life. Whoſe place was preſently ſupplied by the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl's place in *France* by the Earl of *Salisbury*; who thereupon with five thouſand men came to

Tho. Beaufort Duke of *Exeter* dies.

Orleance,

Orleance, and beſieged the City, and won from the *French* the great Fort. But here happened another great diſaſter, for from an high Tower in this Fort, the Beſiegers obſerved the paſſages of the Townſmen; when the Noble Earl of *Salisbury*, intending to inform himſelf of the ſtate of the Town, unfortunately looking out at a Window of the Fort, with Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, a great ſhot from the Town ſtriking the Bars of the Window, the ſplinters thereof were driven into his head and face: of which wounds within eight days he died. This was now a ſecond weakening to the *Engliſh* party; but in his place the Earl of *Suffolk* ſucceeded, to whom the Regent ſendeth Sir *John Falſtaffe* with freſh ſupplies; whom the Lords *De la Brets*, nine thouſand ſtrong, endeavours to intercept: but Sir *John* reſolving to abide the charge, placeth his Carriages behind, the Horſe next, and the Foot before, lining his Bows with Bill-men, and pitching ſtakes behind the Archers, who having diſcharged their firſt Volley, retired behind the ſtakes; on which the *French*, forgetting their former defeats by that courſe, ran and goared their Horſes, by which their Vaward being diſordered, their Battel made a ſtand; which Sir *John* perceiving, cryed out, St. *George! they flie!* at which words they fled indeed, and loſt two Thouſand five hundred of their Men, with the Lords *De la Brets*, and *William Stewart*; Eleven hundred were taken priſoners; with whom, and a rich Booty, they came to the Camp before *Orleance*. And this Battel, becauſe moſt part of the Carriage was Herring and Lenten Stuff, was by the *French*-men called the Battel of Herrings. But the beſieged having notice of this defeat, they offered to ſubmit themſelves to the Duke of *Burgoigne*; who was contented to receive them, ſo as the Regent would conſent; But the Regent conſented not, and therefore in the mean time, the beſieged made means to the Duke of *Alanſon*, who furniſhed the Town with freſh Forces and Proviſions; which put ſuch ſpirits into the Citizens, that they made a ſally out, ſlew ſix hundred *Engliſh*, and adventured upon the *Baſtile*, where the Lord *Talbot* commanded, who repelled them with great ſlaughter of their men; but yet the next day the Earl of *Suffolk* gave over his ſiege, and diſperſed his Army into their Gariſons.

1428.

The noble Earl of *Salisbury* unfortunately ſlain.

Sir *John Falſtaffe* defeats the *French* by politick ordering his Army.

The *Engliſh* ſide begins to go down.

And now the wheel of Fortune began to turn to the *French* againſt the *Engliſh*, which once ſet a going was not eaſie to be ſtayed. And firſt the Duke of *Alanſon* took by aſſault the Town of *Jargeux*, and in it the Earl of *Suffolk*, and one of his Brothers, and ſlew Sir *Alexander Pole*, another of his Brothers, and many other Priſoners in cold blood, by reaſon of a contention amongſt the *French*, to whom the Priſoners ſhould belong. Preſently upon this, another great blow was given the *Engliſh*; for the Lord *Talbot*, *Scales*, and *Hungerford*, going to fortifie the Town of St. *Meum*, were encountred by the ſaid Duke of *Alanſon*, and *Arthur* of *Britain*, with three and twenty thouſand Men, with whom the *Engliſh* Lords interchanged ſome Blows: But oppreſſed with multitude, were all three taken priſoners, all ſore wounded, twelve hundred of their Company ſlain, and the reſt hardly eſcaping to *Meum*, where they fortified themſelves the beſt they could againſt future aſſaults.

The Duke of *Suffolk* taken priſoner.

The Lords *Talbot* and *Scales* taken priſoners.

Theſe were great blows given to the *Engliſh* Fortune in *France*; *Salisbury* ſlain, and now *Talbot* taken priſoner: which though they made her a little to totter, yet there muſt be great blows given before ſhe will fall. And indeed, theſe diſaſters were ſeconded by the perfidious ſurrender of many Towns and ſtrong Holds to the *French* King; who now encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, marcheth into *Champaign*, where by Compoſition he took *Troys* the chief City of that Province: *Chaltous* rebelleth, and enforceth their Captain to yeild it up; by whoſe example the Citizens of *Rhemes* do the like, where the *French* King is anew Proclaimed, and with accuſtomed Ceremonies Anointed and Crowned: whereupon many Towns ſubmit themſelves to him, and revolt from the *Engliſh*. Upon this the Duke of *Bedford* (to make the *French* know, that all the *Engliſh* ſtrength conſiſted not only in *Salisbury* and *Talbot*) with Ten thouſand *Engliſh*, beſides *Normans*, marched out of *Paris*, and ſent Letters of defiance to the *French* King, affirming, That deceitfully and by unjuſt means he had ſtolen many Cities and places of importance belonging to the Crown of *England*; which he was come to juſtifie by Battel, if he would appoint a time and place. To which the King of *France* making a ſlight Anſwer, the Regent marched apace toward him; and as faſt the King of *France* marcheth away. The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came near to *Senlys*: there both the Armies encamped and embattelled, yet only ſome light Skirmiſhes paſſed between them. And a night or two after, the *French* King fled with his Army to *Bray*, which the Duke thinking to be but a plot to draw him further off from *Paris*, of whoſe fidelity he had no great aſſurance, followed him no further, but returned thither. At which time the Regent's Brother the Cardinal, having prepared Forces to aſſiſt Pope *Martin* in *Bohemia*, the Regent borrowed them of him for a preſent Expedition; and with them marched into *Champaign*, where he found the *French* King encamped upon the Mount *Pihall*, whoſe number being twice as many as the Regents, yet by no provocations could be drawn to Battel, but ſecretly fled to *Criſpis*; whereupon the Regent alſo returned to *Paris*.

The *French* King recovers many Towns.

The *French* King Crowned at *Rhemes*.

The Regent purſueth the *French* King.

The *French* King declineth Battel.

Whilſt theſe things were done in *France*, in *England*, upon St. *Leonard*'s day the 6. of *November*, 1429. King *Henry* not yet eight years old, was with great ſolemnity Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, at whoſe Coronation were made ſix and thirty Knights of the *Bath*, and after the Solemnity, a Feaſt; and if any man deſire to know much Cookery, he may read in *Fabian* all the diſhes of meat that were ſerved at that Feaſt.

An. Reg. 8. 1429.

K. *Henry* Crowned at *Weſtminſter*.

About this time, in *France* a ſtrange Impoſtor ariſeth: A Maid called *la Pucelle*, taking upon her to be ſent from God, for the good of *France*, and to expel the *Engliſh*; and ſome good indeed ſhe did; for by her ſubtil working, the King was received into *Champaign*, and many Towns were rendred to him, whilſt the Lord *Longueville*

La Pucelle begins to ſhew her ſelf.

Longueville took by ſurprize the Caſtle of *Aumerle*, and ſlew all the *Engliſh* that were in it. But all theſe were but petty acqueſts to the King of *France*: There is a knot of friendſhip between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which muſt be broken, or he will never be able to compaſs his deſigns; he therefore labours by all means poſſible to diſunite them; wherein he ſo little prevailed, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* acquaints the Regent with all the practices; who thereupon, with many thanks exhorteth him to continue firm, of which he ſhould never have cauſe to repent him: And becauſe *Normandy* was a principal part of the *Engliſh* ſtrength in *France*, he goeth thither, and by many reaſons perſuades them, as their Anceſtors had always been, to be faithful to the Crown of *England*.

In this time of the Regent's abſence from *Paris*, the K. of *France* drew all his Forces thither, uſing all means poſſible, by Eſcalado, Battery, and burning the Gates, to enter the City; but was ſo withſtood by the vigilancy of the Citizens, that he was glad to ſound a retreat, leaving his ſlain and maimed Soldiers behind him, all but the *Pucelle*; who being hurt in the Leg, and almoſt ſtifled with mire in the ditch, was by a ſervant of the Duke of *Alanſon* drawn up, and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who by the way received the ſubmiſſion of the Inhabitants of *Laignye*. Some other ſervices were performed on both ſides, by the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Thomas Kyrriel*, for the *Engliſh*; by the baſtard of *Orleance*, and Sir *Stephen le Hye*, for the *French*; but of no great importance: Till at laſt, the *Pucelle*, (who a little before had cauſed an *Engliſh* Captain's head to be cut off, becauſe he would not humble himſelf to her upon his knee) was by Sir *John* of *Lutzemburgh* taken, and preſented to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who ſent her to the Regent, and he to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, who judicially proceeding againſt her as a Sorcereſs, and deceiver of the King and his Subjects, ſhe was (after many delays of promiſe to diſcover ſecret practice, and laſtly of her feigning to be with Child) publickly burnt at *Roan*.

La Pucelle taken and burnt at *Roan* for a Sorcereſs.

An. R. 10. 1431.

And now the Regent finding how much the Crowning of the *French* King had furthered his deſigns, he made account the like effect would follow the Crowning of King *Henry* in *France*: Whereupon he is ſent for to come over; and coming to *Paris*, was by his Uncle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Cardinal of *Euſebius*, not yet above nine years old, with all uſual Ceremonies, Crowned King of *France*, receiving the Oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the *French* Nobility that were preſent, and of all the Inhabitants of *Paris*, and of the places adjacent. Upon this Pope *Eugenius* laboured a reconcilement between the two Kings, but could effect nothing but only a Truce for ſix years: Which agreed upon, King *Henry* returns into *England*, and landeth at *Dover*, the 11*th*. of *February*. But the ſix years Truce was ſcarce openly proclaimed, when the *French* had cunningly poſſeſſed themſelves of divers Caſtles and places of ſtrength, juſtifying their actions, affirming, That what was politickly obtained without blows, was no infringement of the Truce: And afterwards perfidiouſly conveyed Two hundred men into the Caſtle of *Roan*; with intent to have ſurprized it; but being diſcovered, they were all taken, and either ranſomed or put to execution. Upon this, the Regent, (whoſe Wife, the Siſter of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being lately dead, and he married again to *Jaqueline* the Earl of S. *Paul*'s Daughter, with whom he went over into *England*) returned again to *Paris*; to whom the Lord *Talbot*, having now paid his Ranſom, cometh, bringing with him Seven hundred tried Soldiers; and with them the Regent takes the Field, where the *French* Army lay; but the *French* ſlunk away in the dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a Battel.

K. *Henry* is Crowned King of *France* in *Paris*.

A Truce abuſed.

About this time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, taken at the Battel of *Agincourt*, after eighteen years impriſonment, paying eighteen thouſand pounds for his Ranſom, the ſame day he was inlarged, died at *London*.

The Regent and Duke of *Burgoigne* fall at Variance, and for what.

And now a very great effect was produced out of a very ſmall cauſe: There had been ſparks of unkindneſs between the two great Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which brake out into a flame upon this occaſion: A time and place was appointed, where they ſhould meet to compound ſome differences that were between them; The place agreed upon, was St. *Omers*, a Town in *Artois*: When the time came, they ſtood upon this nice point, which of them ſhould firſt come to the place; as thinking that he which did ſo, ſhould hereby acknowledge himſelf to be the meaner perſon. The Duke of *Bedford* thought he had no reaſon to do it, ſeeing he was Regent of *France*, and therefore ſuperior to any Subject in the Kingdom: And the Duke of *Burgoigne* thought he had no reaſon to do it, ſeeing it was to be done in his own Dominions, where he was himſelf the Sovereign Lord. Upon this nice point they broke off, and never met; and the unkindneſs grew afterward to ſo great hatred, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* choſe rather to be friends with him that had murthered his Father, than ever to have any more commerce with the Duke of *Bedford*. Thus was one great branch of aſſiſtance lopt off from the *Engliſh*, which had been a great means before to make it flouriſh: And it was not ſo much, that the aſſiſtance was taken from the *Engliſh*, as that it was added to the *French*: For after this, the Duke of *Burgoigne* brought more aſſiſtance to the new King of *France*, than ever he had done before to the King of *England*. By which we may ſee, when the Divine Providence hath a Work to effect, what ſlight Occaſions it oftentimes takes to effect the Work.

The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, dies in *Paris*.

Great blows had been given before in *France* to the *Engliſh* Fortune by the Enemies; but now a blow was given to it by Deſtiny, which made the Enemies blows more incurable; for now the Wiſe, Valiant, Faithful Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Anjou* and *Alanſon*, Earl of *Mayne*, *Harcourt*, *Drieux*, *Richmond*, and *Carlile*, and Viſcount *Beaumont*, upon the 13*th*. of *September*, 1435. ended his life at *Paris*, which was in a manner the ending the life of the *Engliſh* Fortune in *France*: All former Blows had been upon inferior members

1435.

members, but this was a blow upon the head, and therefore mortal; and indeed the *Engliſh* Fortune in *France* never after lifted up its head but very weakly. He was buried in our Ladies Church at *Roan*, whereat the Nobility of *Normandy* much repined, who would have had their own Territory honoured with his Sepulcher: yet ſee the levity of theſe men, who a few years after in the Reign of *Lewis* the Son of *Charles*, would have had his Monument to have been demoliſhed, as being diſhonourable ſuch an Arch-Enemy to *France* ſhould be interred in the Metropolitan City of that Province. But *Lewis* anſwered, *God forbid I ſhould give way to ſo diſhonourable an Act, to diſquiet his dead bones, who living would have diſquieted us all; and it ſavours of too much baſeneſs to inſult upon a dead Lion.*

The noble diſpoſition of King *Lewis* of *France.*

The Duke of *York* is made Regent of *France*, which the Duke of *Somerſet* envying, hinders his proceedings all he can.

But yet in theſe diſaſters there might have been ſome reparation by a good Succeſſor, had not Envy and Ambition bred diſturbance: The Duke of *Somerſet* deſired the Succeſſion, but the Duke of *York* obtained it; which bred ſuch an envy in the Duke of *Somerſet* towards him, that he laboured nothing ſo much as to croſs his deſigns, and was a means to hinder the Duke of *York*'s going to his Charge ſo long, that the *Pariſians* had time to think of freeing themſelves from the *Engliſh* ſervitude: And thereupon the City after it had remained ſeventeen years in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, yields to the Conſtable, and upon compoſition expels all the *Engliſh*; and which was worſe, many other Towns followed this example of *Paris*; for what Town would not willingly do as *Paris* did, the Epitome as it were of all *France*? and which they ſtick not to call *Le Monde de Paris*, as though there were upon earth no other world but *Paris*. Even the *Normans*, who had always been moſt firm to the *Engliſh*, yet had run the ſame courſe, if the Lord *Talbot* had not kept them in awe, with the ſlaughter of five thouſand of them that way inclined. And now after theſe great loſſes, we muſt be content to play ſmaller games, caſt at Caſtles and Forts, and ſome ſmall Towns, like the ſtruggling of dying men, doing acts of life, till there be no more life remaining. And this was now our caſe in *France*. The new Regent with eight thouſand Soldiers arrived at *Harfleu*, and from thence marched to *Roan*; where he won the reputation of Juſtice and Uprightneſs, notwithſtanding all the calumniations of the Duke of *Somerſet*: When the revolted Duke of *Burgoigne* pretending Title to the Town of *Callice*, approacheth it with an Army of Forty thouſand men, takes the poor *Baſtile* of *Oye*, and ſlaughters and hangs many of the defendants. The *Picards* beſieged the Caſtle of St. *Mark*, took it, and demoliſhed it; from thence they begirt *Callice* with a ſiege, but were repelled: Then the Duke of *Burgoigne* ſent the Lord *Croy* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, but were repelled there alſo. In the mean time *Pembroke* the Herald brought a defiance to the Duke of *Burgoigne* from the Duke of *Gloceſter* the Protector, That he would give him Battel if he would abide it; To whom the Duke of *Burgoigne* anſwered, He ſhould be ſure to find him where he now was. Whereupon he calleth a Council, and whilſt they are debating what is beſt to be done, the *Callicians* make a ſally, take the *Baſtile* which they had builded, by force, and ſlew Eightſcore of the *Burgoignians*; which ſo terrified them, that they upbraid the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and make both him and the Lord *Croy* to quit their quarters: And in ſuch haſte to be gone, that they left a great part of their beſt Ordnance, and all their Proviſion for the relief and help of the beſieged. And it ſeems they had reaſon ſo to do; for the next day, being the ſeven and twentieth of *July*, the Duke of *Gloceſter* landed at *Callice*, with five and twenty thouſand good fighting men; who finding the Enemy recoiled, foraged all the Countrey thereabout, and for the ſpace of ſix weeks harrowed all the parts of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Heynault*: And then returning by St. *Omers*, *Arde* and *Guiſnes*, arrived at *Callice*.

1436.

Paris expels all the *Engliſh*, and by their example many other Towns likewiſe.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* the Protector ſends defiance to the Duke of *Burgoigne.*

The Duke of *Gloceſter* lands at *Callice* with 25 thouſand fighting men.

And now we muſt look a little home; for the Duke of *York* returning into *England*, finds the Caſtle of *Rocksborough* beſieged by the King of *Scots*, with Thirty thouſand men; but he hearing of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s approach, and the Duke's return, incontinently fled. And now again to *France*, where the Town of *Harfleu* was ſold to the *French*; but the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Lord *Talbot*, beſetting it both by Sea and Land, tho' the Earl of *Ewe*, and the Baſtard of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, with four thouſand men came to relieve it, yet upon compoſition it was ſurrendred.

And here we may have leave to ſpeak of a private matter; for about this time the Ducheſs of *Bedford* married Sir *Richard Woodvile*, a gallant Young Gentleman, but of ſmall means; which though it offended her friends, yet it ſeems offended not God, who made her Mother of many Children by him; and amongſt the reſt, of the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to K. *Edward* the Fourth. Alſo about this time *James* King of *Scots*, who before had been eighteen years priſoner in *England*, and afterward releaſed, with a Wife of a Noble Houſe, a great Dower, and many honourable Preſents, yet proved ungrateful, was murthered in his Bed-Chamber by Night, whoſe murtherers being found out, were cruelly tortured. And now again to *France*, when the Duke of *Burgoigne* could neither by force nor policy take *Callice*, he attempted a ridiculous practice, to cut a Ditch that ſhould drown both the Town and Countrey; but after much labour and expence, his deſign like a vapour vaniſhed into Air. The Lord *Talbot* beſieged *Tankervile*, and after four months ſiege had it rendred to him. In revenge whereof, the *French* King in his own perſon lays ſiege to *Monſtreau*; which whilſt the Duke of *York* was providing to reſcue, he was diſcharged of his Office, done of purpoſe by his Enemies, to lay a plot upon him: A lamentable thing in a State, when private envy ſhall be ſuffered to undermine the publick ſafety; and by this means Sir *Thomas Gerard* had the more opportunity to ſell the Town, for which, if he were gainer in money, he was yet a loſer in reputation, and hated both of *French* and *Engliſh*, in much diſcontent died. *Arthur*, Conſtable of *France*, and *John* Duke of *Alanſon*, beſieged the Town of *Auranches*,

1437.

The Ducheſs of *Bedford* marries Sir *Richard Woodvile.*

James King of *Scots* murthered.

The Duke of *Burgoigne* attempts *Callice*, but without ſucceſs.

Sir *Thomas Gerard* betrays the Town of *Monſtreau* to the *French.*

but were with diſhonour repelled by the Lord *Talbot*: After this, *Le Hyre* ſent Letters to them, That he had a promiſe from divers Burgers of *Roan* to let them in at any time appointed; againſt which time they came to *Ryze*, within four Leagues of *Roan*; but the Lord *Talbot* having notice hereof, marched covertly to *Roan*, and from thence before day to *Ryze*, where he ſurprizeth the *French*, takes the Lord *Fountaines*, Sir *Alan Geron*, with many others, and with a rich booty returneth to *Roan*. The ſixth day of *November*, in the ſixteenth year of the King's Reign, the Earl of *Warwick* having oftentimes been aboard, and ſtill beaten back by Tempeſts, landed at *Harfleur* with a thouſand freſh Soldiers, and from thence came to *Roan*; but in the mean time the Duke of *Burgoigne* ſeeing no new Regent yet come, beſieged the Town of *Crotoy*: To the Relief whereof, the new Regent now come, ſent the Lord *Talbot* with Five thouſand men, whoſe approach the Duke not enduring, retir'd to *Abbeville*, leaving only Four hundred, with whom he had manned the *Baſtile* by him there erected, which was ſoon gained, and all the Soldiers either taken or ſlain. And there the valiant *Talbot* ſent word to the Duke, That if he would ſave his Countrey from devaſtation, he ſhould come to a Battel; but the Duke not liking the match, conveys himſelf to *Amyens*. Twenty days together did the Lord *Talbot* with fire and Sword, paſs through *Picardy* and *Artois* without oppoſition, and then returned. Sir *Thomas Kyrriel* ſeized upon the Duke's Carriages and Ordnance; and having left in *Crotoy* victual enough for ſix hundred men for a whole year, he brought the reſt to the Earl of *Warwick*. And now *Henry* Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, arrived with two hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears, took the Caſtle of St. *Anyon*, wherein were three hundred *Scots* and *French*; the *Scots* he ſlew all, and hanged the *French*, becauſe they had ſworn fealty to *England*, and broke it; he took likewiſe the Caſtle of *Algarchie*; and by means of an Ambuſh, taketh the Lord *Camonois*, coming to the Reſcue thereof. On the other ſide, the Towns of *Neuxin*, *Bry*, and *Suſan*, were ſold and delivered to the *French* by the treacherous Burgers. In *June* the Earl of *Huntington*, with Two thouſand Archers, and four thouſand Spears, was ſent into *Gaſcoigne*, whither the Earl of *Danois* was lately come to buy Towns and Caſtles; but the Earl of *Huntington* upon his coming thither, changed all the Captains and Officers, whereby he prevented all ſuch Bargains: And ſo far had bribery ſpread it ſelf at this time, that even in *Normandy* the *Engliſh* Captains had but ſmall confidence in the Natives, and not much in ſome of their own Nation; whereupon Sir *Richard Woodvile*, Sir *William Chamberlain*, and *William Peto*, were ſent thither to ſtop the current of that corruption.

The Lord *Talbot* doth great acts.

1438.

At this time the Council of *France* procured a reconcilement between the King and the Dauphin, who had been in long jealouſies and diſſention; which if it had not been done, the Kingdom had been torn with Factions, and never been able to ſubſiſt.

And now in a great Froſt and Snow, the *Engliſh* under the Conduct of Sir *John Clifford* having covered their Armour with white ſhirts, and their heads with white *Alman* skulls, came to *Ponthois* by night, and undiſcover'd paſs'd the Ditches, ſcaled the Walls, ſlew the Guards, and took the Town; but this good luck was accompanied with a bad of more importance: For preſently upon it the Earl of *Warwick* died in the Caſtle of *Roan*, and conveyed into *England*, was buried in the Caſtle of *Warwick*. To reduce *Ponthois*, the *French* King in perſon layeth ſiege unto it, when *Richard* Duke of *York* being the ſecond time made Regent, having with him the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Ewe*, levies a power to raiſe the ſiege; and arriving there, ſends word to the King, that the next morning he would give him Battel: But the King liked not his bidding, but leaving his Ordnance, at midnight ſtole away to *Poſſy*: Thither alſo the Regent follows him, but with no provocations could draw him to fight.

Sir *John Clifford* gets *Ponthois* by a wile.

The Earl of *Warwick* dies.

1439.

Richard Duke of *York* made the ſecond time Regent of *France*.

About this time, a Treaty for Peace between the two Kings is appointed to be held at *Callice*, by the mediation of the Ducheſs of *Burgoigne*, a *Portugal* Lady; Commiſſioners meet of both ſides, but nothing concluded, only the Duke of *Orleance* who had been priſoner to the *Engliſh* five and twenty years, is by the Ducheſs's mediation ranſomed with three hundred thouſand Crowns of the Duke of *Burgoigne*'s money. The Lord *Willoughby* beſieged *Diepe*, which the Dauphin with ſixteen thouſand men cometh to raiſe; and there young *Talbot* is taken priſoner, with Sir *John Peto*, and Sir *John Repley*, but are ſhortly after redeemed by exchange. And now another weakening happened to the *Engliſh* party; the Earl of St. *Paul* forſakes them, and is reconciled to the K. of *France*. The *Engliſh* lay ſiege to *Tartus*, for the raiſing whereof, the *French* King marched thither with 60000 men, relieveth the Town, and then marcheth to *Saverine*, which he taketh in, and in it, Sir *John Ramſton*; after which he took in *Arques*; but then the *Engliſh* cutting off all Convoys of Victuals from coming to him, he is forced to return; after whoſe departure, the *Engliſh* recover all that he had taken; and to boot, take his Lieutenant priſoner, ſlaying or hanging all his Soldiers. In this mean while the Lord *Talbot* taketh in *Conquet*, and driveth the Baſtard of *Orleance* from the ſiege of *Gagliarda*; but the *French* in the Caſtle of *Cornhil* detained many *Engliſh* priſoners; for redeeming of whom, Sir *Francis* the *Aragoniſt* uſed this Stratagem; he apparelled half a dozen luſty young Fellows like Peaſants, carrying Baskets with Corn and Victuals, and ſends them to the Caſtle, while he with his Company lies in Ambuſh, in a Valley near the Caſtle; the ſix unſuſpected are admitted; and coming to the Captain's Chamber, ſeize upon him, and withal give the ſign to the Ambuſh; who coming readily on, entred the Caſtle, put the Soldiers to the Sword, ſet the priſoners at liberty, burnt down the Caſtle, and with the Booty and Captain of the Caſtle returned to *Roan*.

1440.

The Duke of *Orleance* after 25 years impriſonment is ranſomed.

A ſtratagem of Sir *Francis* the *Aragoniſt*.

Whilſt theſe alterations paſſed in *France*, a more unnatural paſſed in *England*, the Uncle riſeth againſt the Nephew, the Nephew againſt the

Difference between the Duke of *Gloceſter* and the Cardinal.

the Uncle; the Duke of *Gloceſter* Articles againſt the Cardinal, charging him with affecting preheminence, to the derogation of the King's Prerogative, and contempt of his Laws; which Articles are delivered to the King, and by him to his Council, who being moſt of the Clergy, durſt not meddle in them, for offending the Cardinal. On the other ſide, the Cardinal finding nothing whereof directly to accuſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* himſelf, accuſeth his other ſelf, the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* the Duke's Wife, of Treaſon, for attempting by Sorcery and Witchcraft the Death of the King, and advancement of her Husband to the Crown: for which, though acquited of the Treaſon, ſhe is adjudged to open Penance, namely, to go with a Wax Taper in her hand, hoodleſs (ſave a Kerchiffe) through *London*, divers days together, and after to remain in perpetual impriſonment in the *Iſle of Man*. The Crime objected againſt her, was, procuring *Thomas Southwel*, *John Hunne*, Prieſts, *Roger Bullingbrook* a ſuppoſed Necromancer, and *Margery Jordan*, called the Witch of *Eye* in *Suffolk*, to deviſe a Picture of Wax in proportion of the King, in ſuch ſort by Sorcery, that as the Picture conſumed, ſo the King's Body ſhould conſume: for which they were all condemned. The Witch was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Bullingbrook* was hanged, conſtantly affirming upon his death, That neither the Ducheſs, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, than only to know by his Art, how long the King ſhould live. *John Hunne* had his pardon, and *Southwel* died the night before he ſhould have been executed.

1441.

The Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Wife accuſed of Sorcery; and her Penance.

K. *Henry* affianceth the Earl of *Armiack*'s Daughter, but is by the King of *France* croſſed.

About this time the Counteſs of *Cominges* being dead, the King of *France* and the Earl of *Arminiack* are Competitors for the Inheritance. The Earl takes poſſeſſion, but fearing the King of *France* his greatneſs, makes offer of his Daughter in Marriage to the King of *England*, with a large portion in money; and beſides, to deliver full poſſeſſion of all ſuch Towns and Caſtles as were by him or his Anceſtors detained in *Aquitaine*, and had been formerly by the Progenitors of the King of *England* conquered. The Ambaſſadours for his buſineſs were by King *Henry* graciouſly heard, and honourably returned: after whom were ſent Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Roſs*, and others, to conclude all things; and the young Lady is by Proxy affianced to King *Henry*. But the King of *France* not liking the proceedings of the Match, ſendeth the Dauphin with a puiſſant Army, who took the Earl, with his youngeſt Son, and both his Daughters, and gained the Counties of *Arminiack*, *Lovern*, *Rovergne*, *Mouleſſenois*, with the Cities of *Severde* and *Cadeack*, chaſing the Baſtard of *Arminiack* out of the Country; by means whereof, the marriage was then deferred, and left in ſuſpenſe.

In this diſtraction of Chriſtendom, many Princes, the Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Hungary*, became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Ambaſſadours of both ſides are ſent, many meetings were had, many motions made; but in concluſion only a Truce for eighteen months is agreed upon. In the mean time the Earl of *Suffolk*, one of the Commiſſioners for the Peace, takes upon him beyond his Commiſſion; and without acquainting his fellows, to treat of a Marriage between the King of *England*, and a Kinſwoman of the King of *France*, Neece to the *French* Queen, Daughter to *Raynor* Duke of *Anjou*, ſtyling himſelf King of *Sicily* and *Naples*: In which buſineſs he was ſo intentive, that it brought an aſperſion upon him of being bribed: but howſoever, an interview between the two Kings is appointed, without any warrant of King *Henry*'s part, to be between *Charters* and *Roan*. The Commiſſioners return, the Earl of *Suffolk* ſets forth the beauty of the propoſed Bride, and the great benefits that would redound to the Kingdom by this match. The King was eaſily induced to credit the Relation; but divers of the King's Council, eſpecially the Duke of *Gloceſter*, oppoſed it; partly for the meanneſs of the match, her Father being only a Titular Prince, and withal but poor, unable to give any portion at all; and partly for the wrong which ſhould hereby be offered to the Duke of *Arminiack*'s Daughter, to whom the King had been in ſolemn manner publickly affianced. But reaſons could not prevail againſt favour: the Earl of *Suffolk*'s affirmation muſt not be undervalued. And hereupon, a new creation of Lords firſt made, (*John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, made Duke of *Somerſet*; *John*, Lord *Talbot*, made Earl of *Shrewsbury*; *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, made Duke of *Exeter*; *Humfrey* Earl of *Stafford*, made Duke of *Buckingham*; *Henry Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, made Duke of *Warwick*; *Edmund Beaufort* Earl of *Dorſet*, made Marqueſs of *Dorſet*; and *William de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, made Marqueſs of *Suffolk*:) This new Marqueſs honourably accompanied, is ſent into *France* to fetch the Lady *Margaret*, the propoſed Bride: who ſhortly after is married at *Southwick* in *Hampſhire*, and Crowned Queen of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, on the 30 day of *May*, 1444, in the Three and Twentieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign. And now inſtead of benefits by this Marriage, there preſently followed great inconveniences; for firſt in exchange of her Perſon, the Duchy of *Anjou*, the City of *Maunts*, with the whole County of *Mayne*, (the beſt props of the Duchy of *Normandy*) are agreed to be ſurrendred into the hands of the *French*; and then the Duke of *Arminiack*, to revenge the injury offered to his Daughter, is a means to expel the *Engliſh* out of all *Aquitain*.

The Earl of *Suffolk* propounds another match for the King.

Dukes and Earls Created.

1444.

K *Henry* proceeds in the match which the Earl of *Suffolk* propounded.

At this time the Duke of *Somerſet*'s ſpleen againſt the Duke of *York*, not only is revived, but is grown ſtronger; for the Duke of *York*, who was now after the death of the Earl of *Warwick*, made the ſecond time Regent of *France*, is ſo undermined by him through aſſiſtance of the new Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, who bore now all the Sway with the King and Queen, that not only he ſupplanted him in his place, but planted himſelf in it, to the great heart-burning of the Duke of *York* and his friends; but he wiſely diſſembled his anger, and for the preſent paſſed it over. And now is no man in grace but the new Marqueſs of *Suffolk*; all favours from the King and Queen

The Duke of *York* diſplaced of his Regency, and the Duke of *Somerſet* placed in it.

must pass by him, and the extent of his power over-reacheth all the Council? He gets of the King the Wardship of the Body and Lands of the Countess of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Daughter and Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, afterward Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh. And now the King's weakness in judgment grows every day more apparent than other, whilst governed by no Counsel but of his Queen, and she by no Counsel but her own will, and the new Marquess of *Suffolk*: King *Henry* is himself the least part of the King, and serves but to countenance the devices of others, whereof he little understands the drift; and which proving ill, the blame must needs be his; if well, the benefit and honour others. For by instigation of the Queen, he suffers the Duke of *Gloucester*, for his care of the Commonwealth called the Good Duke, to be excluded not only from Command, but from the Council-Table; and permits Informers, set on by the Marquess of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Cardinal Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Archbishop of *York*, to come against him: who lay to his charge, That he had caused divers persons to be executed contrary to Law; wherein though he justified himself, yet no justification would be heard. But to avoid tumultuary part-taking, it was concluded he should be privately convicted and condemned, and to this end a Parliament, by the procurement of his Enemies, unwitting to the King, is called at *Bury*: to which the Duke of *Gloucester* resorting, is on the second day of the Session, by the Lord *Beaumont* Lord High Constable (abetted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) arrested and put in Ward, all his followers sequestred from him, whereof two and thirty are committed to several Prisons, and the next day after his Imprisonment, he is found in his bed murthered; yet shewed the same day as though he had died of an Imposthume; though all that saw his body saw plainly he died of a violent and unnatural cause: some say, strangled; some, that a hot spit was put up at his Fundament; and some, that he was stifled between two Feather-Beds. His Corps the same day was conveyed to St. *Albans*, and there buried. Five of his menial Servants, Sir *Roger Chamberlain* Knight, *Middleton*, *Herbert*, *Arteis*, Esquires, and *John Needham* Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and hanged they were at *Tyburn*, let down quick, stript naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered; but then the Marquess of *Suffolk*, to make a shew as though he had no hand in the business, brought their Pardon, and delivered it at the place of Execution, and so their lives were saved. It is no unmemorable thing which Sir *Thomas Moor* writes of the pregnancy of this Duke of *Gloucester*. It happened the King, coming one time in Progress to St. *Albans*, a Beggar born blind, as he said, at the Shrine of St. *Alban* obtained his sight: which Miracle being noised in the Town, the Duke of *Gloucester* being there with the King, desired to see him, who being brought unto him, he asked if he were born blind? who told him, Yes truly; And can you now see? (saith the Earl) Yes, I thank God and St. *Alban*, saith the Beggar; Then tell me, saith the Earl, what colour is my Gown? The Beggar readily told him the colour: And what colour, saith the Earl, is such a man's Gown? The Beggar likewise told him presently, and so of divers others. Then saith the Earl, Go you counterfeit Knave: if you had been born blind, and could never see till now, how come you so suddenly to know this difference of colours? and thereupon instead of an Alms, caused him to be set in the Stocks. But in the death of this Duke, the Queen, who had a special hand in it, was either not so intelligent or not so provident as she might have been; for as long as he had lived, his Primogeniture would have kept back the Duke of *York*'s claim to the Crown, being but descended from the fifth Son of *Edward* the third, where this Duke *Humphrey* was descended from the fourth. And here were the first seeds sown between the Two Houses of *Lancaster*, whose badge was the Red-Rose; and *York*, whose badge was the White-Rose. And now upon the death of this Duke of *Gloucester*, the Duke of *York* began amongst his Familiars, privily to whisper his right and title to the Crown; but so politickly carried his intent, that all things were provided to further his project, before his purpose was any whit discovered.

K. *Henry* begins to shew his weakness in Judgment.

1447.

The Duke of *Gloucester* secretly murthered.

Five Gentlemen hanged, but were cut down quick, and lived.

The Duke of *Gloucester*'s pregnancy in discovering an Impostor.

The Duke of *York* begins to whisper his Right to the Crown.

And in this time the rich Cardinal and Bishop of *Winchester* dies; who lying on his death-bed, as Doctor *John Baker* his Privy Councellor and his Chaplain writeth, used such like words: Why should I dye, saith he, having so much riches? If the whole Realm would save my life, I am able either by Policy to get it, or by money to buy it: Fie, will not death be hired? will money do nothing? and other words to such purpose. But he being dead, there succeeded in his Bishoprick a more deserving Prelate, *William Wanflete*, called so of the place in *Lincolnshire* where he was born, though his name was *Patternæ*, of the Worshipful Family whereof he was descended. And now to the end the Marquess of *Suffolk* might not come behind them in Dignity, whom he went before in Power, he is about this time make Duke of *Suffolk*.

The Bishop of *Winchester*'s prophane speech at his death.

1447.

The Marquess of *Suffolk* is made Duke of *Suffolk*.

In *France* about this time, a Victory was gotten, which proved no better than an overthrow. Before the Truce was expired, Sir *Francis Suryens* an *Aragonois*, a man thought worthy to be admitted into the honourable Order of the Garter, taking advantage of the security of the *French* Garisons, suddenly surprizeth a Frontier Town called *Fougiers*, belonging to the Duke of *Britain*; the Duke advertiseth the *French* King thereof, who by his Ambassadors complains both to the King of *England*, and to the Duke of *Somerset* then Regent in *France*: answer was made, It was the fault of the *Aragonois*, who did it without warrant from either the King or the Council; nevertheless Commissioners are appointed to meet at *Louviers*, to treat of some course for satisfaction; but in the time of the Treaty news is brought to the Regent, that the *French* by a stratagem of a Carter, that with a load of Hay coming over the Draw-bridge, caused the Axletree to break, and whilst the Porter was ready to help the Carter, the Porters brains were beaten out, the Town of

Fraud answered by Fraud.

Ardes

Ardes ſurprized, and the Lord *Fawconbridge* Captain thereof was taken Priſoner: Reſtitution being required by the *Engliſh*, anſwer is made them in their own language, It was done without warrant from either the *French* King, or any of his Council; ſo it was but one for another: and from thenceforward the Truce is broken of both ſides, and all things grow worſe and worſe. The *French* King by compoſition taketh *Louviers*, *Gerbury*, and *Vernoile*, whilſt the Regent ſtands demurring what was beſt to be done; if he command, not obeyed; if he counſel, not followed; as it happens to men once blemiſhed in Reputation, to have an ill conſtruction made of all their actions: by which means the *French* go on without reſiſtance, get *Conſtance*, *Guiſard*, *Gatiard*, St. *Loe*, *Feſthamp*, and many other places in *Normandy*. Upon notice whereof, *Mauleſſon* in *Guyen* ſurrenders to the Earl of *Foix*, and by their example the City of *Roan* it ſelf takes compoſition to ſurrender; where the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, heir to the Earl of *Ormond*, were kept pledges till it was performed. It is true, ſuccours were provided to be ſent out of *England*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *York*; but a Rebellion happening in *Ireland*, which was thought of more importance to be ſpeedily ſuppreſſed, diverted him and his Forces thither: where not only he ſuppreſſed the Rebels, but ſo won the hearts of that people, that it was no ſmall furtherance to his proceeding afterward. A freſh ſupply indeed of Fifteen hundred men, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Kyriel* is ſent over; but what could a handful of men do againſt ſuch multitudes as oppoſed them? For he marching with the reſt of the Army towards *Beaugeaux*, was encountred by the Earl of *Clermont*, with Seven thouſand *French* and *Scots*, whom yet at firſt he made to recoil, till the Conſtable of *France* with four hundred men at Arms, and eight hundred Archers came to the reſcue; and then freſh men coming upon them that were already tired, the *Engliſh* loſt Three thouſand and above ſeven hundred, beſides divers that were taken Priſoners. After this loſs of men, follows preſently a loſs of Towns; *Harflew* is aſſaulted, and though valiantly for a while defended by Sir *Robert Curſon*, yet ſurrendred at laſt upon compoſition. Then the *French* King with an Army Royal, beſiegeth *Caen* in *Normandy*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *York*, defended in his abſence by his Lieutenant Sir *David Hall*; but the Duke of *Somerſet* being Regent, in commiſeration of his Dutcheſs being in the Town, notwithſtanding the ſtout oppoſition of Sir *David Hall*, ſurrenders it upon compoſition to the *French*; whereof Sir *David* giving notice to the Duke of *York*, it bred ſuch a deadly quarrel between the two Dukes, that they were never after throughly reconciled. And thus is all *Normandy* recovered from the *Engliſh*, after it had been in their poſſeſſion a hundred years; and finally, all *France* is reduced to the obedience of *Charles* the *French* King.

The *French* King recovers many Towns through the demurring of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

1449.

Sir *Thomas Kyriel* defeated, with the loſs of near 400 men.

All *Normandy* recovered from the *Engliſh*.

And now hereafter there will be little to do abroad; but there will be the more to do at home; and more blood will be ſhed in *England* by civil diſſentions, than was ſhed before in all the Wars of *France*. This loſs of *Normandy* and other parts in *Normandy*, is imputed much to the Duke of *Somerſet*, at that time Regent; but the Duke of *Suffolk* muſt bear a great part of the blame, partly for having been the cauſe of the ſurrender of *Anjou* and *Mayne*, and the chief procurer of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s death; and partly for having wilfully waſted the King's Treaſure, and been a means to remove the ableſt Men from the Council-Board; of all which aſperſions the Queen takes notice, and knowing how far they trenched upon the Dukes deſtruction and her own, ſhe ſo wrought, that the Parliament aſſembled at the *Black-Fryers*, is adjourned to *Leiceſter*, and from thence to *Weſtminſter*: but though all means were uſed to ſtop theſe accuſations againſt the Duke, yet the Lower Houſe would not be taken off, but exhibited their Bill of grievances againſt him: That he had Traiterouſly incited the Baſtard of *Orleance*, the Lord *Preſigny*, and others to levy War againſt the King, to the end that thereby the King might be deſtroyed; and his Son *John* who had married *Margaret* Daughter and ſole Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, whoſe Title to the Crown the ſaid Duke had often declared, in caſe King *Henry* ſhould dye without iſſue, might come to be King: That through his Treachery the *French* King had gotten poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Normandy*, and had taken priſoners the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Faulconbridge*, and others: but to theſe accuſations he peremptorily affirmed himſelf not guilty, ſo much as in thought. Then were further allegations made againſt him, That being with others ſent Ambaſſador into *France*, he had tranſcended his Commiſſion; and without privity of his fellow-Commiſſioners, had preſumed to promiſe the ſurrender of *Anjou*, and the delivery of the County of *Maunts* to Duke *Rayner*, which accordingly was performed, to the great diſhonour of the King, and detriment of the Crown: That he had traiterouſly acquainted the *French* King with all the affairs of State, and paſſages of ſecrecy, by which the Enemy was throughly inſtructed in all the deſigns of the King and Council: That he had received rewards from the *French* King, to divert and diſappoint all ſuccours ſent to the King's friends in *France*. Upon theſe and divers other accuſations brought againſt him, to blear the peoples eyes, he is committed to the *Tower*; but the Parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, but he was ſet at liberty. Which ſo incenſed the common people, that they made an inſurrection; and under the leading of a deſperate fellow, ſtyling himſelf *Blue-beard*, they committed many outrages: but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Countrey, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceaſed. And now another Parliament is called, where great care is taken in chooſing Burgeſſes, preſuming thereby to ſtop any further proceeding againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*; but his perſonal appearance at the Parliament gave ſuch a general diſtaſte to the Houſe, though he came in the company of the King and Queen, that they forbore not to begin the Aſſembly, with petitioning the King for puniſhment to be inflicted upon ſuch as had

Accuſations laid to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

Upon which committed to the *Tower*, is preſently upon the diſſolution of the Parliament releaſed. An Inſurrection made by *Blue-beard* ſoon pacified.

The Duke of *Suffolk* is queſtioned again in Parliament: is baniſhed formally for five years; but taken at Sea, hath his head chopt off.

1450.

had plotted or conſented to the Reſignation of *Anjou* and *Maine*, whereof by name they inſtanced in the Duke of *Suffolk*, *John* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say*, and others. This Petition was ſeconded by the Lords of the Upper Houſe: whereupon to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Houſes, the Lord *Say*, Lord Treaſurer, is ſequeſtred from his place; the Duke's Officers are all diſcharged, and himſelf formally baniſhed for five years, but with an intent after the multitude had put out of mind their hatred againſt him; to have revoked him: but God did otherwiſe diſpoſe of him, for when he was ſhipped in *Suffolk*, with intent to have paſſed over into *France*, he was met by an *Engliſh* Man of War, taken and carried to *Dover* Sands, and there had his head chopt off on the ſide of the Long-boat, which together with the body was left there on the Sands, as a pledge of ſome ſatisfaction for the death of Duke *Humphrey*.

The Duke of *York* begins to make his way to the Crown.

Whilſt theſe things are done in *England*, the Duke of *York* in *Ireland* began to make his way to the Crown; as deſcended from *Philippa*, Daughter and Heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, great Grandfather to the preſent King *Henry* the ſixth. And for a beginning it is privately whiſpered, That King *Henry* was of a weak capacity, and eaſily abuſed; the Queen of a malignant ſpirit, and bloodily ambitious; the privy Council, if wiſe enough, yet not honeſt enough, regarding more their private profit, than the publick good; that through their delinquencies, all *France* was loſt, and that God would not bleſs the uſurped poſſeſſion of King *Henry*. With theſe ſuggeſtions the *Kentiſh* men ſeemed to be taken; which being obſerved by an Inſtrument of the Duke of *York*, called *Mortimer*, he takes his time, and tells the multitude, That if they will be ruled by him, he will put them in a courſe to work a general Reformation, and free them for ever from thoſe inſupportable burthens of Taxations, ſo often upon every ſlight occaſion obtruded upon them. Theſe promiſes of Reformation and Freedom from Impoſitions, ſo wrought with the people, that they drew to a head, and make *Mortimer*, otherwiſe *Jack Cade*, their Leader; who ſtyling himſelf Captain *Mend-all*, marched with no great number, but thoſe well ordered, to *Black-heath*, where between *Eltam* and *Greenwich*, he lay by the ſpace of a month exerciſing his men, and ſending for whom he pleaſed, and for what he pleaſed. Then he preſents to the Parliament the complaints of the Commons, That the Queens Favourites ſhare amongſt them the Revenues of the Crown, whereby the King is enforced for the ſupportation of his preſent eſtate, to tax and burthen the Commons, to their utmoſt undoing, and to the general impoveriſhment of the Kingdom: That the Commons have their commodities daily taken from them for the purveyance of the King's Houſhold, for which they are not paid, nor any aſſurance for payment thereof given, but only Court-Promiſes: That upon the apprehenſion of any man for Treaſon or Felony, the King's menial Servants, before conviction, beg the Goods and Lands of the impeached; whereupon indirect and unlawful proceedings are uſed by ſubornation of witneſſes, embracery of Jurors, and great mens Letters to the Judges; whereby Juſtice is perverted, and the Innocent after attainted, if not executed, yet at leaſt impriſoned to their undoing: That the Commons have no legal proceedings in their Law-ſuits: ſo as the rightful owners of Inheritance dare not, if oppoſed by any Courtier, maintain their Titles, or attempt the recovery of their intereſt, how juſt ſoever: That the King's Collectors and other Accomptants are much troubled in paſſing their Accompts by new extorted Fees; and by being inforced to procure a late invented Writ of *Quorum Nomina*, for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and their ſuing out their *Queremus* at their own charge, without allowance from the King: That the Bayliffs of Sheriffs, under colour of the Green Wax out of the *Exchequer*, do levy greater ſums than are by the Record juſtifiable, yet maintain'd: That they cannot have the freedom of electing Knights and Burgeſſes for the Parliament, but by Letters from the Favourites of the Court to their Friends and Retainers, the Knights and Burgeſſes are commonly choſen: That they are too much troubled with too often coming to attend the general Seſſions, being enforced in many places to make five days journey to the place where they are kept. Theſe and ſome other were the complaints of the Commons; but the Captain for his own particular (after proteſtation made to live and dye in the quarrel of the King) required that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to receive again into favour the truly Noble Prince the Duke of *York*, and with him the Right Honourable the Duke of *Exeter*, *Buckingham*, and *Norfolk*, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realm, by the undue practices of *Suffolk* and his Complices commanded from his preſence; and that all their oppoſites might be baniſhed the Court, and put from their Offices; That there might be a general amotion of corrupt Officers, an abolition of the Green Wax, and other Inſtruments of Extortion out of the *Exchequer*; a qualification of proceedings in the *Kings-Bench*; an inhibition of unequal purveyance of proviſion for the King's Houſhold, and a preſent execution of the Promoters, *Slegge*, *Cromer*, *Iſell*, and *Eaſt*, whom he pretended by wrongful information to have abuſed the King, and wronged his Subjects. Theſe Petitions are ſent from the Lower-Houſe to the Upper, and from thence committed to the Lords of the King's Privy Council; who having examined the particulars, explode them as frivolous, and the Authors thereof to be preſumptuous Rebels. Whereupon the King is ſolicited by his Privy Council to proſecute them by force rather than intreaty; which advice is ſeconded by the Queen, as conceiving they ſecretly aimed at her: and hereupon the King draws his Forces to *Greenwich*, and appointeth divers Lords to aſſail the Rebels: but the Lords could get no followers to fight againſt them who fought only for reformation of abuſes, and for puniſhment of ſuch Traytors as the Lord *Say* the King's Chamberlain was. Whereupon the Lord *Say* is preſently committed to the *Tower*, the King and Queen retire

Jack Cade makes an Inſurrection; and brings an Army to *Black-heath*.

He preſents the Complaints of the Commons to the Parliament.

The Complaints are exploded by the King's Privy Council.

The King raiſeth an Army to ſuppreſs the Rebels.

retire to *London* from thence within two days. The King being now fifteen thouſand ſtrong, marcheth in perſon towards Captain *Mend-all*, who politickly withdraweth his Forces into *Sevenoke*-Wood; upon notice whereof the King retireth again to *London*; but the Queen longing for diſpatch, ſends the two *Staffords*, Sir *Humfrey* and *William*, with many hot-ſpurs in the Court, to follow the Rebels, who were ſoon cooled, for they found Captain *Mend-all* in good order ready to receive them, and in the firſt encounter ſlew Sir *Humfrey*, and afterwards his Brother, and put all the reſt to flight. The King's Forces being at *Black-heath*, could neither by threats nor intreaties be gotten to go to the Reſcue; but rather wiſhed the Queen and her Favorites in the *Stafford*'s caſe: Or that the Duke of *York* were in *England*, to aid his Couſin *Mortimer* (now firſt acknowledged to be of his kindred:) and many of them ſtole away to the Rebels, whoſe number from *Suſſex* and *Surrey* daily increaſed, whom yet their Captain reſtraineth from forraging or taking away any thing by force; and ſo returneth again to *Black-heath*, where the King's Army lay the night before, but was now fallen down to *Greenwich*. And now the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Buckingham* are ſent to expoſtulate with the Rebels about their demands; To whom *Jack Cade* gave very good language, but directly affirming no ceſſation from Arms, unleſs the King in perſon would hear the grievances of the Subject, and paſs his Princely word for the Reformation of their wrongs. This reſolution of his made known to the King, who was not ſure of his own Soldiers Faith, made him march preſently away to *Killingworth* Caſtle in *Warwickſhire*, where he fortified himſelf as expecting a ſiege, having left the Lord *Scales* only to guard the *Tower*. *Jack Cade* taking advantage of the King's departure, cometh to *Southwark*, where he quarters his men, ſtraitly charging them to commit no outrage, nor do wrong to any; which was duly obſerved. The next morning he marched to *London-Bridge*, where he cauſed his men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge, no reſiſtance being made againſt him; and ſo in good order marched up by *London-ſtone*, upon which he ſtruck his Sword, ſaying, *Now is Mortimer* Lord of *London*. The Mayor of *London*, Sir *Thomas Chalton*, ſtanding upon the threſhold of his door, bad him take heed he attempted nothing againſt the quiet of the City: To whom he made anſwer, *Let the World take notice of our honeſt intention by our actions.* And indeed this orderly carriage of himſelf and his company won him a good opinion amongſt the common ſort of people: And now aſſuming to himſelf the place of Chief, he ſendeth out his Letters of ſafe conduct, to ſuch whom he pleaſed to make uſe of; amongſt others he wrote this Letter to *Thomas Cock*, Draper of *London*.

The Rebels ſlay Sir *Humfrey* and Sir *William Stafford*.

The King flieth to *Killingworth* Caſtle.

Jack Cade cometh to *London*.

By this our writing enſealed, we grant, That *Thomas Cock* of *London* Draper, ſhall ſafely come into our preſence, and avoid from us again at his pleaſure, with all other perſons coming in his company. *Subſcribed thus:*

His Majeſties loyal Subject, *John Mortimer*, Captain *Mend-all*.

Upon *Cock*'s admiſſion, he had private conference with three other that came with him; to whom at their departure he gave theſe inſtructions in writing: *You ſhall charge all* Lombards *and Merchant-ſtrangers*, Genoeſes, Venetians, Florentines, *and others, this day to draw themſelves together, and to ordain for us the Captain, twelve Harneſs complete of the beſt faſhion, four and twenty Brigandines, twelve Battle-axes, twelve Glaves, ſix Horſes with Saddle and Bridle completely furniſhed, and a thouſand Marks in ready money: And if they ſhall fail herein, we ſhall ſtrike off the heads of as many as we can get.* But they failed not, but ſent him what he had demanded: Who thereupon the next morning, being the third of *July*, returns to *London*; and preſently ſends to the Lord *Scales*, to bring his Priſoner the Lord *Say* to to the *Guildhall*, whither he had called the Lord Mayor with his Brethren; before whom he cauſed the Lord *Say* to be arraigned, who craving to be tryed by his Peers, was forthwith taken from his Keeper, carried to the Standard in *Cheap*, and there had his head chopt off; which being pitched upon a Pike, was born before him to *Mile-End*, whither he went to have conference with the Rebels of *Eſſex*; and by the way meeting with Sir *James Cromer*, High Sheriff of *Kent*, who had lately married the Lord *Say*'s Daughter, he cauſed his head alſo to be ſtrucken off, and carried before him in deriſion. The next morning he came again to *London*; where after publick execution done upon ſome of his fellows, and particularly upon a petty Captain of his, named *Paris*, that had done things contrary to his Proclamation; upon a diſpleaſure taken againſt Alderman *Malpas*, he ſent and ſeized upon all his Wares and Goods, and fined Alderman *Horn* in five hundred Marks. Whereupon, the Citizens finding him to grow every day more inſolent than other, they ſent to the Lord *Scales* for aſſiſtance, who ſendeth *Matthew Gont* an old Soldier to them, with ſome Forces and Furnitures out of the *Tower*; who preſently makes a ſtand at the Bridge, where *Cade* notwithſtanding forceth his paſſage, and then began to ſet fire on houſes, where many aged and impotent people periſhed. Captain *Bough*, Alderman *Sutton*, and *Robert Hayſon*, valiantly fighting, were ſlain; yet upon a freſh ſupply, the *Londoners* recovered the Bridge again, and drove the Rebels beyond the Stoop in *Southwark*; at which time, both ſides being weary, agreed of a Truce till the next day. After the Retreat, *Cade* finding he had loſt many of his beſt men, was driven, for ſupply, to ſet at liberty all the Priſoners in *Southwark*, as well Felons as Debtors; when now his company entring into conſideration of their danger, and of the deſperate Services their Captain had brought them to, began to diſcover by their countenances, their willingneſs to leave this courſe: whereof the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having notice, he with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* came from the *Tower* by water to *Southwark*, and there ſhewed the King's General Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*, which was ſo welcome to the Rebels, that without taking leave of their Captain, they withdrew themſelves that night to

He commandeth Horſes and Furniture to be ſent him.

He cuts off the Lord *Say*'s head in *Cheapſide*.

Alſo Sir *James Cromer*'s head.

Upon the King's general Pardon, *Jack Cade*'s followers leave him

Jack Cade flieth, and is ſlain.

to their ſeveral habitations, *Jack Cade* with ſome few followers, bent his Journey to *Queenborough* Caſtle, where being denied entrance, he diſguiſed himſelf, and privily fled; but upon Proclamation, with promiſe of a Thouſand Marks to any that ſhould bring him dead or alive, he was afterward by one *Alexander Eden* Gentleman, attached; and making reſiſtance, in a Garden at *Hothfield* in *Suſſex*, was there ſlain. His body was brought to *London*, beheaded and quartered, his head ſet upon *London*-Bridge, his quarters diſperſed in divers places in *Kent*. Upon the news whereof, the King ſends Commiſſioners into *Kent*, to enquire of the Abettors of this Rebellion; whither he followeth himſelf in perſon: and though five hundred were found guilty, yet eight only were executed. Though *London* were the chief ſtage of this Rebellion, yet other Countreys were not free, eſpecially *Wiltſhire*; for the Rebels there upon the nine and twentieth day of *June*, drew *William Askot* Biſhop of *Salisbury* from the High Altar where he was ſaying Maſs in *Edington* Church, to the top of the Hill, and there in his Prieſtly Robes moſt inhumanely murthered him.

Upon this Inſurrection in *England*, the King of *France* ſeizeth upon all the *Engliſh* Territories, and leaves the *Engliſh* nothing but *Callice*.

This Inſurrection was not unknown to the King of *France*, who taking advantage thereof, ſeizeth upon all places which the *Engliſh* had in *France*, leaving them nothing but only *Callice*, and the Caſtles of *Hames* and *Guiſnes*; and this was the Iſſue of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Regency in *France*: whereupon coming into *England*, at a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, the ſixth of *November* in the nine and twentieth year of the King's Reign, he was put under Arreſt. Upon notice whereof the Commons at *London* deſpoiled his houſe at *Black-Fryers*, and ceaſed not till Proclamation was made to prohibit them; for diſobeying whereof, there was one man beheaded at the Standard in *Cheap*.

1451.

The Duke of *York* complains againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*.

At this time the Duke of *York* under pretence of coming to the Parliament, comes out of *Ireland*; and at *London* had private conference with *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and other his aſſured friends: where it was reſolved to keep the chief purpoſe, (the Claim to the Crown) ſecret, and only to make ſhew, that his endeavours were but to remove ill Counſellors from the King, of whom they inſtanced in the Duke of *Somerſet* as chief; and hereof, the Duke ſent divers Letters to the King, complaining of the wrongs the Duke of *Somerſet* had done him, but withal making proteſtation of his own Loyalty. To which the King maketh anſwer, That he would take his complaints into conſideration, but ſomewhat blames him for the death of the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, by his means ſuſpected to be ſlaughtered, and for dangerous ſpeeches uttered by his Servants, tending to Rebellion: concluding, That notwithſtanding any thing ſaid or done to the contrary, he took and eſteemed him a faithful Subject, and a loving Kinſman. But the Duke of *York*, not herewith ſatisfied, departeth into *Wales*, and there levieth men, making his colour for the good of the Commonwealth, and the removing of bad Counſellors. The King advertiſed hereof, preſently raiſeth an Army; and with the

He raiſeth an Army. And the King another.

Duke of *Somerſet* (now enlarged) marcheth towards *Wales*: while the Duke of *York* having notice which way the King came, by another way marcheth towards *London*; who being told the *Londoners* would not admit him entrance, he paſſed the River *Thames* at *Knightbridge*, marched into *Kent*, and encamped at *Burnt-heath*. The King in his purſuit came to *Black-heath*, and there pitched his Tents; from whence he ſent the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*, the Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrews*, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to know the cauſe of this commotion: and to make offer of reconcilement, if the Duke's demands were not unreaſonable. The Duke made anſwer, That nothing was intended againſt the King's Perſon, his Crown or Dignity: All that was ſought, was to remove ill Councellors from about the King, but eſpecially *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*; whom if the King would be pleaſed to commit to ward, till his Legal Trial might be had in Parliament, he would then not only diſmiſs his Army, but come unto his preſence as a loyal Subject. Hereupon the Duke of *Somerſet* is committed to Priſon: The Duke of *York* diſmiſſeth his Army, and cometh in perſon to the King, in whoſe preſence (contrary to his expectation) he found the Duke of *Somerſet*; which ſo moved him, that he could not hold, but preſently charged him with Treaſon: which the Duke of *Somerſet* not only denieth, but recriminates the Duke of *York* to have conſpired the King's death, and the uſurpation of the Crown. Whereupon, the King removeth to *London*, the Duke of *York* as a Priſoner riding before him, and the Duke of *Somerſet* at liberty; which was not a little marvelled at by many. And now the King calleth a Council at *Weſtminſter*, where the two Dukes are earneſt in accuſing each other; but while the Council are debating of the matter, there comes a flaſh of Lightning out of *France*, which diverted them. For the Earl of *Kandal*, and the Lord *L'Eſpar*, came Ambaſſadors from *Burdeaux*, offering their obedience to the Crown of *England*, if they might but be aſſured to be defended by it: but withal, at the ſame time there came a report, That *Edward* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to the Duke of *York*, with a great power was marching towards *London*. Here was matter for a double conſultation; and for this latter, it was reſolved on, That the Duke of *York* ſhould in the preſence of the King and his Nobility, at the High Altar in *Pauls* take his Oath of Submiſſion and Allegiance to King *Henry*; which he accordingly did, and then had liberty to depart to his Caſtle at *Wigmore*. And for the former, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with about three thouſand men was ſent into *Gaſcoigne*, who arriving in the Iſle of *Mardre*, paſſed forth with his power, and took *Fronſack* and other places; but having received in the night inſtructions from *Burdeaux* of certain Conſpirators, he makes all the ſpeed he can thither: And was entred the Town before the *French* had notice of his coming; ſo that many of them were ſlain by the Lord *L'Eſpair* in their beds. Shortly after there arrived the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Son, Sir *John Talbot*, with the Baſtard of *Somerſet*, and two and twenty hundred men, by whoſe means *Burdeaux*

1452.

The Duke requireth to have the Duke of *Somerſet* to be tried by Parliament.

The Duke of *York* and the Duke of *Somerſet* accuſe each other of Treaſon.

1453.

The Duke of *York* takes his Oath of Allgiance to K. *Henry*.

deaux is well manned with *Engliſh*, in which time the Earl was not idle, but went from place to place, to receive the offered ſubmiſſion of all places where he came; and having taken *Chatillon*, he ſtrongly fortified it; whereupon the *French* King raiſeth an Army, and beſiegeth *Chatillon*, to the reſcue whereof, the Earl maketh all poſſible ſpeed with eight hundred Horſe, appointing the Earl of *Kendal*, and the Lord *L'Eſpar* to follow with the Foot. In his way he ſurprizeth a Tower the *French* had taken, and put all within it to the Sword; and meeting five hundred *French* men, that had been foraging, many of them he ſlew, and the reſt he chaſed to their Camp. Upon whoſe approach the *French* left the ſiege, and retired to a place which they had formerly fortified; whither the Earl followeth them, and reſolutely chargeth them ſo home, that he got the entry of the Camp: where being ſhot through the Thigh with an Harquebuſs, and his Horſe ſlain under him; his Son deſirous to relieve his Father, loſt his own life, and therein was accompanied with his Baſtard-Brother Sir *Henry Talbot*, Sir *Edward Hall*, and Thirty other Gentlemen of Name. The Lord *Molins* with Threeſcore other were taken Priſoners, the reſt fled to *Burdeaux*, but in the way a Thouſand of them were ſlain. And thus on the laſt day of *July*, in the year 1453. at *Chatillon*, the moſt Valourous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the firſt of that name, after four and twenty years ſervice beyond the Seas, ended his life, and was buried at *Roan* in *Normandy*, with this Inſcription upon his Tomb, Here lieth the Right Noble Knight *John Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Valence*, Lord *Talbot* of *Goodrich*, and *Orchenfield*, Lord *Strange* of *Blackmere*, Lord *Verdon* of *Acton*, Lord *Cromwel* of *Winkfield*, Lord *Levetoft* of *Warſoppe*, Lord *Furnival* of *Sheffield*, Knight of the Noble Orders of St. *George*, St. *Michael*, and the Golden Fleece, great Marſhal to King *Henry* the Sixth, of his Realm of *France*. The Earl of *Kendal*, the Lords *Monſerrat*, *Roſaine*, and *Dangledas* entred the Caſtle of *Chatillon*, and made it good againſt the *French* the ſpace of ten days; but then having no hope of Succour, they delivered it, upon compoſition to have liberty to depart to *Burdeaux*: and now the *Gaſcoignes* were as ready to open their Gates to the *French*, as they were before to the *Engliſh*; by means whereof, in ſhort time, the *French* recovered again all *Gaſcoigne* except *Burdeaux*, and that alſo at length, upon condition that both Gariſons and Inhabitants with all their ſubſtance might ſafely depart for *England* or *Callice*, and that the Lords *L'Eſpar* and *Durant*, with Thirty others, upon pain of death ſhould never after be found in the Territories of *France*.

Talbot Earl of *Shrewsbury* after many Victories is at laſt ſlain.

The Inſcription upon his Tomb.

At this time upon St. *Bartholomew*'s day, an ancient cuſtom being, that the Mayor of *London*, and the Sheriffs ſhould be preſent in giving prizes to the beſt Wreſtlers, it happened that at the Wreſtling-place near *Moor-fields*, the Prior of St. *Johns* was there to ſee the ſports, when a ſervant of his not brooking the diſgrace to be foiled before his Maſter, againſt the cuſtom of the place would have wreſtled again, which the Mayor denied; whereupon the Prior fetcht Bow-men from *Clerkenwel*, to reſiſt the Mayor, and ſome ſlaughter was committed; the Mayors Cap was ſhot throw with an Arrow; he nevertheleſs would have had the ſport go on, but no Wreſtlers came; yet the Mayor Sir *John Norman* told his Brethren, he would ſtay a while to make trial of the Citizens reſpect towards him; which he had no ſooner ſaid, but the Citizens with Banners diſplayed came in great numbers to him, and fetcht him home in great triumph. Upon the neck of this began the quarrel in *Holborn*, between the Gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery, and ſome Citizens; in appeaſing whereof, the Queens Attorney and three more were ſlain.

A difference on *Bartholomew* day, between the Mayor of *London* and the Prior of St. *Johns*.

1454.

And now the Duke of *York* by all means laboureth to ſtir up the hatred of the Commons againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, repeating often what diſhonour *England* ſuſtained by *Somerſet*'s giving up the ſtrong Towns of *Normandy*; and how he abuſed the King and Queens favour to his own gain, and the Commons grievance: then he addreſſeth himſelf to thoſe of the Nobility, that could not well brook his too much commanding over the King and Queens affection. Amongſt others he faſtneth upon the two *Nevils*, both *Richards*, the Father and the Son, the one Earl of *Salisbury*, the other of *Warwick*; with whom he deals ſo effectually, that an indiſſoluble knot of friendſhip is knit betwixt them: by whoſe aſſiſtance (the King lying dangerouſly ſick at *Claringdon*) the Duke of *Somerſet* is arreſted in the Queens great Chamber, and ſent to the *Tower*; and in a Parliament now convoked, appeached of Treaſon, and many heinous crimes objected againſt him. Whereupon the King, though weak, is brought to *London*, of purpoſe to diſſolve the Parliament; and that diſſolved, the Duke of *Somerſet* is preſently ſet at liberty again; and not only ſo, but is made Captain of *Callice* and *Guiſnes*, the only remainder the *Engliſh* had in *France*. Upon this the Duke of *York* and his party, with a great power, march towards *London*; againſt whom, the King attended with the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Son, both named *Humfrey*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *James* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, and two thouſand men, marched forwards; at St. *Albans* both Armies meet: The Duke in the morning ſends a Letter to the King, proteſting his fidelity and ſincerity, only he deſires the Duke of *Somerſet* may be delivered, to ſtand or fall by the Judgment of his Peers; and this he would have, or dye in the purſuit. The King for anſwer, commands him to disband, and ſubmit to his mercy, and not expect that he will deliver any in his Army who have ſhewed their loves in ſtanding to him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his friends, who hereupon fall every one to his quarter: The Earl of *Warwick* fell upon the Lord *Clifford*'s quarter, where the Duke of *Somerſet* haſting to the reſcue, was ſlain, and with him the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Humfrey* Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord *Clifford*, and about five thouſand others, beſides many that were hurt; the King himſelf ſhot in the neck with an Arrow; the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Scales*, in the faces; the Earl of *Dorſet* ſo hurt, that he was fain to be carried home

The Duke of *Somerſet* is ſent to the *Tower*.

But ſoon ſet at liberty, and made Captain of *Callice*.

1455.

The Duke of *York*'s Army and the King's have a Battel, where the Duke of *Somerſet*, and other Lords are ſlain.

in a Cart: The King's Army had been increaſed after his coming forth, to eight thouſand, but now they are all diſperſed or ſlain; and the King, unguarded, is left in a poor thatcht houſe, whither, to be freed from the danger of Arrows, he had withdrawn himſelf. The Duke of *York* having notice where the King was, goes with *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, who all three upon their knees preſent themſelves before him, making humble Petition to him for Pardon of what was paſt; and now ſeeing the common enemy was ſlain, they had what they aimed at. To whom the King throughly affrighted, ſaid, *Let there be no more killing then, and I will do what you will have me.* This firſt Battel of St. *Albans* was fought upon the Three and thirtieth year of K. *Henry*'s Reign. The Bodies of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, were buried in the Chappel there. And now the Duke of *York* in the King's name commands a ſurceaſe from further hoſtility: And in all reverent manner conveyeth the King to *London*, where they keep the Feaſt of Pentecoſt together. At which time a Parliament is ſummoned to begin at *Weſtminſter* the ninth day of *July*; and therein it is enacted, That the Duke of *Glocester* ſhould be declared publickly a Loyal Subject, and that none ſhould miſreport or diſpute the actions of the Duke of *York*, or of any in his company: And moreover the Duke of *York* is made Protector of the King's Perſon, and of the Realm, the Earl of *Salisbury* is made Lord-Chancellor, and the Earl of *Warwick* Captain of *Callice*, wherein they all carried themſelves with unblameable demeanor.

The King flieth.

The Duke of *York* made Protector of the King's Perſon, and of the Realm.

In this mean time, the Queen not well pleaſed with theſe proceedings, ſeeks all means to incite the Lords of her party, and they as much ſeek to incite her to make oppoſition; ſhe puts the Duke of *Buckingham* in mind, that theſe Traitors had ſlain his hopeful Son at St. *Albans*; ſhe tells now the Duke of *Somerſet*, that by them his dear Father loſt his Life: And they again put the Queen in mind of the unſufferable indignity done to her, in making her Husband only a King in name, ſetting a Tutor over him, as though he were a Child, whilſt the Duke of *York* and his complices manage all. Upon which incitation, all the Enemies of the *Yorkſhire* Faction are aſſembled by the Queen at *Greenwich*; where it is debated of ſome courſe to be taken for reſtoring the King to his former liberty and Government. At length it is concluded, That the Duke of *York* ſhould be commanded to give over his place of Protectorſhip, for that the King was of years and diſcretion ſufficient to rule of himſelf without a Guardian; and the Earl of *Salisbury* to ſurrender his place of being Lord-Chancellor, for that the Great Seal was never delivered him, ſeeing that which was now uſed, was made ſince the King's reſtraint, and therefore not ſufficient: To which concluſion of theirs, the King, eaſy to be wrought upon, yields his conſent, and thereupon they are both diſcharged from their Offices, and ſummoned to appear at the Council-Table at *Greenwich*. But the Lords were wiſer than to put themſelves into their hands, and therefore make anſwer, That none had power to diſplace them, nor to command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament; and ſo they continued about *London*, placing and diſplacing whom they pleaſed, and by their triumvirate authority, took *John* Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Exeter*, out of Sanctuary, and ſent him Priſoner to *Pomfret* Caſtle. Theſe proceedings gave occaſion to the licentious multitude to raiſe commotions; and the Prentices of *London* upon a very ſlight occaſion fall upon outlandiſh Merchants, rifle and rob their houſes; and the Mayor aſſembling a company of ſubſtantial Citizens to ſuppreſs them, the Ringleader of the diſorders flies to Sanctuary; Commiſſioners are ſent to enquire and puniſh the offence; but when the Mayor and Commiſſioners were ſet, tidings came that the Commons were up in Arms; whereupon the Commiſſioners left the buſineſs to be proceeded in by the Mayor, who ſo diſcreetly ordered the matter, that many of the offenders were puniſhed, ſome by death, others by fine, and all things were quieted and appeaſed.

1456.

The Prentices of *London* make a commotion.

At this time the *French* having little to do againſt the *Engliſh* in *France*, would needs be doing ſomething againſt them in *England*. They ſet out two Fleets, one under the conduct of *William* Lord *Pomyers*, the other of Sir *Peter Breſſy*; the Lord fell upon *Fulney* in the Weſt-Countrey, the Knight upon *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where ſome hurt they did, but not of importance to countervail their Voyage.

1457.

And now the Queen finding the little reſpect the *Londoners* bore to her party or the King's, perſuades the King, as for his health and recreation, to make a Progreſs into *Warwickſhire*, which he did, by the way, hunting and hawking, and the Queen making ſhew of minding nothing but paſtimes: And this ſhe did, with a purpoſe the eaſilier to intrap the three Lords of *York*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*. To whom ſhe writ moſt Loving Letters, earneſtly inviting them to be at *Coventry* by an hour appointed; which they, not doubting any fraud, intended to have done; but hearing by the way of the miſchief plotted againſt them, they cauſed their Retinue to go on-ward the way to the Court, as though themſelves were coming after; but they provided otherwiſe for their ſafety; the Duke of *York* with a Groom and a Page getting him to *Wigmore* Caſtle, the Earl of *Salisbury* to his Caſtle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earl of *Warwick* to the Sea-ſide, and ſo to *Callice*. But before they parted, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have intercourſe of Letters, yet their intentions kept undiſcovered.

The Queen oppoſeth it.

The Queen in loving manner invites the three Lords of *York*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, to meet her at *Coventry*.

The Lords hearing of a plot laid againſt them, ſhift away.

The King unwitting of this miſchief intended againſt the Duke of *York* and his friends, returneth to *London*, where he calleth a Council; and therein of his own accord, deſireth that ſome courſe might be invented for a perfect reconcilement of all parties: promiſing upon his Salvation, (an aſſeveration not uſual with him) ſo to entertain the Duke of *York* and his friends, that all diſcontents ſhould be removed, and a perfect amity on all parts be eſtabliſhed: To which end meſſengers are diſpatched to the Duke of *York*, and all others of his party, commanding them upon urgent affairs of the Realm, and

The King ſeeks an accommodation betwixt him and the three Lords.

1458.

and upon Royal Promise of safe conduct, to repair to his Court at *London* at a day appointed. The Duke of *York* accordingly came, and with 400 men well apparelled, lodged at his House called *Baynards-Castle*; the Earl of *Salisbury* with 500 men lodged likewise at his House called the *Herbour*: The Duke of *Exeter* (lately released) and the Duke of *Somerset* with 800 men, were lodged within *Temple-Bar*: The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Egremont*, and the Lord *Clifford*, with 1500 men were lodged in *Holbourn*: The Earl of *Warwick* with 600 in red Jackets with ragged Staves, embroidered behind and before, were lodged at the *Grey-Fryers* in *London*. Upon the seventeenth of *March* the King and Queen came to *London*, and were Lodged at the Bishop's Palace; the Mayor having five hundred well appointed men in readiness, rode with a competent number all day long round the City, for preservation of the King's Peace. The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at *Black-Fryers*; the other, at the Chapter-House at *Westminster*: Between both, the Reverend Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Son of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, with some other of the most able Prelates interceded so, that by their mediation it was at last concluded, That all wrongs and misdemeanours on every side should be forgotten and forgiven; that each side should be friends to the other, and both be obedient to the commands of the King. Besides this in general, there were some particular Articles to be performed by the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, which afterward was ratified under the great Seal of *England* the 24*th*. day of *March*, in the 36*th*. year of the Reign of King *Henry* the sixth. Upon the publication whereof, a solemn Procession was made in *Paul*'s Church, at which the King was present with his Crown on his head; before him hand in hand went the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Salisbury*; the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Warwick*; and so one of the one, another of the other part, till they were all marshalled: Behind the King came the Queen, the Duke of *York* leading her by the hand, who in going made shew of favourable countenance towards him. Divine Service ended, they return to the Court in all outward appearance truly reconciled; but all was dissembled, as will presently appear: For presently upon this, an affray fell out between a servant of the Earl of *Warwick*'s, and a Courtier, who in the encounter is dangerously wounded; the Earl's man flieth; the King's Servants seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, watch the Earl's coming from the Council Table, and assail him; many are hurt, but the Earl getteth a Wherry, and so escapes to *London*; the Queen incontinently commands the Earl to be committed to the *Tower*; but he foreseeing the danger, posts to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of *York*, and his Father the Earl of *Salisbury*, of all the occurrents, with the palpable discovery of the Queen's canker'd disposition, advising them to stand upon their Guard, and to provide against the approaching storm. Himself speeds to *Callice*, and being then Lord Admiral, takes with him all the King's Ships that were in readiness, and scouring the Seas, meets with five great Carricks, three of *Genoua*, and two of *Spain*, and after two days fight, takes two of them; with which he returned to *Callice*; where he unloaded their freight, and found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple-Commodities, besides the Ships and Prisoners.

An accommodation is agreed upon.

But all dissembled.

In the mean time the Earl of *Salisbury* with about five thousand men marcheth through *Lancashire*, to pass that way to the King, with a purpose to acquaint him with the affront offered to his Son, and the inveterate malice discovered in the Queen against him: The Queen with the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Somerset*, hearing of his coming, gave order to the Lord *Audley* to use means to apprehend him; who thereupon levieth Ten thousand men in *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, and with them about a mile from *Drayton*, in a plain called *Blore-heath*, he attended the Earl, there being but a small brook of no great depth between them. Early in the morning the Earl made a seeming retreat, which the Lord *Audley* observing, presently causeth his Troops to pass the River; but before they could be reduced again into order, the Earl with his whole strength falls upon them, and with the slaughter of the Lord *Audley*, and most of them that had passed the River, he discomfited the rest, and slew about 24 hundred of them. Sir *John* and Sir *Tho. Nevil*, Knights, the Earls Sons, were sorely wounded, who with Sir *Thomas Harrington*, travelling into the North Country, were apprehended and sent as Prisoners towards *Chester*, but upon a message from the *March-men* were presently released.

1459.

The E. of *Salisbury* going to acquaint the King, is set upon by the Lord *Audley*.

Who is slain, and his Army defeated.

And now the Duke of *York* thinking fit no longer to conceal his design, makes preparation to take the field; the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* do the like; and amongst others of approved valour, whom the Earl of *Warwick* had brought from *Callice* with him, were two principal noted men, *John Blunt*, and *Andrew Trollop*. Likewise the King, with the Dukes of *Somerset*, and *Exeter*, draws his Forces to *Worcester*, from whence *Richard Beauchamp* Bishop of *Salisbury*, is sent to offer the *Yorkists* a full and general Pardon, if they would lay down Arms, and become Loyal Subjects. Whereunto they answered, That there was no trust to the King's Pardons, as long as the Queen had a predominant power; but if they might have assurance of safety, they would express their Loyalty, and humbly render themselves at his service. Hereupon the King advanceth nearer, and approaching the Lords Army, caused Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would abandon the Duke of *York*, should be received to Mercy, and have Pardon. Upon this, the night following, *Andrew Trollop* with all the *Callicians* submit to the King; and by him are all the Councils of the Duke of *York* discovered: Which so much discouraged him, that he with his young Son, the Earl of *Rutland*, fled first into *Wales*, and then into *Ireland*: The Earls of *March*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, got into *Devonshire*, where, by the means of *John Dynham*, Esquire, (the same man that afterward by King *Henry* the seventh was made Lord Treasurer of *England*) they were Shipt from *Exmouth* to *Guernsey*, and so to *Callice*. All the common Soldiers the King pardons, only makes exemplary punishment of

The Duke of *York* takes the field.

The King doth the like.

Andrew Trollop revolts from the Duke to the King. Whereupon the Duke of *York* flies into *Ireland*.

some few Captains, sends the Duchess of *York*, and her two younger Children to the Duchess of *Buckingham* her Sister to be safely kept; and then having spoiled the Town and Castle of *Ludlow*, he dismist his Army. And now a Parliament is called at *Coventry*, wherein the Duke of *York*, *Edward* Earl of *March* his Son, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Lord *Clifford*, and many other the Confederates of the Duke of *York*, are convict of Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seized on to the King's use. *Henry* Duke of *Somerset* by the Queen's means is made Captain of *Callice*, whither coming to take possession, he was by reason of Ordnance shot at him from *Ricebank*, forced to retire; which the Queen hearing, was so incensed, that in great passion she gave order to make ready all the King's Ships lying at *Sandwich*, to give assistance to the Duke of *Somerset*: But the fore-mentioned *John Dynham*, out of love to the Earl of *March*, boarded those Ships in the Harbour, and took the Lord *Rivers*, designed Admiral for that Service, and carried both him and the Ships to *Callice*, from whence the Earl sailed to *Ireland*, to the Duke of *York*, who having conferred and concluded what course to take, he returned to *Callice*, the new Admiral the Duke of *Exeter* not daring to stop his course. Sir *Simon Montford* was appointed to guard the Cinque-Ports, having divers Ships under his command, to bar the Earl of *Warwick*'s entrance: But the Earl by his espyals having perfect intelligence of all passages, fell suddenly upon Sir *Simon*, before his Ships were ready, took him Prisoner, ransackt the Town of *Sandwich*, and carried him Prisoner, and the Ships to *Callice*. By the way he understood how much the *Kentish* men desired his return, and longed for his coming; whereupon he came the second time to *Sandwich*, to whom presently resorted the Lord *Cobham*, and very many Gentlemen of the Countrey: So as now his Army was Five and twenty thousand strong, with which he marched towards *London*. Against whom the Lord *Scales* was appointed to go, and with some convenient Troops to assure *London*. But the Mayor directly refused to admit him; whereupon he resorted to the *Tower*, from whence afterwards he did the *Londoners* no small displeasure. The Earl of *Warwick* having notice, that his Father the Earl of *Salisbury* was upon march to meet him, passeth over his men; and without impeachment, joyned with him and his freinds near *Exeter*.

The Duke of *York* in a Parliament is convict of Treason: as likewise the other Lords.

John Dynham doth the Earl of *March* good service.

The Earl of *Warwick* is received of the *Londoners*.

1460

The Armies of the Earl of *March*, and of the King, meet at *Northampton*.

The King, with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, with a great Army marcheth towards them, and near to the Town of *Northampton* both Armies meet. The Earl of *March* with the advice of the Earl of *Warwick* prepares for the fight: The Queen (the King more intentive to devotion than fighting) did the like; the fight continued about two hours, wherein were slain on both sides above Ten thousand men; but upon the fall of *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, the King's side was discomfited, and *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Egremont*, *John* Lord *Beaumont*, and some others of account were slain. The Queen with the Duke of *Somerset*, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*. The King himself was taken, and as a Prisoner conveyed to *London*: Where the *Tower* is yielded to the Earl of *Warwick*; the Lord *Scales* in disguised apparel endeavouring to escape, is taken by the Watermen, and by them beheaded, and his Corps carelesly left upon the Sands. *Thomas Thorpe*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the Habit of a Monk, his Crown shorn, purposing to flie to the Queen, is taken and committed Prisoner to the *Tower*, and after by the Commons Beheaded at *High-Gate*. The Duke of *York* being advertised of this good success, leaveth *Ireland*, and posts to *London*, where in the King's name, he summoneth a Parliament; which being assembled, he in the presence of the Lords in the Upper House, placeth himself in the Imperial Seat, and with great boldness lays open his rightful claim to the Crown of *England*, as being the Son and Heir of *Anne*, Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philippa* the sole Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward* the Third, and elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Father of the Usurper *Henry* the Fourth, Grandfather to King *Henry* the Fifth, who was Father to him that at this time untruly styleth himself King *Henry* the Sixth. And after relating the many miseries that had befallen the Realm since the time of this Usurpation, he concluded, That he would not expect nor desire possession of the Crown, except his descent were indisputeable, and his Title without exception. This being a business of importance, required deliberation; but in conclusion, the Duke having before-hand prepared the Lords Spiritual, and few of the Nobility being present, that were not of his part, the Burgesses were easily perswaded: And it was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly, That King *Henry* during his life, should retain the name and Honour of a King; That the Duke of *York* should be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the King's Person, his Lands and Dominions; and that if at any time, any of King *Henry*'s Friends, Allies, or Favourites, in his behalf should attempt the disannulling this Act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crown. It is not unworthy the noting, That while the Earl of *March* was declaring his Title in the Upper House, it happened in the nether House, that a Crown which hung in the middle of the House, to garnish a Branch to set lights upon, without touch or wind, fell down: As likewise at the same time fell down the Crown which stood on the top of *Dover*-Castle. A sign, as some thought, that the Crown of the Realm should be changed. As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, the Duke dispatcheth Letters into *Scotland*, requiring in the King's Name, the Queen, the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, and all other of the Nobility, that remained in the Kingdom, with all speed to repair to his presence in *London*: But they had other work in hand, for having gotten together of *English* and *Scots* to the number of Eighteen thousand, they came marching into *England*. Against whom went the

The Queen flieth; the King taken prisoner, and conveyed to *London*.

The Lord *Scales* flying away in disguise, is taken by Watermen, and beheaded.

The Duke of *York* comes out of *Ireland*: Summons a Parliament, wherein he lays open his Title to the Crown.

It is concluded in Parliament that King *Henry* should remain King during his life; and the Duke of *York* proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown.

Good *Omen* for the Earl of *March*.

The King's Army is defeated; divers Lords slain.

The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* with an Army out of *Scotland* come marching into *England.*

the Duke of *York* with his younger Son the Earl of *Rutland*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, (leaving the King in the custody of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Warwick*;) and approaching near the Queen's Army, he was certified by the Scouts, that the Enemy far exceeded his power, both in number, and in all warlike preparation (he not having in his Army above five thousand men); and thereupon the Earl of *Salisbury* advised him to retire, and to attend the coming of the Earl of *March*, who was gone into *Wales* to raise the *March*-men. But the pride of his former Victory made him deaf to all counsel of declining the Battel, and so hastned on by his destiny; from *Sandal* Castle he marcheth on to *Wakefield* Green; where the Lord *Clifford* on the one side, and the Earl of *Wiltshire* on the other, were placed in Ambuscade. The Duke of *York* supposing that the Duke of *Somerset*, who led the Battel, had no more Forces than what were with him, undauntedly marcheth towards him; but being entred within their danger, Ambushes on both sides brake out upon him, and slew him, with Three thousand of his men, the rest fled. The Earl of *Salisbury* is taken Prisoner, and harmless *Rutland* not above twelve years old, who came thither but to see fashions, is made a Sacrifice for his Father's transgressions, who kneeling upon his knees, with tears begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the Lord *Clifford*, in part of revenge (as he swore) of his Father's death: And the Queen most unwomanly in cold blood caused the Earl of *Salisbury*, and as many as were taken Prisoners, to be beheaded at *Pomfret* Castle, and to have their heads placed on poles, about the Walls of *York*. Thus died *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, who had taken to Wife *Cicely* Daughter to *Ralph Nevil*, the first Earl of *Westmorland*, by whom he had Issue eight Sons and four Daughters; his eldest Son *Henry* died young, his second Son *Edward* was afterward King of *England*; his third Son *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland*, was slain with his Father; *John*, *Thomas*, and *William*, died young; his seventh Son *George* was after Duke of *Clarence*; his youngest Son *Richard* surnamed *Crouchback*, was after King of *England*. *Anne* his eldest Daughter was married to *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*; his second Daughter *Elizabeth*, married to *John de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*; his third, *Margaret*, to *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*; his fourth, *Ursula*, died young. This Duke being dead, had his head crowned with a paper Crown, together with many circumstances of disgracing him; but this act of spight was fully afterwards recompenced upon their heads that did it.

The Duke of *York* meets them, and in a Battel on *Wakefield* Green is slain.

The Earl of *Salisbury* beheaded.

The Duke of *York*'s Issue.

The Earl of *March* hearing of his Father's death, laboured now so much the more earnestly, in that he laboured for himself; and parting from *Shrewsbury*, whose Inhabitants were most firm unto him, he increased his Army to the number of Three and twenty Thousand, and presently took the field: And having advertisement that *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Earl of *Ormond* and *Wiltshire*, followed after him with a great power of *Welsh* and *Irish*, he suddenly marched back again, and in a Plain near *Mortimer*'s Cross, on *Candlemas* day in the morning, gave them Battel, where with the slaughter of Three thousand and eight hundred, he puts the Earls to flight. *Owen Tewdor*, who had married Q. *Katherine*, Mother to K. *Henry* the Sixth; and divers *Welsh* Gentlemen, were taken, and at *Hereford* beheaded. Before the Battel, it is said, the Sun appeared to the Earl of *March* like three Suns, and suddenly it joined altogether in one; for which cause some imagine, that he gave the Sun in its full brightness, for his Badge or Cognizance.

The Earl of *March* puts the Queen's Forces to flight.

Owen Tewdor beheaded.

The Queen in the mean time incouraged by the death of the Duke of *York*, with a power of Northen men marched towards *London*: But when her Soldiers were once South of *Trent*, as if the River were the utmost limit of their good behaviour, they fell to forage the Countrey in most barbarous manner. Approaching St. *Albans*, they were advertised, that the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick* were ready to give them Battel; whereupon the Queen's Vaward hasteth to pass through Saint *Albans*: But being not suffered to pass, they encountred with their Enemies in the Field called *Bernardbeath*. Who perceiving the main Battel to stand still, and not to move, which was done by the treachery of *Lovelace*, who with the *Kentish* men had the leading of it, they soon made the Southern men to turn their backs and fly: Upon whose flight the rest in doubt of each other's well-meaning shifted away; the Lords about the King perceiving the danger, withdrew themselves. Only the Lord *Bonvile* coming in a complemental manner to the King, and saying it grieved him to leave his Majesty; but that necessity for the safeguard of his life inforced it, was importuned, and Sir *Thomas Kyriel*, a Knight of *Kent*, likewise, by the King to stay, he passing his Royal Word that their stay should be no danger to them: Upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost. For the Queen hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron *Thorp* at *High-gate*, she in revenge thereof caused both their heads to be strucken off at St. *Albans*: So as there were slaughtered at this Battel the full number of Three and twenty hundred, but no man of name but Sir *John Gray*, who the same day was made Knight, with twelve other at the Village of *Colney*.

And now the King was advised to send one *Thomas Hoe*, (that had been a Barrister) to the Victors, to tell them, That he would gladly come to them, if with convenience it might be done; whereupon the Earl of *Northumberland* appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord *Clifford*'s Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met to their great joy: But it was now observed, as it were in the Destiny of King *Henry*, that although he were a most pious man, yet no enterprize of War did ever prosper where he was: That we may know the prosperity of the world to be no inseparable companion to men of Piety. At the Queen's request, the King honoured with Knighthood Thirty Gentlemen, who the day before had fought against the part where he was: The Prince likewise was by him dubbed Knight, and then they went to the Abby, where they were received with Anthems, and withal an humble Petition to be protected from the outrage of the loose Soldiers;

No enterprize of War ever prospered where K. *Henry* was present.

Soldiers; which was promiſed, and Proclamation made to that purpoſe, but to ſmall purpoſe, for the Northern men ſaid, It was their bargain to have all the ſpoil in every place, after they had paſſed *Trent*: And ſo they Robbed and ſpoiled whatſoever they could come at. The *Londoners* hearing of this diſorder, ſeeing there was no more aſſurance in the King's promiſe, to keep the Northern men out of their Gates; inſomuch that when they were ſent to, to ſend over to the Camp certain Cart-loads of Lenten Proviſion, which the Mayor accordingly provided, the Commons roſe about *Cripple-gate*, and by ſtrong hand kept the Carts from going out of the City. Hereupon the Mayor ſends the Recorder to the King's Council, and withal intreats the Ducheſs of *Bedford*, and the Lady *Scales*, to intercede for him to the Queen; and to excuſe his not uſing force, conſidering how dangerous it might be in theſe doubtful times, to ſtir their fury that would not eaſily be allayed. It was well adviſed to ſend women to intreat a woman, for by this means they prevailed, that ſome of the Lords of the Council, with a guard of four hundred good Soldiers were appointed to go for *London* to inquire and certify of theſe things: When ſuddenly news was brought, that the Earl of *March* with a great Army was marching towards them. For the Earl of *Warwick* having gathered together his ſcattered Troops, and joined with the Earl of *March*, they haſted towards *London*, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of *February*; and upon Sunday the ſecond of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick* muſtred all his Army in St. *Johns* field: and having caſt them into a ring, read unto them the agreement of the laſt Parliament, and then demanded, Whether they would have King *Henry* to reign ſtill? Who all cried, No, no: Then he asked them, whether they would have the Earl of *March*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York* (by that Parliament proclaimed King) to reign over them? Who with a great clamour cried, Yea, yea: Then went there certain Captains and others of the City, to the Earl of *March* at *Baynards* Caſtle, to acquaint him with what was paſſed; who at firſt ſeemed to excuſe himſelf, as unable to execute ſo great a charge: but animated by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he at laſt conſented to take it upon him. And thereupon the next morning he went in Proceſſion to *Pauls*, and offered there; and after *Te Deum* ſung, he was in great State conveyed to *Weſtminſter*: And there in the great Hall ſeated in the King's Seat, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* in his hand. And then again the people, of whom there was a great concourſe, were aloud demanded, If they would acknowledge him to be their King? To which with great willingneſs they all cried, Yea, yea. Then taking homage of divers Noblemen there preſent, he was with Proceſſion and great ſolemnity conveyed to the Abby, and placed in the Quire as King, whilſt *Te Deum* was ſinging. That done, he offered at Saint *Edward*'s Shrine, and then returned by Water to *Pauls*, and was lodged in the Biſhops Palace; and upon the fourth of *March* he was generally Proclaimed King, by the name of *Edward* the Fourth. And here in the courſe of all Writers, ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, that it may be truly ſaid, Never came any to be King ſo ſoon after his Birth, nor left to be King ſo long before his Death; for he came to be King at eight months old, and he left to be King, living twelve years after. There was indeed in that ſpace of time, a certain viciſſitude, ſometimes a King, and ſometimes no King; the paſſages whereof muſt be related in the following King's Reign.

The *Londoners* keep proviſion from going to the King.

The Earl of *March* is elected King.

Is proclaimed King.

Of his Taxations.

IN the firſt year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at *London*, where the Queen Mother with the young King in her lap came and ſate amongſt the Lords; and there was then granted a Subſidy of five Nobles upon every ſack of Wool that ſhould paſs out of the Land, for three years: But if carried out by Merchant-ſtrangers, then to pay three and forty ſhillings for every Sack. In the third year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at *Weſtminſter*, wherein was granted a Subſidy of twelvepence in the pound of all Merchandize coming in, or paſſing out of the Realm, and three ſhillings of a Tun of Wine, for the term of three years. In his ſixth year, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, was granted a Subſidy of every Tun of Wine three ſhillings, and other Merchandize, except Wool, Fell, and Cloth, twelvepence in the pound: Alſo of every Pariſh through the Realm (except Cities and Boroughs) the Benefice being in value ten Marks, Ten of that Pariſh ſhould pay ſix ſhillings eight pence; and of every Benefice of the value of Ten pounds, ten Pariſhioners ſhould pay Thirteen ſhillings four pence; and ſo ratably of every Benefice, from the loweſt to the higheſt. And for the Inhabitant of Cities and Boroughs, every man being worth twenty ſhillings above his houſe-hold-ſtuff, and the apparel of him and his Wife, ſhould pay four pence, and ſo after that rate to the richeſt.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN the 32 year of this King, the Lord-Mayor of *London* firſt began to go by water to *Weſtminſter* to take his Oath, where before they uſed to go by Land. Alſo in this King's Reign the Art of Printing was found out at *Mogunce* in *Germany*, by a Knight called *John Cuttenbergben*, and brought into *England* by *William Caxton* of *London* Mercer, who firſt practiſed the ſame in the Abby at *Weſtminſter*, in the year 1471. In the 23 year of his Reign, in the Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, That when Wheat was ſold for ſix ſhillings eight pence the quarter, Rye for four ſhillings, and Barley for three ſhillings, it ſhould be lawful for any man to carry the ſaid kinds of Corn into the parts beyond the Sea without licenſe, ſo it were not to the King's Enemies or Rebels; which act was afterward confirmed by King *Edward* the Fourth.

The Art of Printing firſt found.

When Corn might be carried beyond Sea.

Affairs

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A Great Schiſm was in the Church in this King's time by reaſon of Anti-Popes; for remedy whereof, a Council is called at *Conſtance*, to which the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* and *Trapezond* ſent their Ambaſſadors. In this Council *John* the three and twentieth is convented, condemned, depoſed, and impriſoned. *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth, are deprived, and *Otha Colonna*, by the name of *Martin* the fifth, is choſen Pope. During theſe confuſions in the Weſtern Church, the Chriſtians in the Eaſtern Church are utterly ruinated. The Emperor ſmothered to death in a preſs of people, and the great City of *Conſtantinople* won by the *Turk*, made ever ſince the ſeat of his Empire. In the ſix and thirtieth year of this King, *Reynold Peacock* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who had laboured many years in tranſlating the Holy Scripture into *Engliſh*, was accuſed and convicted for holding and publiſhing certain opinions at that time held Heretical, which at laſt openly at *Pauls* Croſs he revoked; That he had held, there was no neceſſity to believe that Chriſt deſcended into Hell: Alſo no neceſſity to believe in the Communion of Saints, or that the Univerſal Church cannot err in matters of Faith; or that it is neceſſary to believe and hold whatſoever a General Council ſhall determine: Alſo that he had held, That Spiritual perſons ought to have no Temporal Poſſeſſions; and that perſonal Tythes were not due by God's Law. Theſe points he openly renounced, but was notwithſtanding deprived of his Biſhoprick; only a certain Penſion was aſſigned him to live on in an Abby, where ſoon after he died.

The Emperor ſmothered to death in a preſs of people.

Conſtantinople won by the *Turk*.

The Biſhop of *Chicheſter*'s Hereſies, for which deprived.

Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

THE King himſelf founded two famous Colleges, the one in *Cambridge*, to our Lady and St. *Nicholas*, called the *College-Royal*, or the *King's-College*; the other of *Eaton*, beſides *Windſor*, called of our Bleſſed Lady; to the maintenance whereof he gave 3400 pounds by year. In the 28 year of his Reign, his Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*. In the time of his Reign alſo, *Henry Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* founded two Colleges in *Oxford*, one called *All-Souls-College*, the other *Bernard-College*. In his time alſo, *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter* (but others ſay *Thomas Kemp* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) built the Divinity-School in *Oxford*; alſo the ſaid Archbiſhop built *Pauls* Croſs in form as now it ſtandeth; and *William Waneſlete* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord-Chancellor of *England*, founded *Mary Magdalen* College in *Oxford*. In his ſeventeenth year, *Ralph* Lord *Cromwel* builded the College of *Tatſhal* in *Lincolnſhire*. Alſo this year *William Eaſtfield* Mayor of *London*, cauſed to be builded at his own charge the Water-Conduit in *Fleetſtreet*. In his ninth year, *John Wells* Mayor of *London*, cauſed the Conduit commonly called the *Standard* in *Cheap* to be builded. In his firſt year the Weſt-Gate of *London*, ſometime called *Chamberlain-gate*, and now *Newgate*, was begun to be new builded by the Executors of Sir *Richard Whittington*, Lord Mayor of *London*. In his fifth year, *John Reynwel* Mayor of *London*, gave certain Lands to the City of *London*, for which the City is bound to pay for ever all Fifteens that ſhall be granted to the King, (ſo as it paſs not three Fifteens in one year) for three Wards in *London*; namely, *Dowgate-Ward*, *Billingsgate-Ward*, and *Aldgate*. Alſo this year the *Tower* at the Draw-Bridge of *London* was begun by the ſame Mayor. In his four and twentieth year, *Simon Eyre* Lord-Mayor of *London* builded the *Leaden-Hall*, in *London*, to be a Store-Houſe for Grain and Fewel for the poor of the City, and a fair Chappel at the Eaſt-end of the ſame, leaving in Stock a Thouſand pounds, which afterward K. *Edward* the Fourth borrowed, and never paid it again. Alſo in this King's time, *William de la Poole* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Alice* his Wife, Daughter to *Thomas Chaucer*, Son to *Geoffery Chaucer* the famous Poet, tranſlated and increaſed the Mannor-place of *Ewelme* in *Oxfordſhire*, and builded new the Pariſh-Church of *Ewelme*, and an Hoſpital or Alms-Houſe for two Prieſts, and thirteen poor men, to which he gave three Mannors, *Ramruge* in *Hampſhire*, *Conock* in *Wiltſhire*, and *Merſh* in *Buckinghamſhire*: They alſo founded the Hoſpital of *Donington* Caſtle.

Kings College in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton* College founded.

Queens College in *Cambridge* founded.

All-Souls and *Bernard College* in *Oxford* founded.

The Divinity School in *Oxford* built.

Paul's croſs built.

Magdalen College in *Oxford* founded.

The *Standard* in *Cheapſide* builded.

Newgate new builded.

Leaden-Hall at *London* builded, and to what uſe.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his fifth year was ſo unſeaſonable weather, that it rained almoſt continually from *Eaſter* to *Michaelmas*. In his ſeventh year, the eighth of *November*, the Duke of *Norfolk* was like to have been drowned paſſing through *London-Bridge*, his Barge being ſet upon the Piles, overwhelmed ſo, that thirty perſons were drowned, and the Duke with others that eſcaped, were fain to be drawn up with Ropes. In his ſeventeenth year was ſo great a dearth of Corn, that people were glad to make them bread of Fern-Roots. In his eighteenth year all the Lions of the *Tower* died. Alſo in this year, the 18 day of *July*, the *Poſtern*-Gates of *London* by *Eaſt-Smithfield* againſt the *Tower* of *London*, ſank by night more than ſeven Foot in the Earth. In his two and twentieth year, one *New-Years* day, near unto *Bedford*, a very deep water, which ran betwixt the Towns of *Swelſtone* and *Harlſewood*, ſtood ſuddenly ſtill, and divided it ſelf, ſo that by the ſpace of three miles, the bottom remained dry: which wonder, many thought to ſignify the diviſion of the people, and falling away from the King, which happened ſhortly after. In the Three and thirtieth year of his Reign, beſides a great Blazing-Star, there happened a ſtrange ſight, a Monſtrous Cock came out of the Sea, and in the preſence of a multitude of people at *Portland*, made a hideous crowing three times, each time turning about clapping his Wings, and beckning towards the North, the South, and the Weſt; as alſo many prodigious Births. In his ſix and thirtieth year, in a little Town in *Bedfordſhire*, it rained blood, whereof the red drops appeared in ſheets hung out to dry.

All the Lions in the *Tower* dye.

A deep River ſuddenly grows dry.

A Prodigious Cock.

Ruin of Blood.

Of

Of his Wife and Iſſue.

HE married *Margaret* Daughter of *Rayner* Duke of *Anjou*, and Titular King of *Jeruſalem*, *Sicily*, and *Arragon*, by whom he had a ſmall Portion, and little ſtrength of Alliance; yet might it have been a good match, if they could have changed conditions with one another, that he might have had her active and ſtirring ſpirit, and ſhe his ſoft and mild diſpoſition. She was his Wife ſix and twenty years, and after her Husband's depulſion from the Regal Throne, his Forces being vanquiſhed at the Battel of *Tewksbury*, in a poor Religious Houſe whither ſhe had fled for ſafety of her life, was taken Priſoner, and carried Captive to *London*, where ſhe remained in durance, till Duke *Rayner* her Father purchaſed her liberty, unto whom ſhe returned, and laſtly died in her Native Countrey. By her King *Henry* had Iſſue only one Son named *Edward*, who when the day was loſt at *Tewksbury*, ſought to eſcape by flight; but being taken, was brought into the preſence of King *Edward*, whoſe reſolute anſwers provoked King *Edward* ſo much, that he daſhed him on the mouth with his Gauntlet, and then *Richard* the *Crouchback* ran him into the heart with his Dagger. His Body was buried amongſt the poor perſons there ſlain, in the Monaſtical Church of the *Black-Friers* in *Tewksbury*.

Of his Death and Burial.

UPon K. *Edward's* recovering the Crown, he was committed to the *Tower*, where the 21 of *May*, in the year 1472. he was murthered by the bloody hand of *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*; the day after he was brought to *Pauls* Church in an open Coffin, bare-fac'd, where he bled; thence carried to the *Black-Friers*, where he alſo bled; from thence in a Boat to *Cherſey* Abbey, without Prieſt or Clerk, Torch or Taper, Saying or Singing, and there buried: but afterward at the appointment of King *Edward* was removed to *Windſor*, and there interred, and a fair Monument made over him.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was tall of ſtature, ſpare and ſlender of body, of a comely countenance, and all parts well proportioned. For endowments of his mind, he had Vertues enough to make him a Saint, but not to make him a God, as Kings are ſaid to be Gods; for of that commanding power there being two parts, *Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos*, he wanted the latter. He was not ſenſible of that which the world calls Honour, accounting the greateſt Honour to conſiſt in Humility. His greateſt imperfection was, that he had in him too much of the Log, and too little of the Stork; for he would not move, but as he was moved, and had rather be devoured, than he would devour. He was not ſo ſtupid, not to know proſperity from adverſity; but he was ſo devout, to think nothing adverſity which was not a hinderance to Devotion. He was fitter for a Prieſt than a King, and for a Sacrifice than a Prieſt; and he could not chuſe but dye a Martyr, who all his life had been a Confeſſor. He had one immunity peculiar to himſelf, that no man could ever be revenged on him, ſeeing he never offered any man injury. By being innocent as a Dove, he kept his Crown upon his head ſo long; but if he had been wiſe as a Serpent, he might have kept it on longer. But all this is not ſufficient, if we expreſs not in particular his ſeveral Vertues. So modeſt, that when at *Chriſtmaſs* a ſhow of women was preſented before him with their breaſts laid out, he preſently departed, ſaying, Fie, fie for ſhame, forſooth you be to blame. So pitiful, that when he ſaw the quarters of a Traytor over *Cripplegate*, he cauſed it to be taken down; ſaying, I will not have any Chriſtian ſo cruelly handled for my ſake. So free from ſwearing, that he never uſed other oath but *Forſooth*, and *Verily*. So patient, that to one who ſtruck him when he was taken priſoner, he only ſaid, Forſooth you wrong your ſelf more than me, to ſtrike the Lords Anointed. So devout, that on principal Holy-days he uſed to wear Sack-cloth next his skin. Once for all, let his Confeſſor be heard ſpeak, who in ten years Confeſſion never found that he had done or ſaid any thing, for which he might juſtly be injoyned Penance. For which cauſes King *Henry* the Seventh, would have procured him to be Canonized for a Saint, but that he was prevented by death; or perhaps becauſe the charge would have been too great, the Canonization of a King being much more coſtly than of a private perſon.

The Vertues of K. *Henry*.

The Canonization of a King more coſtly than of a private perſon.

Of Men of Note in his time.

THere were Men of Valour in this King's Reign, of extraordinary eminency; as firſt, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, who when a *French* Lord upbraided him, That his Sword was of Lead, he made his anſwer, and made him feel that it was of Steel. Next him was *Thomas Mountacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, whoſe very name was a ſufficient charm to daunt a whole *French* Army. Then the next was *John* Lord *Talbot*, ſo great a Terrour to the *French*, that when the Women would ſtill their Children from crying, they would uſe to ſay, *Talbot* comes. Then was *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*, ſo much greater than a King, as that which makes, is greater than that it makes: and ſuch a one was he. Many other beſides theſe, not much inferiour to theſe; that we may truly ſay, There was never a more Heroical King of *England* than *Henry* the Fifth: nor ever a King of *England* that had more Heroical Subjects than *Henry* the ſixth. And though Arms and Letters ſeem to be of different conditions, yet they commonly grow up and flouriſh together: as in this King's Reign, where *John Leland* ſurnamed the Elder, who wrote divers Treatiſes for inſtruction of Grammarians; *William White* a Prieſt of *Kent*, profeſſing the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*, for which he ſuffered Martyrdom by fire. *Alexander Carpenter*, who wrote a Book called *Deſtructorium vitiorum*, againſt the Prelates of that time; *Peter Baſſet* Eſquire,

The valour of the Duke of *Bedford*.

The valour of *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*.

The valour of *John* L. *Talbot*.

The valour of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*.

Esquire of the Privy Chamber to King *Henry* the Fifth, whose life he wrote: *John Pole* a Priest, who wrote the life of St. *Walborale* an *English* Woman: Also *Thomas Walden*, *alias Netter*, who wrote divers Treatises against the *Wicklevists*: *Peter Clark alias Pain* a Student in *Oxford* and defender of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine: For which he fled, and was put to death beyond Sea: *Thomas Walsingham* born in *Norfolk*, a diligent Historiographer: *Thomas Ringstead* the younger, an excellent Preacher, who wrote divers Treatises: *Thomas Rudburn* a Monk of *Winchester*, and an Historiographer: *Nicholas Upton* a Civilian, who wrote of Heraldry, of Colours in Armory, and of the Duty of Chivalry: *John Capgrave* born in *Kent*, an *Augustine* Fryer, who wrote many excellent Treatises, particularly the *Legend of English Saints*: *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, Protector of the Realm, well learned in Astrology, whereof he wrote a special Treatise intituled *Tabula Directionum*: *John Westhamstead*, otherwise called *Frumentarius* Abbot of St. *Albans*, who wrote divers Treatises; and amongst others, a Book of the Record of things happening while he was Abbot, which Book *Holingshead* had seen, and in some Passages of his time followed: *Roger Onley* accused of Treason, for practising with the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* by Sorcery to make the King away; and thereof condemned, and died for it: he wrote one Treatise entituled, *De sua Innocentia*: *Henry Walsingham* a *Carmelite* Frier of *Norwich*, who wrote sundry Treatises in Divinity: *John Lydgate* a Monk of *Bury* who had travelled *France* and *Italy* to learn Languages, and wrote many works of Poetry: *Thomas Beckington* Bishop of *Bath*, who wrote against the Law Salique of *France*: *Michael Tregury* born in *Cornwall*, whom for his excellent Learning King *Henry* the Fifth made Governour of the University of *Caen* in *Normandy*, after he had conquered it. *Reynold Peacock* Bishop of *Chicheſter*, who wrote many Treatises touching Christian Religion: *Robert Flemming*, who wrote a Dictionary in Greek and Latin, and a work in Verse of sundry kinds. *Richard Flemming* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who wrote divers Books, one of the *Etymology* of *England*. *Nicholas Montacute* an Historiographer: *John Stow* a Monk of *Norwich*, and Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*. *Nicholas Bungy*, born in a Town in *Norfolk*, of that name, who wrote an History called *Adnationes Chronicorum*: *Robert Balsack*, who wrote a Book *De re militari*: *Thomas Dando* a *Carmelite* Frier of *Marlborough*, who wrote the life of *Alfred* King of the *West Saxons*: *Robert Bale* surnamed the Elder, Recorder of *London*, who gathered a Chronicle of the Customs, Laws, Foundations, Changes, Offices, Orders, and publick Assemblies of the City of *London*, with other Matters touching the perfect description of the same City; he wrote other works also touching the Estate of the same City, and the Acts of King *Edward* the Third.

Humfrey D. of *Glocester* a wise Astrologer.

The Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Reign.*

In his first year,
Sir *William Waldren* was Mayor.
William Eastfield, *Rober Tartarsal*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
William Cromar was Mayor.
Nicholas James, *Thomas Watford*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
John Micabel was Mayor.
Simon Seaman, *John Bywater*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
John Coventry was Mayor.
William Milled, *John Brokle*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Rainwel* was Mayor.
John Arnal, *John Higham*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *John Gedny* was Mayor.
Henry Frowick, *Robert Otely*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Henry Barton* was Mayor.
Thomas Duffhouse, *John Abbot*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *William Eastfield* was Mayor.
William Russe, *Ralph Holland*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Nicholas Wotton was Mayor.
Walter Chertsey, *Robert Large*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *John de Welles* was Mayor.
John Aderley, *Stephen Brown*, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,
Sir *John Parveis* was Mayor.
John Olney, *John Paddesly*, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,
Sir *Joyn Brokle* was Mayor.
Thomas Chalton, *John King*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,
Sir *Roger Oteley* was Mayor.
Thomas Barnewel, *Simon Eyre*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,
Sir *Henry Frowick* was Mayor.
Thomas Cutworth, *Robert Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,
Sir *John Michael* was Mayor.
Thomas Morised, *William Gregory*, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,
Sir *William Eastfield* was Mayor.
William Halet, *William Chapman*, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year,
Sir *Stephen Brown* was Mayor.
Hugh Dyker, *Nicholas Towe*, Sheriffs.

In his Eighteenth year,
Robert Large was Mayor.
Philip Malphas, *Robert Marſhal*, Sheriffs.

In his Nineteenth year,
Sir *John Paddeſly* was Mayor.
John Sutton, *William Whelmhale*, Sheriffs.

In his Twentieth year,
Robert Clopton was Mayor.
William Combis, *Richard Rich*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty year,
John Aderly was Mayor.
Thomas Beaumont, *Richard Nordon*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ſecond year,
Thomas Catworth was Mayor.
Nicholas Wyford, *John Norman*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty third year,
Sir *Henry Frowick* was Mayor.
Stephen Foſter, *Hugh Witch*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty fourth year,
Sir *Simon Eyre* was Mayor.
John Darby, *Godfrey Fielding*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty fifth year,
John Olney was Mayor.
Robert Horne, *Godfrey Bullen*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ſixth year,
Sir *John Gedney* was Mayor.
William Abraham, *Thomas Scot*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ſeventh year,
Sir *Stephen Brown* was Mayor.
William Cotlow, *William Marrow*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty eighth year,
Sir *Thomas Chalton* was Mayor.
William Hulin, *Thomas Canning*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ninth year,
Nicholas Wilford was Mayor.
John Middleton, *William Deare*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirtieth year,
Sir *William Gregory* was Mayor.
Matthew Philip, *Chriſtopher Wharton*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty firſt year,
Sir *Geoffry Fielding* was Mayor.
Richard Lee, *Richard Alley*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty ſecond year,
Sir *John Norman* was Mayor.
John Walden, *Thomas Cook*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty third year,
Sir *Stephen Foſter* was Mayor.
John Field, *William Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty fourth year,
Sir *William Marrow* was Mayor.
John Young, *Thomas Oldgrave*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty fifth year,
Sir *Thomas Canning* was Mayor.
John Styward, *Ralph Verney*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty ſixth year,
Sir *Godfrey Bullen* was Mayor.
William Edward, *Thomas Reynor*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty ſeventh year,
Sir *Thomas Scot* was Mayor.
Ralph Joſcline, *Richard Medham*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty eighth year,
Sir *William Hulin* was Mayor.
John Plummer, *John Stocker*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty ninth year,
Sir *Richard Lee* was Mayor.
Richard Flemming, *John Lambert*, Sheriffs.

THE

The REIGN of KING EDWARD The FOURTH.

1460. EDward Earl of *March*, born at *Roan* in *Normandy*, Son and Heir of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, ſlain in the Battel at *Wakefield*, ſucceeded his Father in the Right, but exceeded him in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*; and that by virtue of an Act of Parliament lately made, wherein the ſaid Duke of *York* not only was declared Heir apparent of the Crown, and appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom: But it was further Enacted, That if King *Henry*, or any in his behalf ſhould attempt the diſannulling of this Act, that then the ſaid Duke or his Heir ſhould have the preſent Poſſeſſion; which, becauſe his friends attempted to do, therefore juſtly doth *Edward* Earl of *March* his Son, by vertue of this Act take poſſeſſion of the Crown, and is proclaimed King of *England*, by the name of *Edward* the Fourth, through the City of *London*, on the fifth day of *March*, in the year 1460. But before he could have leiſure to be Crowned, he was forced once again to try his Fortune in the Field by Battel; For King *Henry* in the North was raiſing a new Army, againſt whom King *Edward* upon the twelfth of *March* marched with his Forces from *London*: and by Eaſie Journeys came to *Pomfret* Caſtle, from whence the Lord *Fitzwater* was ſent to Guard the paſſage at *Ferribridg*, to ſtop the Enemies approach that way: King *Henry* likewiſe advanceth forward, ſending his power under the Conduct of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whileſt himſelf with his Queen and Son ſtay at *York*. The Lord *Clifford* very early on *Palm-Sunday*, with a Troop of Northern Men, falls upon thoſe that guarded *Ferribridge*; and defeated them with the Slaughter of the Lord *Fitzwater*, and the Baſtard of *Salisbury*. The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this defeat, comes poſting to King *Edward's* Camp; and in his preſence killing his Horſe, proteſted his Reſolution to ſtand with him to the death. Upon this Reſolution of the Earls, the King made preſently Proclamation, that all who are afraid to fight, ſhould at their pleaſure depart; but to thoſe that would ſtay he promiſed a good reward: adding with al, That if any that ſtay'd ſhould after turn his back or flee, then he that ſhould kill him ſhould have double Pay. After this he gave order to the Lord *Fauconbridge*, and Sir *Walter Blunt*, to lead on the Vaward, who in their March about *Dandingdale*, encountred with the Lord *Clifford* (who formerly in cold blood had ſlaughtered the young Earl of *Rutland*) and he being ſtricken in the Throat with an Arrow, (ſome ſay) without a Head, and preſently dying: The Lord *Nevil* Son and Heir of the Earl of *Weſtmorland* was alſo ſlain, with moſt of their Companies, and the reſt put to flight. The next day likewiſe (the Duke of *Norfolk* being dangerouſly ſick, to whom that place was aſſigned) *Fauconbridge* and *Blunt* continue the leading of the Van-guard; and on *Palm-Sunday*, by break of day, they came to a plain Field between *Towton* and *Saxton*, from whence they made a full Survey of King *Henry's* Army: and certified King *Edward* that the Enemy was threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, where his Army was but forty thouſand and ſix hundred. Whereupon a ſecond Proclamation was made through the Camp, that no quarter ſhould be kept, nor Priſoner taken. The Armies being both in ſight, the Lord *Fauconbridge* gave direction to the Archers (upon a ſignal by him given) to ſhoot every man a flight-Arrow (for that purpoſe provided) and then to fall back three ſtrides, and ſtand. The Northern men in the mean time plyed their Bows till all their ſheaths were empty: but their Arrows fell ſhort of their Enemy by threeſcore yards: and not only did no hurt to the Enemy, but did hurt to themſelves; for their Arrows being ſpent, and coming to hand-blows, their own Arrows ſticking in the Ground, galled their ſhins and pierc'd their feet. Ten hours the Battel continued doubtful, till the Earl of *Northumberland* being ſlain, with the Lord *Beaumont Gray*, *Dacres*, and *Wells*, Sir *John Nevil*, *Andrew Trollop*, and many other Knights and Eſquires, the Earls of *Exeter* and *Somerſet* fled, leaving the Conqueſt to King *Edward*; but the bloodieſt that ever *England* felt, for there fell that day ſix and thirty thouſand ſeven hundred threeſcore and ſixteen Perſons, no Priſoners being taken but the Earl of *Devonſhire*. The Battel ended, King *Edward* haſtes to *York*; where he cauſed the heads of his Father and other Friends to be taken down and buried with their bodies, ſetting in their places the Heads of the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and three other, there at that time executed. The Earl of *Somerſet* acquainting King *Henry* with this overthrow, perſwades him with his Queen and Son to flie to *Berwick*, where leaving the Duke of *Somerſet*, they flie further for ſuccour

The Earl of *March* is proclaimed King of *England*.

King *Henry* in the North raiſeth an Army to oppoſe King *Edward*.

defeated by Policy of the Lord *Fauconbridge*.

And many Lords ſlain, and thirty thouſand other.

to the King of *Scots*, who comforteth them with promiſe of Relief, but maketh a ſure Bargain, for in lieu of a penſion to be allowed King *Henry* during his abode there, the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick* were delivered to him. Queen *Margaret* and her Son are ſent into *France*, who obtained of *Lewis* the Eleventh her Couſin, that all of King *Edward*'s Friends were prohibited ſtay or traffick in the *French* King's Dominions: but all King *Henry*'s Friends might live there freely. After this King *Edward* comes to *London*, and upon his entrance to the *Tower*, makes four and twenty Knights, and the next day four more; and upon the 28. day of *June*, in the year 1461. he rode from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, and was there Crowned in the Abbey-Church.

King *Henry* flies into *Scotland*, the Queen and her Son into *France*.

1461.

King *Edward* is crown'd.

Shortly after, a Parliament is ſummoned, which began at *Weſtminſter* the fourth of *November*; in which all Acts of King *Henry* the Sixth prejudicial to King *Edward*'s Title, are repealed: and therein *John* Earl of *Oxford*, a Valiant and Wiſe Man (he who in a former Parliament had diſputed the queſtion concerning the precedency of Temporal and Spiritual Barons, a bold attempt in thoſe days; and by force of whoſe Argument, Judgment was given for the Lords Temporal) with his Son *Aubry de Vere*, Sir *Thomas Tiddingham* Knight, *William Tyrrel*, and *alter Montgomery* Eſquires, were, without anſwer convicted of Treaſon, and beheaded. And to encourage others to well deſerving, King *Edward* at this time advanced many in honour: his Brother *George* he created Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, *John* Lord *Nevil* Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, he made firſt Viſcout, then Marqueſs *Montacute*; *Henry Bourchier* Brother to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, is made Earl of *Eſſex*; and *William* Lord *Fauconbridge* Earl of *Kent*. And now their new Honours are preſently put into Imployment; the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Kent*, accompanied with the Lord *Audely* and *Clinton*, Sir *John Howard*, Sir *Richard Walgrave*, and others to the number of Ten thouſand, are appointed to ſcour the Seas: who landed in *Britain*, took the Town of *Conquet*, and the Iſle of *Bee*, and then returned. At this time *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, *Ralph Piercy*, and divers others came in, and humbly ſubmitted themſelves to King *Edward*'s mercy; who proteſted his propenſion of freely pardoning them, and as many others as would ſubmit themſelves as they did.

John Earl of *Oxford* beheaded.

Dukes and Earls created.

All this time King *Henry* was in *Scotland*, and Queen *Margaret* in *France*; where ſhe obtained of the *French* King, a Company of five hundred men, with whom ſhe ſailed towards *Newcaſtle*, and landed at *Tinmouth*, but ſuddenly again returned, and was her ſelf by Tempeſt beaten to *Berwick*; but her Company was driven on the ſhore before *Bamburgh* Caſtle; where they ſet their Ships on fire, and fled to an Iſland called *Holy Iſland*: but were ſo aſſailed there, by the Baſtard *Ogle* and *John Manners* Eſquire, that many of them were ſlain, and almoſt four hundred taken Priſoners, only their Colonel *Peter Breſſie* happened upon a Fiſherman who brought him to *Berwick*, to Queen *Margaret*; and by her was made Captain of the Caſtle of *Alnwick*, which he with his *French* men kept, till they were reſcued. Shortly after, Queen *Margaret* having gotten together a great Company of *Scots*, and other of her Friends, bringing her Husband with her, and leaving her Son at *Berwick*, entered *Northumberland*, took the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, made Captain thereof Sir *Ralph Gray*; and then came forward to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, whither reſorted to her the lately reconciled, and now again revolted Duke of *Somerſet*, Sir *Ralph Piercy*, and divers others, who altogether made a competent Army. King *Edward* hearing hereof, makes preparation both by Sea and Land; and firſt he ſends Viſcount *Montacute* with ſome Companies into *Northumberland*, whom he in Perſon followeth with his whole Power: The Viſcount marcheth towards King *Henry*, and by the way encountered the Lord *Hungerford* at *Hegley-Moor*; but he, with the Lord *Baſſe*, upon the firſt charge ran away, leaving Sir *Ralph Darcy* alone with his own Regiment, who there valiantly fighting, died. After this the Viſcount underſtanding that King *Henry* was incamped in *Levels-Plain*, near the River of *Dowel* in *Hexamſhire*, marcheth thither by night, and ſet upon him in his Camp; whoſe charge the Northern men receive with a deſperate reſolution, but were in the end with great ſlaughter overcome. *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lord *Baſſe*, *Molens*, *Hungerford*, *Wentworth*, *Huſſey*, and Sir *John Findern* Knight, with many others, are taken priſoners. King *Henry* himſelf by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe eſcaped, but very hardly; for one of his Hench-men that followed him, was taken, who had on his head, King *Henry*'s Helmet, or as ſome ſay, his high Cap of Eſtate, called *Abacot*, garniſhed with two rich Crowns, which was preſented to King *Edward* at *York* the fourth of *May*. The Duke of *Somerſet* was beheaded preſently at *Hexam*, the other Lords and Knights were had to *Newcaſtle*, and there after a little reſpight, were likewiſe put to death. Beſides theſe, divers others to the Number of five and twenty were executed at *York*, and in other places. This Duke of *Somerſet* was never married, but had a natural Son named *Charles Somerſet*, who was afterward created Earl of *Worceſter*, Sir *Humfrey Nevil*, and *William Talbois* calling himſelf Earl of *Kyme*, Sir *Ralph Gray*, and *Richard Tunſtal*, with divers others that eſcaped from this Battel, hid themſelves in ſecret places; but yet not ſo cloſely, but that they were eſpied and taken. The Earl of *Kyme* was apprehended in *Riddeſdale*, and brought to *Newcaſtle*, and there beheaded; Sir *Humfrey Nevil* was taken in *Holderneſs*, and at *York* loſt his head. After this Battel called *Hexamſield*, King *Edward* came to the City of *Durham*; and ſent from thence into *Northumberland* the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Montacute*, the Lords *Fauconbridge* and *Scroop*, to recover ſuch Caſtles as his enemies there held, which they affected: and taking in the Caſtle of *Dunſtamburg*, they found in it *John Gois*, ſervant to the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was brought to *York*, and there beheaded; and taking in the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, they found in it Sir *Ralph Grey*; whom becauſe he had ſworn to be true to King *Edward*, and was now

1462.

1463.

King *Henry* and his Queen get an Army in *Scotland*, and recover many Towns in the North parts.

Viſcount *Montacute* ſetting upon King *Henries* armies takes many of his Lords; and King *Henry* himſelf hardly eſcaped.

1464.

The Duke of *Somerſet* and other Lords put to death.

His baſe Son *Charles Somerſet*, created Earl of *Worceſter*.

Sir *Ralph Gray* degraded and in what manner; and then beheaded.

now revolted to King *Henry*; they degraded from his order of Knighthood at *Doncaſter*, by cutting off his gilt Spurs, renting his Coat of Arms, and breaking his Sword over his head, and then beheaded him.

King *Henry* is taken in diſguiſe, brought diſgracefully to *London*: and committed to the Tower.

In this mean time, King *Henry* (upon what occaſion no man knows; but only led by the left hand of Deſtiny) venturing in Diſguiſe, to come into *England*, and ſhifting from place to place, was at length diſcovered, and taken by one *Cantlow*, or as others ſay, by *Thomas Talbot* Son to Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Baſhal*: who deceived him, being at his dinner at *Wadington-Hall* in *Lincolnſhire*, and brought him towards *London*, with his Legs tied under the Horſe belly: in whoſe Company were alſo taken Doctor *Manning* Dean of *Windſor*, Doctor *Bedle*, and one *Ellaton*, whom the Earl of *Warwick* met by the way, and brought them all to the *Tower* of *London*; whilſt the diſtreſſed Queen, with her Son, once again is driven for ſhelter into *France*; whither the new Duke of *Somerſet* and his Brother *John* failed alſo, where they live in great miſery; and the Earl of *Pembroke* went from Countrey to Countrey little better than a Vagabond.

The Queen flieth into *France*.

The Earl of *Pembroke* beyond Sea little better than a Vagabond.

At this time King *Edward*, to reward his followers, diſtributeth the Lands and Poſſeſſions of thoſe that held with King *Henry* amongſt them; but firſt made Proclamation that whoſoever of the contrary faction would come in and ſubmit, ſhould be received to Grace, and reſtored to their Patrimonies.

Serjeants at Law made.

In the fourth Year of King *Edward*, in *Michaelmas* Term were made ſeven Serjeants at Law, *Thomas Young*, *Nicholas Geney*, *Richard Neal*, *Thomas Brian*, *Richard Pigot*, *John Catesby*, and *Guy Fauxe*, who held their Feaſt in the Biſhop of *Ely's* place in *Holbourn*, where the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthin*, then Lord Treaſurer of *England*, was placed before the Lord Mayor of *London*, being invited to the Feaſt; which gave ſuch a diſtaſte to the Mayor, that he preſently departed with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, without taſting of their Feaſt: and it was Regiſtred to be a preſident in time to come.

The Mayor of *London* offended that the Lord Treaſurer was placed before him.

And now King *Edward* no leſs intentive to perform the Office of a King in Peace, than he had been before of a Captain in War, conſidering with himſelf, that ſeditious and civil diſſentions muſt needs breed diſorders in a State, and that diſorders bred by troubled times, are not like troubled Waters, that will in time ſettle of themſelves, and recover clearneſs; but are rather like weeds, which once ſpringing up and let alone, will in time over-run the whole ground where they grow, he like a good Gardiner ſeeks to weed them out, before they grow too rank, and endeavours to make a general reformation of Abuſes; and to that end in *Michaelmas* Term in the ſecond year of his Reign, three days together he ſate publickly with his Judges in *Weſtminſter* Hall on the Kings Bench, to acquaint himſelf with the orders of that Court, and to obſerve what needed reformation in it either at Bench or at Bar: as likewiſe he ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate Fees; and to be more intentive to the benefit of the Subject, than to their own unjuſt gain. He alſo daily frequented

King *Edward* ſits three days together in the *Kings* Bench.

the Council-Table, which he furniſh'd for the moſt part, with ſuch as were gracious amongſt the Citizens, whom he employs about references and buſineſſes of private conſequence; whileſt myſteries of State were intimated only to ſuch whom he ſelected to be of his more private Cabinet-Council: by whom he being now of the Age of three and twenty years, was adviſed that it was now time to provide for Poſterity, by taking a Wife; and to provide alſo for the preſent time, by taking a fit Wife, which they conceived to be no where ſo fitly found as in *France*; both thereby to build old Grudges between the two Nations, and alſo to avert aſſiſtance from Queen *Margaret*, the only diſturber in the State. And this being concluded, it only remain'd to make choiſe of a fit man for that employment, for which none was thought ſo fit as *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*, he therefore is preſently ſent into *France*, to treat of a Marriage to be had between King *Edward* and the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and Siſter to the Lady *Carlote* then Queen of *France*; a Lady no leſs for Beauty and vertuous qualities, than for Nobility of Blood, worthy to be a Queen. The Propoſition is in *France* readily embraced, and willingly aſſented unto on all Parts. But in the mean time King *Edward* being hunting in *Wichwood* Foreſt beſides *Stony-Stratford*, he chanced to come to the Manour of *Grafton*, where the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* then lay; and where her Daughter by Sir *Richard Woodville*, the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Groby*, ſlain at the laſt Battel of St. *Albans*, became a Sutor to him for ſome Lands which her Husband had given her in joynture: with whoſe beauty and graceful behaviour, King *Edward* was ſo taken, that he preſently became a Suitor to her; and when he could not obtain his Suit by terms of wanton love, he was forced to ſeek it by terms of Marriage.

The Earl of *Warwick* ſent into *France* to treat of a marriage with the Lady *Bona*

In the mean time King *Edward* marries the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*.

And here we may well think, there was no ſmall Conflict in King *Edward's* mind, between the two great Commanders, Love and Honour, which of them ſhould be moſt potent; Honour put him in mind that it was againſt his Law, to take to Wife a meaner Perſon than himſelf; but Love would take no notice of any difference of degrees, but took it for his prerogative to make all perſons equal. Honour perſwaded him that it ſtood him much upon to make good the Embaſſage in which he had ſent the Earl of *Warwick*, to a great Prince; but Love perſwaded him, that it ſtood him more upon to make good the Embaſſage ſent to himſelf from a greater Prince. In concluſion it appeared to be true which one obſerves, *Improbiq; amor quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* What is it that Love will not make a Man to do? whether it be, that Love brings upon the Mind a Forgetfulneſs of all Circumſtances, but ſuch as tend to its own ſatisfaction; or whether it be that Love is amongſt Paſſions, as Oyls amongſt Liquors, which will be always ſupreme and at the Top. Honour may be honoured, but Love will be obeyed; and therefore King *Edward* though he knew no Superiour upon the Earth, he obeys the Summons of Love; and upon the firſt day of *May* marries the ſaid Lady *Gray* at *Grafton*; the

the first of our Kings since the Conquest that married his Subject: At which marriage none was present but the Dutchess of *Bedford*, the Priest, two Gentlewomen, and a young man to help the Priest at Mass. The year after, with great Solemnity she was Crowned Queen at *Westminster*. It is not unworthy the relating the Speech which King *Edward* had with his Mother, who sought to cross this Match. "Where you say (saith he) that she is a Widow, "and hath already Children, by Gods blessed "Lady, I am a Batchelor, and have some too; "and so each of us hath a proof, that neither "of us is like to be barren: And as for your "objection of Bigamy, (for his Mother had "charged him with being contracted to the La-"dy *Elizabeth Lucy*) Let the Bishop (saith he) "lay it to my charge when I come to take Or-"ders, for I understand it is forbidden a Priest, "but I never wist it was forbidden a Prince. Upon this Marriage the Queens Father was created Earl *Rivers*, and made high Constable of *England*; his Brother the Lord *Anthony* was married to the sole Heir of the Lord *Scales*, and by her had that Barony; her Son Sir *Thomas Gray* was created Marquess of *Dorset*, and married *Cicely*, Heir to the Lord *Bonvile*. It may be thought a happy Fortune for this Lady to be thus matched; but let all things be considered, and the miseries accruing to her by it will be found equivalent, if not over-weighing all the benefits. For first, by this Match she drew upon her self the envy of many; and was the cause that her Husband fled the Realm, and her self in his Absence glad to take Sanctuary; and in that place to be delivered of a Prince, in a most unprincely manner. After which, surviving her Husband, she liv'd to see her two Sons most cruelly murthered; and for a conclusion of all, she liv'd to see her self confined to the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, and all her Goods confiscated by her own Son-in-Law.

1465.

The Queens Father created Earl *Rivers*, and her Son Sir *Thomas* made Marquess of *Dorset*

And now the Earl of *Warwick* at his return found that Knot tied in *England*, which he had labour'd to tie in *France*: His Ambassage frustrated, the Lady *Bona* deluded, the King of *France* abused, and himself made a stale, and the disgraceful Instrument of all this; which although he resented in a high degree, yet he had not been a Courtier so long, but in that time he had sufficiently learn'd the Art of dissembling; he passed it over lightly for the present, but yet carried it in his mind till a fit opportunity; and thereupon procures leave to retire himself to the Castle of *Warwick*.

The Earl of *Warwick* at his return finding the King married, grows discontented.

King *Edward* in the mean time, having just cause to suspect he had made the *French* his Enemies, seeks to make other Princes his Friends. He enters into a League with *John* King of *Arragon*, to whom he sent for a Present a score of *Cotsal* Ewes, and five Rams, a small present in shew, but great in the Event; for it proved of more benefit to *Spain*, and of more detriment to *England* than could at first sight have been imagined. And to secure him at home, he took Truce with the King of *Scots* for fifteen years. And where he had married before, his two Sisters, *Ann*, the eldest to *Henry Holland* Earl of *Exeter*; and *Elizabeth* to *John de la Pool* Duke of *Suffolk*, he now matched *Margaret* his third Sister to *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*, which proved a greater assistance to him, than that which he had lost in *France*.

Cotsal Ewes sent to the King of *Arragon* for a present.

By this time the Earl of *Warwick's* spleen began so to swell within him, that he could no longer contain it; and having with much ado drawn to his Party his two Brothers, the Archbishop of *York*, and the Marquess *Montacute*, he seeks also to draw in the Kings two Brothers, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Duke of *Glocester*: but he found *Glocester* so reserved, that he durst not close with him; the Duke of *Clarence*, he found more open, and to him he addresseth himself, complaining of the disgrace he had sustained by the King in his imployment in *France*, and other wrongs. To whom the Duke presently made answer, in as great complaint of his Brothers unkindness to himself; saying, he had married his wives Brother *Anthony* to the Heir of the Lord *Scales*; and her Son *Thomas* to the Heir of the Lord *Bonvile*: but could find no Match of Preferment for him being his own Brother. And upon his agreement in complaints they agree to joyn against King *Edward*; and to make the knot the firmer, the Duke of *Clarence* takes to Wife *Isabel* the Earl of *Warwick's* Daughter; and with her hath assured unto him half the Lands the Earl held in right of his Wife, the Lady *Ann*, Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick* deceased. Upon this Marriage the Earl of *Warwick* discovered to him what hitherto he had concealed, concerning his Project for the restoring of King *Henry*, to which *Clarence* give approbation, with promise to assist him in it to his uttermost.

The Earl of *Warwick* and other Lords joyn against King *Edward*.

The Duke of *Clarence* marries the Earl of *Warwick's* Daughter.

At this time Sir *Thomas Cook*, late Mayor of *London*, was by one *Hawkins* appeached of Treason, for the which he was sent to the *Tower*, and his place in *London* seised by the Lord *Rivers*. The case was this, the said *Hawkins* came to Sir *Thomas*, requesting him to lend a thousand Marks upon good surety; who answered, he would first know for whom it should be, and for what intent: and understanding it should be for the use of Queen *Margaret*, he refused to lend a penny. The Matter rested two or three years, till the said *Hawkins* was laid in the *Tower* and brought to the *Brake*, called *the Duke of Exeters Daughter*; by means of which pain, he confessed amongst other things the motion he had made to Sir *Thomas Cook*, and accused himself so far, that he was put to Death. Sir *Thomas Cook* lying in the *Tower* from *Whitsuntide* till *Michaelmas*, had his place in *Essex* named *Gyddihal* spoiled, his Deer in his Park destroyed; and though arraigned upon life and death, he were acquitted of the Indictment: yet could not be delivered till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the King, and eight hundred to the Queen.

Sir *Thomas Cooks* troubles, and for what cause.

1461.

The Earl of *Warwick* causeth a commotion to be raised in *Yorkshire*.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* sendeth to his Brothers the Archbishop and the Marquess, to prepare all things ready to set on foot the intended revolt from King *Edward*, and to procure some rebellious Commotion in the North, whilest he and his new Son-in-Law would provide to go forward with the work; which they accordingly did in *Yorkshire*, and occasion being taken

taken from the breach of an ancient cuſtom there to give to the poor people of St. *Leonards* in the City of *York*, certain quantities of Corn and Grain. This Commotion the Arch-biſhop and the Marqueſs underhand fomented; yet to colour the Matter, the Marqueſs oppoſed the Rebels, and cut off the Head of *Robert Huldron* their Captain: but his Head being cut off, the Rebels got them other Captains; *Henry* Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitzhugh*, and Sir *Henry Nevil*, Son to the Lord *Latimer*, the one the Nephew, the other a Couſin-german to the Earl of *Warwick*, with whom they joyn the valiant Captain Sir *John Conyers*. Theſe when they could not enter *York* came marching towards *London*, all the way exclaiming againſt King *Edward* as an unjuſt Prince, and an Uſurper. King *Edward* hearing of this Commotion, ſends Sir *William Perbert*, whom of a mean Gentleman, two years before he had made Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, together with the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, to ſuppreſs the Rebels; and they with an Army of ſeven thouſand, moſt Welch-men, march towards them: but the Lord *Stafford* being put from his Inn where he uſed to lodge, by the Earl of *Pembroke*, took ſuch a diſtaſte at it, that he withdrew his Archers, and gave over the buſineſs. Yet the Earl of *Pembroke* though thus forſaken, with his own Regiment encountred the Rebels, ſlew Sir *Henry Nevil*, and divers other; when being upon the point of Victory, one *John Clappam* a Servant of the Earl of *Warwick*, coming in with five hundred raſcally fellows, and crying aloud a *Warwick*, a *Warwick*, the Welſhmen ſuppoſing the Earl had been come, turned preſently their Backs and fled: five thouſand of them were ſlain, the Earl of *Pembroke* himſelf, and his much lamented Brother, Sir *Richard Herbert*, a moſt goodly Perſonage, were taken Priſoners, brought to *Banbury*, where both of them with ten other Gentlemen, were put to death. And now the *Northamptonſhire* Men joyning with the Rebels in this fury, made them a Captain named *Robert Hilliard*, but they named him *Robin* of *Riddeſdale*, and ſuddenly came to *Grafton*, where they took the Earl *Rivers* Father to the Queen, and his Son Sir *John Woodvile*, brought them to *Northampton*, and there without Judgement beheaded them. King *Edward* advertiſed of theſe miſchances, wrote to the Sheriffs of *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire* to apprehend the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, (who had treacherouſly forſaken the Earl of *Pembroke*) and if they could take him, to put him to death; who being ſoon after found in a Village within *Brentmarſh* was brought to *Bridgewater*, and there beheaded. After this Battel fought at *Hedgecote* commonly called *Banbury-Field*, the Northern men reſorted to *Warwick*, where the Earl with great Joy received them; and hearing that King *Edward* with a great Army was coming thither, he ſent for his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, with all Speed to repair unto him; who joyning together, and uſing means cunningly, by having ſome Communication of Peace, to make the King ſecure, and to take little heed of himſelf, they took advantage of his ſecurity; and in the dead of the night ſet on his Camp; and killing the watch before the King was aware, at a place called *Woolney*, four Miles from *Berwick*, they took him Priſoner in his Bed, and preſently conveyed him to *Middleham* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, to be there in ſafe cuſtody with the Archbiſhop of *York*. And now they had the prey in their Hand, if they had as well looked to keep it, as they had done to get it: But King *Edward* whether bribing his Keepers, or otherwiſe winning them by fair Promiſes, got ſo much liberty ſometimes for his recreation to go a hunting: by which he cauſed Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Burgh*, and divers of his Friends, at a certain time to meet him, who took him from his Keepers, and ſet him again at liberty: whileſt the Earl of *Warwick*, nothing doubting his Brother's the Archbiſhop's care in ſafe keeping him, and thinking the brunt of the Wars to be now paſt, diſmiſt his Army, and intended only to find out King *Henry*, who was kept a Priſoner, but few men knew where.

King *Edward* ſends the Earl of *Pembroke* to *Penmarlin*, who is with divers others ſlain.

Robin of *Riddeſdale* beheaded the Earl *Rivers*.

The Lord *Stafford* beheaded.

The Earl of *Warwick* ſurpriſeth King *Edward*, and commits him to cuſtody.

King *Edward* gets at liberty

The Earl of *Warwick* diſmiſſeth his Army.

King *Edward* being now at liberty poſteth to *York*, and from thence to *Lancaſter*; where his Chamberlain the Lord *Haſtings* had raiſed ſome Forces; with which he marcheth to *London*, and is there joyfully received. The Earl of *Warwick* likewiſe ſends to his Friends, and makes preparation for a new Army; whileſt in the mean time by the Mediation of divers Lords, an interview in *Weſtminſter-Hall* is agreed upon, and ſolemn Oath taken on both ſides for ſafety, between King *Edward*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*: but each party ſtanding ſtrictly upon terms tending to their own Ends, they parted as great Enemies as they met: And ſo from thence the King went to *Canterbury*, the Duke and the Earl to *Lincoln*; whither they had pre-appointed their Forces to repair, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Wells*, Son and Heir of the Lord *Wells*, a man of great valour and experience in the Wars. King *Edward* to take off ſo able a man from the Earls part, ſends for his Father the Lord *Wells* to come unto him; who taking with him his Son in Law Sir *Thomas Dymock*, and coming to attend the Kings Pleaſure, was told by his Friends how wonderfully the King was incenſed againſt them: whereupon for their ſafety they take Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. But upon the Kings Princely word they came unto him, who commandeth the Lord *Wells* to write to his Son, to deſiſt from adhering to the Earl of *Warwick*, which the Lord *Wells* accordingly did: but Sir *Robert Wells* notwithſtanding his Father's Letters, continuing firm to the Earl ſtill, ſo much incenſed King *Edward*, that he cauſed both his Father and Sir *Thomas Dymock* to be beheaded. He ſuppoſed perhaps that the Lord *Wells* was himſelf underhand a Friend to the Earl, and had not dealt ſincerely with him, in procuring his Son to leave that Party. But now Sir *Robert Wells* ſeeing the King draw near to *Stamford*, where he had pitched his Tents, and hearing of his Fathers beheading, was much diſtracted what to do: to decline Battel with the King he thought would ſhew too much fear; and to give him Battel before the Earl of *Warwick* were come with his Forces, would ſhew too much boldneſs. But his veins were ſo filled with

The King and Lords have a meeting, but to no purpoſe.

1470.

The Lord *Wells* beheaded.

with a Deſire of revenging his Father's death, that he thought he could never ſhew boldneſs enough; and thereupon encountring with the Kings Army, far greater than his own, oppreſt with multitude was taken Priſoner, together with *Thomas de Land*, and divers others: who preſently in the place, were put to Execution. As ſoon as Sir *Robert Wells* was taken, the *Lincolnſhire* men to make themſelves the lighter to run away, threw off their Coats; for which cauſe, this Battel was afterward called *Loſe-coat-field*; in which it is reported, were ſlain above ten thouſand men.

Sir *Robert Well*, his Son taken and put to death.

The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this defeat, and not having preſent means to raiſe an Army ſufficient to oppoſe King *Edward*; when he could by no means draw the Lord *Stanley* to his party, he determined to ſail into *France*, and hiring Ships at *Dartmouth* in *Devonſhire*, he with his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Wives took to Sea; and thinking to land at *Callice*, of which Town he himſelf was Captain, he was by the Lord *Vaucleer* a *Gaſcoigne*, whom he had left his Deputy there, repelled: and with ſo great Inhumanity, that the Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, who was then in labour, was fain to be delivered in the Ship, (all the courteſie in that diſtreſs ſhewed was only to ſend a flagon or two of wine) which Fact of *Vaucleer's*, when King *Edward* heard of, he was ſo well pleaſed with it that he preſently ſent him a Patent to be Captain of the Town, himſelf: and the Duke of *Burgoigne*, for the ſame Service, ſent unto him *Philip de Comines* (who hath written the Hiſtory of theſe times) with a grant of one thouſand Crowns penſion during his Life. Never man was better paid for one Act of diſſembling; for the Truth was *Pra amore exclaſit foras*, it was out of this Love that he ſuffered him not to enter the Town: for he knew there were many great ones in it addicted to King *Edward*, and ſo maliciouſly bent againſt the Earl, that if he or any of his Company ſhould have come, they would in all liklihood have done them ſome miſchief. And hereof he made a good Proof ſoon after; for when the Earl took to Sea again, the Lord *Vaucleer* ſent him word, he ſhould take heed where he landed, for that the Duke of *Burgoigne* lay in wait to take him; which Advertiſement did the Earl more good, than the keeping out of *Callice* did him hurt. The Earl upon this Advertiſement landed at *Dieppe* in *Normandy*, whereof when King *Lewis* heard, he ſent and invited him to come to his Court at *Amboiſe*; where he received him with no leſs Honour than if he had been a King: In the mean time, King *Edward* made enquiry for all ſuch as were aiders of the Earl of *Warwick*, of whom ſome were apprehended as guilty, ſome fled to Sanctuary, and ſome ſubmitted to the King's Mercy; as *John* Marqueſs *Montacute*, whom he courteouſly received. Queen *Margaret*, who at this time ſojourned with Duke *Rayner* her Father, hearing of the Earl of *Warwick's* arrival, with her Son Prince *Edward*, came to *Amboiſe*; and with her came alſo *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, lately eſcaped out of Priſon, and fled into *France*: between whom a new combination is made, and for a foundation of firm amity, King *Henry's* Son Prince *Edward*, marries *Ann* the Earl of *Warwick's* ſecond Daughter: After which marriage the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earls took a ſolemn Oath, never to leave the War till either King *Henry* or his Son Prince *Edward* were reſtored to the Crown: But now about this time, comes a Gentlewoman out of *England*, to the diſſembling Lord *Vaucleer* at *Callice*, and pays him in his own Coin; For ſhe made a ſhew of intending great good to the Earl of *Warwick*, but had a purpoſe indeed to work his ruine: and by this ſhew ſhe paſſed unſuſpected to the Duke of *Clarence*, whom ſhe perſwaded to forſake the Earl of *Warwick*, as one that intended wholly the rooting out of the Houſe of *York*, and only the advancing of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, which he might well perceive by his marrying his ſecond Daughter to Prince *Edward*, King *Henry's* only Son; and this reaſon with ſome other was ſo urg'd by the Gentlewoman, that it ſank deeply into the Duke of *Clarence* his Mind. So fit Agents of State are women ſometimes, that can tranſact a buſineſs in covert, which if men ſhould attempt, they would ſoon be diſcovered. And from this time forward the Duke of *Clarence*, as if the Gentlewoman had taught him the Art of diſſembling, ſought ſecretly to reconcile himſelf to his Brother King *Edward*, but made a fair ſhew ſtill to the Earl of *Warwick*.

The Earl of *Warwick* fleeth to *Callice*, where not received, and by what ſubtlety.

Prince *Edward* marries a Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* having been ſix months in *France*, in this time he had procured from the King of *France*, both Ships, and Men, and Money; and receiving Letters out of *England*, that many Lords and others were ready to adventure their lives in this quarrel, if he would come (for the People generally held him in ſuch admiration, that they thought the Sun was taken from the World when he was abſent; And this in great part for his great Hoſpitality, who it is ſaid, uſed to ſpend ſix Oxen at a Breakfaſt;) he with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Pembroke* took to Sea: and though the Duke of *Burgoigne* had a Fleet at Sea to intercept him, yet his Fleet being by tempeſt ſcattered; and King *Edward* truſting to that Fleet, having provided no other, the Earl had quiet Paſſage to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonſhire*: where being landed, he made a Proclamation in King *Henry* the ſixth's name, that all good Subjects ſhould prepare to fight againſt King *Edward*, who contrary to the right had uſurped the Crown. Upon which Proclamation, it is ſcarce to be believed, how many thouſands of Men reſorted to him; with which Forces he made towards *London*: Upon notice of whoſe approach, on Sunday next after *Michaelmas* day, one Doctor *Goddard* a Chaplain of his, preaching at *Pauls*-Croſs, did ſo ſet forth his Earls pious intention, that many of his Auditory were moved to favour the Earls proceeding: inſomuch, that the Marqueſs *Montacute*, who had in King *Edward's* behalf levied ſix thouſand men about *London*, found them inclinable to go with him to the Earl of *Warwick*, and accordingly went and joyned with him. King *Edward* hearing of the great flocking of the People to the Earl, ſent forth Letters into all parts of the Realm for raiſing an Army; but few came, and thoſe few with no great

1470.

The Earl of *Warwick* aſſiſted out of *France*, lands at *Dartmouth* in *Devonſhire*, to whom much people reſorted.

The Earl of *Warwick* honourably received by the King of *France*

King *Edward* hereupon flies into the Duke of *Burgoignes* Country.

great good will: which when he perceived, he began to doubt his caſe; and thereupon accompanied with the Duke of *Glocester* his Brother, the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain, (who having married the Earl of *Warwick*'s Siſter, yet continued ever true to King *Edward*) and the Lord *Scales* Brother to the Queen; he departed in *Lincolnſhire*, and coming to *Lyn*, he found there an *Engliſh* Ship, and two Hulks of *Holland* ready to make Sail: whereupon he, with the fore-named Lords, and about ſeven or eight hundred perſons entered the Ships, having no Proviſion with them but only the apparel they wore: and ſo bare of money, that he was fain to reward the Maſter of his ſhip with one of his Garments: and thus making courſe towards the Duke of *Burgoignes* Country, they were preſently chaſed by eight great Ships of Eaſterlings, open Enemies both to *England* and *France*, which drove them before a Town in the Country called *Alquamare*, belonging to the Duke of *Burgoigne*; where by chance the Lord *Grunture*, Governour of that Country, at that time was, who defended them from the Eaſterlings, and brought them to the *Hague* in *Holland*, where they had all things miniſtred to them, by order from the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

1471.

The Queen takes Sanctuary: where ſhe is brought to Bed.

At this time, upon news of the Earl of *Warwick*'s approach, Queen *Elizabeth* forſaketh the *Tower*, and ſecretly takes Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*; where in great Penury, forſaken of all her Friends, ſhe was brought to bed of a Son called *Edward*, who like a poor mans child was Chriſtened, the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of *Weſtminſter*, and the Lady *Scroop* Godmother.

The Earl of *Warwick* removes King *Henry* out of priſon, where he had been held almoſt nine years.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* entring the *Tower*, removes King *Henry* out of his hold of durance, where he had been almoſt nine years, into his own Lodging, where he was ſerved according to his Eſtate; which the Earl did more congratulate than the King himſelf. Upon the ſixth day of *October*, King *Henry* accompanied with the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Prior of St. *Johns*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other Noblemen, apparelled in a long Gown of blue Velvet, was conducted through *London*, to the Biſhop's place, where he reſted till the thirteenth of that month, on which day he went on in ſolemn Proceſſion about *Paul*'s Church, wearing his Imperial Crown; the Earl of *Warwick* bearing up his Train, and the Earl of *Oxford* the Sword before him. The next day in all uſual places about *London*, King *Edward* was proclaimed an Uſurper, and all his partakers Traytors to God and the King; whereof *John* Lord *Tiptoft* Earl of *Worceſter*, as a partaker with King *Edward*, was made the firſt Example. This Lord had been Lieutenant for King *Edward* in *Ireland*, where having done ſomething for which he fled, he was afterwards found on the top of a high tree, in the Forreſt of *Waybridge*, in the County of *Huntington*; and being there taken, was brought to *London*, attrainted, and beheaded on the *Tower-Hill*, and after buried at the *Black-Friers*.

King *Edward* proclaimed an Uſuper.

The extream melancholy of Sir *William Hawkford* or *Hankford*.

About this time happened an accident not unworthy to be related: Sir *William Hankford* Knight, one of the chief Juſtices at the Law, who dwelt at *Annory* in *Devonſhire*, a man of great poſſeſſions; and having no Son, the Lord *Fitzwarren*, Sir *John Sentleger*, and Sir *William Bulloin*, married his Daughters, and were his Heirs: This man grew into ſuch degree of Melancholy, that one day he called to him the Keeper of his Park, charging him with negligence in ſuffering his Deer to be ſtolen: and thereupon commanded him, that if he met any man in his Circuit of the night time, that would not ſtand or ſpeak, he ſhould not ſpare to kill him whoſoever he were. The Knight having thus laid his foundation, and meaning to end his doleful days, in a certain dark night ſecretly conveyed himſelf out of his Houſe, and walked alone in his Park. The Keeper in his night-walk hearing one ſtirring and coming towards him, asked, who was there? but no anſwer being made, he willed him to ſtand; which when he would not do, the Keeper ſhot, and killed him, and coming to ſee who it was, found him to be his Maſter.

On the twentieth day of *November* a Parliament is held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein King *Edward* and all his Partakers are attainted of high Treaſon, and all their Lands and Goods ſeized on to King *Henry*'s uſe. *George Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence* is by Authority of this Parliament, adjudged Heir to *Richard* Duke of *York* his Father, and that Dutchy ſettled upon him and his Heirs, notwithſtanding the Primogeniture of *Edward*: Upon him alſo was entailed the Crown of *England*, in caſe Heirs male of the Body of King *Henry* failed. *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford* are fully reſtored to their Lands and Honour; and *Warwick* and *Clarence* are made Governours of the King and Kingdom. To this Parliament came the Marqueſs *Montacute*, excuſing himſelf, that for fear of death he had taken King *Edward*'s part; which excuſe was accepted. Queen *Margaret* is ſent into *France*, but by reaſon of contrary Winds was kept back all that Winter.

King *Henry*'s prophetical ſpeech of *Henry* afterward *K. Henry* the ſeventh.

About this time *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke* going into *Wales* to view his Land in *Pembrokeſhire*, found there the Lord *Henry*, born of *Margaret* the only Daughter and Heir of *John* the firſt Duke of *Somerſet*, not being then full ten years of age, kept in manner like a Captive, but honourably brought up by the Lady *Herbert*. Him he brings with him to *London*, and preſents him to King *Henry*; whom when the King had a good while beheld, he ſaid to the Lords about him: Lo this is he, to whom both we and our Adverſaries, leaving the poſſeſſion of all things, ſhall hereafter give place. Which if it be true it ſhews a very Prophetical Spirit to have been in King *Henry*; that could ſo long before foretell a thing ſo unlikely to happen; for this was he that was afterward King *Henry* the Seventh, before whom at that time there were many lives in being, of both the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

Shortly after this, by the Duke of *Burgoigne*'s means, King *Edward* is furniſhed with eighteen tall Ships, two thouſand *Dutchmen*, and fifty thouſand Florens of Gold; and thus furniſhed he took to Sea, and landed at *Raven-ſpur* in *Yorkſhire*, where they found but cold entertainment;

King *Edward* assisted by the Duke of *Burgoigne* takes to Sea, and lands in *Yorkshire.*

He swears deeply that he came but only to recover his own Inheritance.

nevertheless he made a weary March to *York*, where likewise he found no great expression of welcome; so as he was forced to change his pretence; swearing deeply, and receiving the Sacrament upon it, that he came not to disturb King *Henry*, but only to recover his own Inheritance; and for the more shew thereof, wearing an *Estrich* Feather, Prince *Edward's* Livery; which proposition seemed so reasonable, that many, who resisted him before, were as ready to assist him now: And if he be blamed for breaking his Oath, it must be considered it was *Regni causa*, to recover his Kingdom, which perhaps was the Inheritance he meant, when he took his Oath, that he intended nothing but to recover his Inheritance; and so he broke not his Oath neither. From *York* he marched towards *Wake-field* and *Sandal*, leaving the Castle of *Pomfret* upon his left hand, where the Marquess *Montacute* with his Army lay, but did not offer to stop him: from *Wakefield* he came to *Doncaster*, and from thence to *Nottingham*, where there came to him Sir *William Parre*, and Sir *James Harrington* with six hundred men; also Sir *Thomas Burgh*, and *Thomas Mongomery*, with their aids, who caused him to make a Proclamation in his own Name; affirming they would serve no man but a King. From *Nottingham* he came to *Leicester*, where three thousand able men, and well armed came unto him: From *Leicester* he came before the Walls of *Coventry*, into which City the Earl of *Warwick* had withdrawn himself, keeping himself close therein with his people, being about six or seven thousand men: three dayes together King *Edward* provoked him to come forth to Battel; but he stayed for more Forces, and would not do it: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward to *Warwick* eight miles from *Coventry*, thinking thither at least he should have drawn the Earl of *Warwick*; but neither would that do it: indeed the Earl look'd for the coming of the Duke of *Clarence* with twelve thousand men to joyn with him; but that expectation proved vain. For the Duke was now fully reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*, and brought all his Forces to joyn with him, only he sought to make amity between King *Edward* and the Earl: But though King *Edward* offered general pardon, and other fair conditions; yet none would please the Earl without restoring of King *Henry*. But now to repair the defection of the Duke of *Clarence*, there came to the Earl of *Warwick* at *Coventry*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Marquess *Montacute*; by whose coming that side was not a little strengthened; yet all this Aid would not make the Earl of *Warwick* to come to Battel: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward towards *London*. Both sides seek to make *London* their friend, the Earl of *Warwick* sends to his Brother the Archbishop of *York*, to labour in it; who thereupon caused King *Henry* to mount on Horseback, and to ride from *Pauls* through the *Cheap*, down *Walbrook*, supposing that this shewing of the King would have allured the Citizens to assist him; but this device prevailed little, brought not in above seven or eight thousand men, a small proportion to withstand King *Edward*: and when the Archbishop of *York* saw

He comes to *Coventry* where the E. of *Warwick* lay, but would not come forth to battel.

this backwardness in the Citizens, or rather indeed an inclination to King *Edward*, he secretly sent to him to receive him into grace; which upon promise to continue faithful hereafter, he obtained. The eleventh of *April*, in the year 1471. and the eleventh of his reign, King *Edward* made his entry into the City of *London*, riding first to *Paul's* Church, and from thence to the Bishop's Palace, where the Archbishop of *York* presented himself to him, and having King *Henry* by the hand delivered him to King *Edward* (six months after his re-adeption of the Crown) and then King *Edward* being seised of his Person, went from *Paul's* to *Westminster*, and there gave God most hearty thanks for his safe return. The reasons alledged here by *Phillip Commines* for the Citizens receiving of King *Edward*, seem scarce worthy of so good an Author: One cause (saith he) was because King *Edward* being extreamly indebted in the City, if they had not received him, they should have lost their debt; Another, because he had won the love of many Citizens Wives, who importuned their Husbands to receive him.

King *Edward* makes his entry into *London*, and is joyfully received.

King *Henry* is delivered into his hands.

The Earl of *Warwick* comes with his Army to *Barnet*.

The Earl of *Warwick* having Intelligence that King *Edward* was received into *London*, and King *Henry* delivered into his hand, marched out, and encamped at St. *Albans*, and after some refreshing of his Army, removed towards *Barnet*, and in a large plain there called *Cladmore heath*, pitched his Camp; which King *Edward* hearing, on *Easter* Eve the thirteenth of *April*, he marched forth, and came that evening to *Barnet*, where he would not suffer a man of his Army to stay in the Town, but commanded them all to the Field, and lodged with his Army more near to the Enemy than he was aware, by reason of a Mist, (raised as some say by one *Bungey* a Conjurer) which made it so dark, that it could not well be observed where they were encamped. In taking his ground he caused his people to keep as much silence as was possible, thereby to keep the Enemy from knowing of their Approach. Great Artillery they had on both parts, but the Earl more than the King; and therefore in the night time, they shot from his Camp almost continually, but did little hurt, because they still over-shot them, as lying nearer than was conceived. On *Easter* day, early in the morning, both Armies are ordered for Battel; the Earl of *Warwick* appointed the command of the Right Wing, which consisted of Horse, to his Brother the Marquess *Montacute*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; the left Wing, consisting likewise of Horse, was led by himself and the Duke of *Exeter*; and the main Battel, consisting of Bills and Bows, was conducted by the Duke of *Somerset*. On the Kings part, the Vaward was commanded by the Duke of *Gloucester*; the Battel (in which was King *Henry*) was led by King *Edward* himself; and the Lord *Hastings* brought on the Reer. After Exhortations for encouragement of their Souldiers, the fight began; which with great Valour was maintained by the space of six hours, without any apparent disadvantage on either side; only the Earls Vaward, by the valiancy of the Earl of *Oxford* seemed somewhat to over-match the Kings, which made some flying towards *London*, to carry news that the

The two Armies meet.

the Earl of *Warwick* had won the field; and he had perhaps done so indeed, but for a strange misfortune which happened to the Earl of *Oxford*, and his men: for they having a Star with streams on their Liveries, as King *Edward*'s men had the Sun, the Earl of *Warwick*'s men, by reason of the Mist, not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the Earl of *Oxford*'s men that were on their part: whereupon the Earl of *Oxford* cried Treason, and fled with eight hundred men. At length after great slaughter made on both sides, King *Edward* (having the greater number of men, as some write, though others say the contrary) caused a new power of fresh men (which he had kept of purpose) to come on; which the Earl of *Warwick* observing, being a man of an invincible courage, nothing dismayed, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where he adventured so far, that amongst the press he was stricken down and slain: (Though some write, That the Earl seeing the desperate estate of his Army, leapt on a Horse and fled; and coming to a Wood where was no passage, one of King *Edward*'s men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin.) The Marquess *Montacute*, thinking to succour his Brother, lost likewise his life, and left the Victory to King *Edward*. On both sides were slain, as *Hall* saith, Ten thousand at the least: *Fabian* saith but fifteen hundred, but then he means only of the King's side. Upon the King's part were slain the Lord *Cromwel*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Montjoy*'s Son and Heir, Sir *Humfrey Bourchier* Son and Heir to the Lord *Berners*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. On the Earl's part, were slain the Earl himself, the Marquess *Montacute*, and three and twenty Knights, of whom Sir *William Tirrel* was one. The Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Oxford* fled into *Wales*, to *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exeter* being stricken down, and so wounded, that he was left for dead, amongst other the dead bodies, because he was not known; but coming to himself he got up, and escaped to *Westminster*, and there took Sanctuary. The dead bodies of the Earl and Marquess were brought to *London* in a Coffin, and by the space of three days lay open faced in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*; and then buried with their Ancestors in the Priory of *Bisham*. This Earl of *Warwick* was *Richard Nevil*, Son and Heir of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, who married the Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, the sixth Earl of *Warwick*, and in her right was Earl of *Warwick*, in his own, of *Salisbury*. He was also Lord *Monthermer*, Great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of *England* Lord Warden of the North Marches towards *Scotland*, and high Steward of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*: he had issue two Daughters, *Isabel* married to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Ann*, first married to Prince *Edward* King *Henry* the Sixth's Son; and after to *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*.

Where the Earl of *Warwick* with many other Lords is slain.

The honors he enjoyed and of his issue.

We may here observe a constellation of disastrous influences, concurring all to the overthrow of this great *Warwick*; whereof if any one had been missing, the wheel of his Fortune had not perhaps turned; for if the City of *York* had not too credulously believed King *Edward*'s Oath, not to disturb King *Henry*, or if the Marquess *Montacute* had stopped (as he might) his passage at *Pomfret*; or if the Duke of *Clarence* had not at the very point of the Battel, at St. *Albans*, deserted his party, and joyned with King *Edward*; or if Queen *Margaret* had not by Tempest been kept from coming into *England*, in time; or if the *Londoners* had not been retrograde and deceived his expectation, he had never perhaps been overthrown as he was: But *Fata viam invenient*, Destiny will find ways that were never thought of, will make way, where it finds none; and that which is ordained in Heaven, shall be effected by means, of which Earth can take no notice.

Queen *Margaret*, when it was too late, accompanied with *John Longstrother*, Prior of St. *Johns*, and the Lord *Wenlock* with divers Knights and Esquires, took shipping at *Harflew*, the four and twentieth of *March*, but by Tempest was kept back till the thirteenth of *April*; and then with her Son Prince *Edward*, she landed at *Weymouth*, and from thence went to an Abbey hard by, called *Cern*, and then to *Bewly* in *Hampshire*, whither there came unto her, *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, and *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, with divers others; amongst whom it is resolved once more to try their fortune in the Field. But then the Queen would have had her Son Prince *Edward* to be sent into *France*, there to remain in safety, till the next Battel was ended; but they being of a contrary mind, and especially the Duke of *Somerset*, she at length consented, though afterward full repented it. From *Bewly* she with her Son and the Duke of *Somerset* passeth on to *Bristow*, intending with what power they could raise in *Glocestershire*, to march into *Wales*, to join with *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, who was there making preparation of more Forces. King *Edward* hearing of these things, resolves to cross this conjunction, and follows Queen *Margaret* with a great power so close, that near *Tewksbury* in *Glocestershire* he overtakes her Forces, who resolutely turn and make head against him; where *Somerset* on the Queen's part leading the Vanguard, performed the part of a valiant Commander; but finding his Soldiers through weariness begin to faint, and that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the conduct of the Battel on the Queen's part, moved not, he rode unto him, and upbraiding him with cowardise or treachery, never staid, but with a Pole-axe beat out his brains: and now before he could bring in his men to the rescue, their Vaward was routed, and *John* Earl of *Devonshire*, with above Three thousand of the Queen's part were slain. The Queen her self, *John Beaufort* the Duke of *Somerset*'s Brother, the Prior of Saint *John*'s Sir *Jetrom Clifton*, and divers others were taken prisoners; all which, except the Queen, were the next day beheaded. At which time Sir *Richard Crofts* presented to King *Edward*, King *Henry*'s Son *Edward*, whom he had taken Prisoner; to whom King *Edward* at first shewed no uncourteous countenance; but demanding of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his Realm with Arms? And he answering, though truly, yet unseasonably, *to recover my Fathers Kingdom and Heritage*: King *Edward* with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some

Queen *Margaret* cometh over, and gets two Armies.

But is overthrown by King *Edward*.

The Queen is taken prisoner.

Her Son Prince *Edward* is murthered.

ſome ſay) ſtruck him with his Gantlet, and then preſently *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, *Thomas Grey* Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and *William* Lord *Haſtings* ſtanding by, fell upon him in the place, and murthered him. His body was homely interred with other ordinary Corps, in the Church of the Monaſtry of the *Black Fryers* in *Tewkſbury*. After the Victory thus obtained, King *Edward* repaired to the Abbey Church at *Tewkſbury*, to give God thanks for his good ſucceſs, and finding there a great number of his Enemies that were fled thither to ſave themſelves, he gave them all free pardon; only *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, *John Longſtrother* Prior of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Thomas Treſham*, Sir *Jervis Clifton*, and divers other Knights and Eſquires, who were apprehended there, and brought before the Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſitting that day as Conſtable of *England*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* as Marſhal, were all arraigned, condemned, and judged to die; and accordingly upon the Tueſday, being the ſeventh of *May*, they were all, and twelve other Knights more, on a Scaffold ſet up in the middle of the Town, beheaded, but not diſmembred, and permitted to be buried. The ſame day Queen *Margaret* was found in a poor Houſe of Religion not far from thence, into which ſhe was fled for ſafeguard of her life; but ſhe was after brought to *London*, and there kept a Priſoner, till her Father ranſomed her with great ſums of money. This was the laſt pitcht Battel that was fought in *England* in King *Edward* the Fourth's days; which happened on the fourth of *May*, being Saturday, in the eleventh year of his Reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1471.

The Duke of *Somerſet* and others beheaded.

Queen *Margaret* is kept in durance, till her Father fetched her away.

King *Edward* being aſſured that as long as any partakers of King *Henry* lived and were at liberty, he ſhould never be free from plots againſt his life, ſent *Roger Vaughan*, a Gentleman much reckoned of in his own Country, to entrap *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, who had eſcaped from the laſt encounter; but he having notice of the Plot before, prevented it by ſtriking off *Vaughan*'s head.

After theſe great Clouds were thus diſperſed, there aroſe a little Cloud, which gave the Realm, at leaſt the City of *London*, no ſmall diſquiet. For now, Sir *Thomas* Baſtard *Fauconbridge*, who had been employed by the Earl of *Warwick* to ſcower the Seas, hearing of theſe defeats; having enriched himſelf by Piracy, gathered together an Army of ſeventeen thouſand men; and coming to *London*, imperiouſly commanded admiſſion into the City, and releaſement of King *Henry* out of Priſon: but being denyed entrance, and hearing that King *Edward* with a great power was coming towards him, he brings up his Shipping to Saint *Katharines*, and taking with him his moſt deſperate men, with them he marched to *King-ſtone-bridge*; but finding that Bridge broken down, and all the places of Paſſage guarded, he withdrew his Forces into Saint *George*'s Field, from whence he prepared to aſſault the City of *London*: for the effecting whereof he landed all his Ship-Ordnance, and planted them all along the Banks ſide, with which he battered down many houſes, and much annoyed the City: but the Citizens on the other ſide lodged their great Artillery againſt their Adverſaries, with which they ſo galled them, that they durſt not abide in any place along the water ſide, but were driven even from their own Ordnance. Then he appointed his men to ſet fire on the Bridge, and withal cauſed Three thouſand to paſs over the *Thames*, and ſome of them to aſſault *Aldgate*, and ſome *Biſhops-gate*; but they were in all places by the induſtry of the Citizens repelled, and chiefly by *Robert Baſſet*, and *Ralph Jocelyne*, Aldermen. Upon this he retired to *Blackheath*, and there encamped by the ſpace of three days, but then hearing that King *Edward* was coming with a great Army, he got him to his Ship, but the reſt fled, ſome one way, ſome another. The one and twentieth of *May*, the King coming to *London*, thanked the Citizens for their pains and care, and dubbed the Mayor, the Recorder *Urſwick*, and *Baſſet* and *Jocelyne* Aldermen, Knights.

The Baſtard *Fauconbridge* makes diſturbance about *London*.

King *Henry* is murthered by the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

And now the time was come for King *Henry* to be delivered out of all his troubles; for the bloody Duke of *Gloceſter* entring the *Tower*, where he found King *Henry* nothing at all troubled with all his Croſſes, ſtruck him into the heart with his Dagger, and there ſlew him. And now we have had within the ſpace of half a year, one Parliament proclaiming King *Edward* an Uſurper, and King *Henry* a lawful King; and another proclaiming King *Edward* a lawful King, and King *Henry* an Uſurper: That we may know in humane affairs, there is nothing certain, but uncertainty; nothing ſtable, but unſtability.

King *Edward*, preſently after the interment of King *Henry*, draws his Forces towards *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where ſome of the followers of *Fauconbridge*, to the number of eight or nine hundred had in the Caſtle there, ſtrongly fortified themſelves; but upon their asking pardon, and ſubmitting themſelves to the King, with promiſe to be faithful Subjects ever after, they had their pardon granted them, and then they delivered up both Caſtle and Ships, to the number of thirteen, to the King's uſe. But how this compoſition was obſerved, may be imagined; when *Fauconbridge*, who was compriſed in the ſame pardon, was afterward taken and executed at *Southampton*; *Spring*, and *Quinton* the Captains that aſſailed *Aldgate* and *Biſhops-gate*, and were in *Sandwich* Caſtle at the ſurrender thereof, were preſently beheaded at *Canterbury*, and their heads placed on Poles, upon thoſe Gates. And by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, many both in *Eſſex* and *Kent*, were arraigned and condemned for this Rebellion, and more fined.

Fauconbridge executed.

And now King *Edward* deſiring to be ſecured from all ſuſpected perſons, ſent the Archbiſhop of *York*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, over to *Guiſnes*, there to be kept in ſafe cuſtody; and there he remained a long-time, till at length by friendſhip he was delivered, and ſhortly after died. Likewiſe John Earl of *Oxford*, who after *Barnet* Field yielded himſelf to King *Edward*, had his life pardoned, but yet was ſent over Sea to the Caſtle of *Hammes*, where for the ſpace of Twelve years he was ſhut up in a ſtrong Priſon, and narrowly looked to; whoſe Lady all that time was not ſuffered to come unto

1472.

to

to him, nor had any thing to live upon, but what People of their charities gave her; or what she could get by Needle or other Work. As for the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*, who were fled out of the Realm to the Duke of *Britain*, King *Edward* sent to the Duke, requiring to have them delivered up to him, upon promise of great rewards; to which the Duke made answer, that he could not with his honour deliver them up, whom he had taken into his Protection, but that for King *Edward*'s sake, he would take such care of them, that he should need to take no care of them, and to that end he sequestered their own Servants from them, and appointed *Britains* to attend upon them.

King Edward fails to get the Earls of Pembroke and Richmond into his hands.

It was now the thirteenth year of King *Edward*'s Reign, in which a Parliament was called at *Westminster*: wherein all Acts formerly made by him, are confirmed or revived; and all their Lands and Goods confiscated that had taken part against him and were fled, and all their Lands and Goods restored to such as had taken part with him.

1473.

King Edward's Reign, in which a Parliament was called at *Westminster*: wherein all Acts formerly made by him, are confirmed or revived; and all their Lands and Goods confiscated that had taken part against him and were fled, and all their Lands and Goods restored to such as had taken part with him.

King Edward being destin'd to be always in troubles; now that he had quietness at home, was drawn into new broils abroad; for the Duke of *Burgoigne* at this time having Wars with *France*, thought he could no way make a better harvest to himself, than by sowing seeds of Dissention between *France* and *England*: and to this end he sent Ambassadors to King *Edward*, to sollicite him to set on foot his Title to the Crown of *France*, making great offers, with protestation to assist him in it, both with Purse and Person. This Proposition being seriously debated by the King's Privy Council, it was last approved of, as being both lawful and behoveful, for the honour of the King, and good of the Kingdom. Only means to bear the charges of the War, were wanting; to supply which by a Parliamentary course, would ask too much time. A new course therefore is devised, to procure money from the Subjects by way of Benevolence; and this course was taken.

King Edward moved by the Duke of *Burgoigne* to make War upon *France*.

A Benevolence to raise money.

About this time *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Huntington* dis-inherited by Act of Parliament in the fourth year of this King, (though he had married King *Edward*'s Sister) yet grew to so great misery, that passing over into *Flanders*, I there saw him (saith *Commines*) running bare-legged after the Duke of *Burgundy*'s train, begging his bread for God's sake; whom the Duke of *Burgundy* at that time not knowing (though they had married two Sisters) but hearing afterward who he was, gave him a small Pension to maintain him; till not long after he was found dead upon the Shore of *Dover*, and stripped all naked; but how he came to his death, could never by any enquiry be brought to light.

Henry Holland Duke of Exeter his miserable life and death.

1474.

Provision for this *French* expedition being throughly made, and order taken for the quiet Government of the Kingdom in his absence, and the stop of incursions, if any by the *Scots* should be made: King *Edward*, with an Army of fifteen hundred men at Arms, all of the Nobility and Gentry, fifteen thousand Archers on Horseback, eight thousand common Souldiers, and three thousand Pioneers, came down to *Dover*; whither the Duke of *Burgoigne* had sent five hundred flat-bottom'd Boats to transport the Horse to *Callice*; yet for all that help, it was two and twenty days before the King's Forces were all past over. Before the King's departure from *Dover*, (to the end he might not seem to surprize him) he sent an Herauld named *Garter*, a *Norman* by birth, with a Letter of Defiance to the *French* King, (so well written, saith *Commines*, that he thought it not of any *English* man's inditing; as though *English* men could not write as well as the *French*) requiring him to yield unto him the Crown of *France*, his unquestionable Inheritance; which if he should dare to deny, he would then endeavour to recover it by the Sword. This Letter the *French* King read, and thereupon withdrawing himself, caused the Herauld to be brought to his presence, to whom in private he gave this answer: That the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and the Earl of Saint *Paul* the Constable, (by whose Instigation he knew the King of *England*, was drawn to this design) would but delude him; for that they were Dissemblers and Impostors; and therefore said, it would conduce more to the honour of the King of *England* to continue in League with him, though an old Adversary; than to hazard the fortune of the Wars, upon the promised assistance of new-come Deceivers: And so commend me (saith he) to the King thy Master, and say what I have told thee, and then with an honourable reward of three hundred Crowns, dismist him. The Herauld promised to do all that in him lay, and (beyond his Commission) shewed the *French* King ways, (by working upon the Lords *Howard* and *Stanly*) by which he might enter into a Treaty for Peace, which he doubted not would sort to a good conclusion. The *French* King glad to hear it, gave the Herauld, besides the other reward, a piece of Crimson Velvet of thirty yards long; and withal sent to King *Edward* the goodliest Horse he had in his Stable, as also an Ass, a Wolf, and a Wild Boar, Beasts at that time rare in *England*: And then the Herauld returning to *Callice*, delivered to King *Edward* the *French* King's answer.

He sends a Herauld to the King of *France* to demand the Crown.

The *French* King's answer to the Herauld.

1474.

The Herauld adviseth the King of *France* what to do.

And now to make good the *French* King's allegation to the Herauld; the Duke of *Burgoigne* who had promised on the word of a Prince, to bring to *Callice* by this time two thousand Launces, and four thousand Stadiots or light-Horse, failed to come: Whereupon the Lord *Scales* is by King *Edward* sent to the Duke, to put him in mind of his promise, and to hasten his coming with his promised Forces: but the journey was to little purpose, only it occasioned the Duke with a small troop of Horse to come to the King, formally to excuse himself for having been so backward; but the cause (he said) was for that having been imbroyled in the Siege of *Nuz*, he could not depart thence, without infinite disgrace, if neither composition nor submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespass upon his patience, he was enforced to do, by the obstinacy of the besieged, but promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily.

The Duke of *Burgoigne* and the Constable of *France* fail King *Edward* in performance of their promises.

The

The Conſtable likewiſe by his Letter perſwades the King of *England* to proceed in the action, and not to doubt both ſcorn the Duke and himſelf to be ſufficiently every way accommodated.

King *Edward* thus encouraged, paſſeth on, but in his way found no performance of promiſes, either on the Duke's or Conſtable's part; for the Duke did not accommodate the Souldiers at their coming to *Peronne* with Victuals or Lodging, in ſuch manner as was requiſite and expected: and the Conſtable, inſtead of ſurrendring up St. *Quintins* according to agreement, made a ſally out upon ſuch as were ſent from the King of *England* to take poſſeſſion, and plaid upon them with his great Ordnance; whereupon King *Edward* began to ſuſpect the truth of the *French* King's deſcription of the Duke and Conſtables conditions; and from thence forward ſtood upon his own Guard, and gave no further credit to their Proteſtations: which the Duke of *Burgoigne* relenting, pretending occaſions for the haſtning forward his Forces, and promiſing ſpeedy return together with them, taketh his leave and departeth, which did not a little increaſe the King's ſuſpicion.

The King of *France* ſends a counterfeit Herauld to King *Edward* to propound conditions of Peace.

The *French* King having intelligence of the Duke of *Burgoigne*'s departure; forecaſting the danger if they ſhould unite their Forces; reſolved with himſelf to eſſay what might be done to mediate a Peace in the Duke's abſence, and yet ſo to treat, that if it took not effect, he might diſclaim the knowledge of the overture: Whereupon he privately diſpatcheth a Meſſenger, in ſhew an Herauld; but was indeed a fellow of no office or eſtimation, and not known to any of the King's Houſhold, but to *Wallis* the Maſter of the Horſe, who only was acquainted with the ſecond party. This counterfeit Purſuivant at Arms, with a Coat made of a Trumpet's Banner-rowl, addreſſed himſelf to the King of *England*, and upon admiſſion to his preſence, inſinuates the *French* King's deſire, which was, to have Commiſſioners on both parts aſſigned, to confer of the means to reconcile the differences between the two Kings, or at leaſt to conclude a ceſſation from Arms for ſome time. And ſo well this Meſſenger delivered his errand, that it was credited, and the King's requeſt granted; and thereupon Letters of ſafe conduct are ſent of both ſides, for ſuch Commiſſioners as to this purpoſe ſhould meet at *Amyens*. For King *Edward* came the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, and Doctor *Morton*, after made Lord Chancellour of *England*. For King *Lewis* came, the Admiral of *France*, the Lord Saint *Piers*, and *Hilton* Biſhop of *Exeter*. After long Conference, Articles of Peace are concluded on to this effect: That the *French* King ſhould pay preſently to the King of *England*, threeſcore and fifteen thouſand Crowns, and from thenceforth annually fifty thouſand Crowns, during the Life of King *Edward*: That within one year, the *French* King ſhould ſend for the Lady *Elizabeth* the King of *England*'s Daughter, and joyn her in Marriage to the Dauphin: That the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *John Cheyney* Maſter of the Horſe, ſhould remain in Hoſtage there, till the *Engliſh* Army had quitted *France*, and a general Peace for nine years: wherein the Dukes of *Burgoigne* and *Britain*, are included if they will accept thereof. This Concluſion was the more eaſily compaſſed by the King of *France*, his following the Herauld's counſel; for he diſtributed ſixteen thouſand Crowns amongſt King *Edward*'s Counſellors and Favourites; two thouſand Crowns to the Lord *Haſtings* the King's Chamberlain; and to the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, and *Montgomery*, the reſidue; beſides great ſtore of Plate and Jewels, diſtributed amongſt inferiour Officers of the Court. The Duke of *Glocester* only oppoſed this accord, as not ſuiting with his deſign; nevertheleſs it proceeded, and notice thereof is preſently ſent to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who thereupon only with fifteen Horſe, comes poſting to the *Engliſh* Camp, whom King *Edward* perſwades to enter into the Peace, according to the reſervation; but he in great chafe, reproacheth King *Edward* for entring into it himſelf, ſaying, That his Predeceſſors had by many brave exploits gotten fame and reputation from the *French*; and now he had brought his Souldiers only to ſhew them the Country, and return as they came; adding withal, that to make it appear he was able without help of the *French* to ſubſiſt of himſelf, he utterly diſclaimed any benefit of that Truce, untill three months after the *Engliſh* were returned to their own Country; and ſo in a great ſnuff returned home.

The Duke of *Burgoigne* reproacheth King *Edward* for making the Peace.

For the better confirmation of what is agreed upon between the two Kings, an interview is deſired, but before the ſame is effected, the *French* King ſends the *Engliſh* Army an hundred Tonns of *Gaſcoigne* Wine, to be drunk amongſt the private Souldiers, and therewithal free liberty for Commanders and Gentlemen to refreſh themſelves in *Amyens*, where they were lovingly entertained by the Burgers of the Town, by the King's expreſs command. The place of interview of theſe two Kings, is agreed on to be at *Picquigny*, a Town three miles diſtant from *Amyens*, ſeated in a bottom, through which the River of *Somme* runneth; over which a ſtrong Bridge was built, and in the midſt thereof a grate made overthwart with bars, no wider aſunder than a man might well thruſt in his Arm; covered with boards over head, to avoid the rain, four of the Bed-Chamber of both ſides, are appointed to ſearch the rooms, to prevent Traps or Inſtruments of Treachery: and being by them certified that all was clear, the Kings advance themſelves. King *Edward* being come in ſight of the place, made a ſtand, being told, that the circumſtance of coming firſt to the place was a matter of great diſparagement in point of State: but the *French* King more regarding ſubſtance than circumſtance, gave the King of *England* the advantage to come at his pleaſure, and went firſt to the Bar appointed for Conference, and there did attend King *Edward*'s leiſure. He had in his company *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, with his Brother the Cardinal, and eight hundred men at Arms. King *Edward* had with him his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords Chamberlain and Chancellour, and at his back his whole Army in Battel. The Kings lovingly ſalute each other, and compli-

An Interview between the two Kings is agreed upon.

The place and manner of their interview.

The conditions of Peace between the two Kings.

ments

ments of courteſie reciprocally paſs: which finiſhed, they, with their Noblemen there preſent, take all their Oaths upon the Holy Evangeliſts, in all their power, to obſerve the Articles of accord Agreed on. After which, in private, the *French* King importunes King *Edward* that the Duke of *Britain* might be left out of theſe Articles: but after much urging to that purpoſe, King *Edward* gave this reſolute anſwer, that if King *Lewis* deſired the friendſhip of *England*, he ſhould not moleſt the Duke of *Britain*; for that he was reſolved, at any time to come in Perſon to relieve him, if he were diſturbed: King *Edward* pretended the many kindneſſes he had formerly received of the Duke of *Britain*; but it was conceived, that the deſire of compaſſing the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, now in the Duke of *Britain*'s Countrey, were the greateſt motives of his ſtanding ſo firmly for him. After more ſerious diſcourſe, King *Lewis* told King *Edward*, that he would one day invite him to *Paris*, there to court his *French* Ladies, with whom, if he committed any ſin, he merrily told him, that Cardinal *Bourbon* ſhould be his Confeſſor, who (he might be ſure) would aſſign him an eaſie penance; as one that loved to kiſs fair Ladies himſelf: but when King *Edward* ſeemed not unwilling to accept his offer, he was then glad to put it off with other diſcourſe: for that (as he told *Commines*) too many *Engliſh* Princes had been there before.

The money to be paid to King *Edward* by the *Articles*, is accordingly paid: and thereupon the *French* Hoſtages are delivered, and the *Engliſh* Army retire to *Callice*, and from thence is tranſported into *England*; and then the *Engliſh* Hoſtages are likewiſe delivered. This Peace was ſaid to be made only by the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe on the day of meeting, a white Dove came and ſate upon the King of *England*'s Tent: though the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Burgoigne* thought it was made by no good ſpirit.

1475. King *Edward* ſends to the Duke of *Britain* to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* to him. The Earl is delivered, but makes eſcape; and how.

King *Edward* being returned into *England*, had his mind running ſtill upon the danger that might grow from the Earl of *Richmond*: he therefore diſpatched Doctor *Stillington*, and two other his Ambaſſadours, to the Duke of *Britain*, to ſend him over to him, under this ſubtle pretence that he meant to match him in marriage with the Lady *Cicely* his younger Daughter; and withal, ſent alſo no ſmall ſtore of Angels to ſpeak for him; which ſo prevailed with the Duke, that he delivered the Earl of *Richmond* to the Ambaſſadours, who conducted him thence to Saint *Malos*, where whileſt they ſtayed for a wind, the young Earl by the cunning plotting of *Peter Landois*, the Duke's Treaſurer, (more out of ſcorn that he, was not gratified by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, to the proportion of his place, than for any love to the Earl) eſcapes into the Sanctuary; from whence neither prayers nor promiſes could get him out: Nevertheleſs upon *Peter Landois* his promiſe he ſhould be ſafe kept there, the Ambaſſadors departed, and returned home, acquainted King *Edward* with the Duke of *Britain*'s courteſie in delivering him, and their own negligence in ſuffering him to eſcape; only making amends with the promiſe of *Peter Landois*: which might be to King *Edward* ſome contentment, but was no ſatisfaction.

At *Chriſtmas* following, being the ſixteenth year of his Reign, he created his eldeſt Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. His ſecond Son he made Duke of *York*; giving the Order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and many others. He created alſo four and twenty Knights of the *Bath*, whereof *Brian* Chief Juſtice, and *Littleton* a Judge of the Common Pleas were two.

1476. King *Edward*'s Son *Edward*, created Prince of *Wales*, &c.

About this time, there were two examples of ſeverity ſeen; not unworthy the relating, if but only to make us ſee how dangerous a thing it is *Ludere cum ſanctis*, to ſpeak words that may be taken as reflecting upon the King. The firſt was of one *Walter Walker*, a wealthy Citizen, dwelling at the Crown in *Cheapſide*: This man one day when his Child cried, bid him be quiet, and he would make him Heir of the Crown: which words being ſubject to interpretation, he was called in queſtion about them, arraigned, condemned, and put to death. The other was of *Thomas Burdet*, of *Arrow* in *Warwickſhire* Eſq; It happened that King *Edward* hunted in his Park, he being from home, and there killed a white-Buck, whereof Maſter *Burdet* made ſpecial account: ſo as coming home, and finding that Buck killed, he wiſhed it horns and all in his belly that had councelled the King to kill it: and becauſe none councelled the King to kill it but himſelf, it was thought thoſe words were not ſpoken without a malignant reflecting upon the King: and thereupon *Burdet* was arraigned and condemned, drawn to *Tyburn*, and there beheaded: though *Markam*, then Chief Juſtice, choſe rather to loſe his place, than aſſent to the Judgment.

Two great examples of ſeverity: one upon *Walter Walker*.

The other upon Mr. *Burdet*.

1477.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* plots to take away his elder brother the Duke of *Clarence*.

And now began ambition to boil in *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*; whereof the firſt heat fell upon his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, how to rid him out of the way; to which end, he ſeeks to raiſe jealouſies in King *Edward*'s head againſt him, telling him, that ſome of *Clarence* his followers were Sorcerers and Negromancers, and had given forth ſpeeches, that one whoſe name begun with *G.* ſhould diſ-inherit his Children, and get the Crown: and for a colour of this ſuggeſtion, one of the Duke of *Clarence* his Servants, who came with him out of *Ireland* from *Dublin*, where the Duke was born, is in his Maſters abſence, by the procurement underhand of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, indicted, arraigned, condemned, and executed at *Tyburn* for a Conjurer, and all within the ſpace of two days: and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, to make ſhew that he had no hand in this fellow's death, ſet on the Duke of *Clarence* to complain of it to King *Edward*; and in the mean time finds matter, at leaſt colour of matter to make him be committed to the *Tower*: and then again to make ſhew he had no hand in his impriſonment, bids him be of good cheer; for it ſhould not be long e'er he would ſee him releaſed: and he kept his word; for not long after, by his procurement, he was drowned in a Butt of *Malmſey*, (and this was his releaſment) and then laid in his bed, to make the people believe that he

1478. He procures him to be drowned in a Butt of *Malmſey*.

he died of discontent; whose death King *Edward*, though perhaps consenting to it, so much resented, that afterwards, when he was sued to for any man's Pardon, he would sighing break out into such words: Oh unfortunate Brother! for whose life not one Man would open his mouth. Being dead, he was buried at *Tewksbury* in *Glocestershire*, by the Body of his Dutchess, who great with Child, died of poison a little before.

1482.

A Match treated on between the King of *Scots* eldest Son, and a Daughter of King *Edward*.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King *Edward*'s Reign, when *James* King of *Scotland* sent Ambassadors to treat of a marriage between his eldest Son *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, and *Cicely* King *Edward*'s second Daughter. This overture for a Match, was by the King and his Council readily embraced, and a great part of the Portion was delivered to the *Scots* with this *Proviso*, That if the marriage did not proceed, the Provost and Merchants of *Edenburgh* should be bound to repay it again. But the *Scottish* King, who had other phantasies in his head, and would take counsel of none but his own will, and diverted also perhaps by the King of *France*; not only dallied the proceeding in the Match, but affronted those of the Nobility that perswaded him to it; insomuch that his Brother the Duke of *Albany* was enforced to abandon the Country, and to fly for refuge into *England*: by whom King *Edward* being informed of King *James* his fickle disposition, was so much incensed, that under the conduct of the Duke of *Glocester*, accompanied with the Duke of *Albany*, he sent an Army of twenty thousand against *Scotland*; who in their way took in *Berwick*, and besieged the Castle; which being resolutely defended by the Earl of *Bothwel*, the Duke left the Lord *Stanley* to continue the siege, whilst he with the rest of the Army, marcheth toward *Edenburgh*; where within the Castle of *Maydens*, King *James* had immur'd himself. But the Nobility of *Scotland* seeing the danger they were in, endeavoured by humble submission to procure a Peace, at least a cessation from War; which with much importunity they obtained, upon these conditions: That full satisfaction should be presently given, for all damages sustained by the late incursions: That the Duke of *Albany* should be fully restored to grace and place, with an abolition of all discontents between his Brother King *James* and him: That the Castle of *Berwick*, (which had been now out of the possession of the *English*, one and twenty years) should immediately be surrendred into the Generals hands, and from thence no reduction of that, or the Town attempted: That all such sums of money as upon proposition of the marriage had been delivered, should be repaid. All which, except the first Article, were accordingly performed.

But dallied by the King of *Scots*.

Whereupon King *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army.

And brings the *Scots* to submission.

Causes of King *Edward*'s discontentment.

When this business with *Scotland* was indifferently accommodated, King *Edward* receives intelligence from his Ambassadour Legier in *France*, that the *French* King not only denied the payment of the Annual Tribute of fifty thousand Crowns, agreed upon and sworn to, upon the ratification of the late concluded Peace, but had also married the Dauphin of *France* to the Lady *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian*, Son of the Emperour; which so much incensed King *Edward*, that he resolves to revenge it; and by the advice of his Council, open War was presently Proclaimed against *France*. But whilst King *Edward* is making preparation, and intentive to the business, he is attached by the hand of death, and upon the ninth of *April*, in the year 1483, at *Westminster* ended his mortal life.

1483.

He falls sick and dies.

Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, he sent his Privy Seal through *England*, to move men to give him a certain sum of money towards resisting the *Scots*, which was granted and given liberally: In his seventh year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were resumed all manner of gifts, which the King had given from the first day he took possession of the Realm, to that time. In his eighth year, at a Parliament were granted two fifteens and a Demy. In his thirteenth year, a Parliament was holden wherein a Subsidy was granted; and the year following, towards War to be undertaken in *France*, a new way of raising money is devised, called a Benevolence, by which great sums of money were gotten of the Subjects: And it is not unworthy the relating, what an old rich Widow at this time did; whom King *Edward*, amongst others, having called before him, merrily asked, what she would willingly give him towards his great charges? By my troth (quoth she) for thy lovely countenance, thou shalt have even twenty pounds. The King looking scarce for half that sum, thanked her, and lovingly kist her; which so wrought with the old Widow, that she presently swore, he should have twenty pounds more; and paid it willingly. Not long before his death he was by ill Counsellors put upon a distasteful course for raising of money; which was, by fining men for Delinquencies against Penal Statutes: by which course some money was gathered; but before it came to full execution, he dying, that also died with him.

A merry passage between King *Edward* and an old Widow.

Money gathered upon Penal Statutes.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his four year, he newly devised the Coyn both of Gold and Silver, as at this day it is, the Gold, he named Royals and Nobles, the Silver Groats, and half Groats: the new Groat weighing scantly three pence; and the Noble of six shillings eight pence, appointed to go for eight shillings four pence. In his fifth year it was proclaimed in *England*, that the Beaks or Pykes of Shoes and Boots should not pass two Inches, upon pain of cursing by the Clergy, and forfeiting twenty shillings to be paid, one Noble to the King, another to the Cordwayners of *London*, and the third to the Chamber of *London*: and for other Countries and Towns the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the year 1382. the Pykes of Shoes and Boots were of such length, that they were fain to be tied up to the knees with Chains of Silver, and Gilt, or at least with silken Laces.

New Coyn ordained.

The length of Beaks and Pykes of Shoes limited.

Affairs

Affairs of the Church in his time.

The year of jubile brought from fifty to five and twenty.

IN this King's time the Jubile, which was before but every fiftieth year, was, by Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, brought to be every five and Twentieth year. Also, where before this time, the *Scottish* Bishop had no Metropolitan, but the Bishop of *York* was Metropolitan and Primate of *Scotland*: Now in this King's time, Pope *Sixtus* appointed the Bishop of St. *Andrews* to be Metropolitan of *Scotland*, who had twelve Bishops under his obedience.

Works of Piety done in his time.

THis King laid the Foundation of the new Chappel at *Windsor*, and his Queen *Elizabeth* founded the Queens College in *Cambridge*, and endowed it with large Possessions. About his fifteenth year, Doctor *Woodlark* Provost of Kings College in *Cambridge*, founded *Katharine-Hall* there. In his seventeenth year, the Wall of the City of *London*, from *Cripplegate* to *Bishopsgate*, was builded at the Charges of the Citizens; also *Bishopsgate* it self was new built by the Merchants *Almans* of the *Steelyard*. Also in this year died Sir *John Crosby* Knight, late Mayor of *London*, who gave to the repairing of the Parish-Church of St. *Helens*, in *Bishopsgate-street*, where he was buried, 500 Marks; to the repairing the Parish-Church of *Henworth* in *Middlesex*, forty pounds; to the repairing of *London*-Wall, an hundred pounds; to the repairing *Rochester*-Bridge, ten pounds; to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Grocers in *London*, two large Pots of Silver chased half guilt, and other Legacies. About this time also, *Richard Rawson*, one of the Sheriffs of *London* caused a House to be builded in the Church-yard of St. *Mary* Hospital without *Bishopsgate*, where the Mayor and Aldermen use to sit and hear the Sermons in *Easter* Holydays. In his nineteenth Year, *William Taylor* Mayor of *London*, gave to the City certain Tenements; for which the City is bound to pay for ever, at every fifteenth granted to the King, for all such as shall dwell in *Cordwainer-street-Ward*, sessed at twelve pence a piece, or under: And about the same time, one *Thomas Ham*, Sheriff of *London*, builded, at his cost, the great Conduit in *Cheapside*.

Queens College in *Cambridge* founded.

Katharine Hall in *Cambridge* founded.

The great Conduit in *Cheap-side* builded.

Cripplegate repaired.

In his third year, the Minster of *York*, and the Steeple of Christs-Church in *Norwich*, were burnt. In his seventeenth year, so great a Pestilence reigned in *England*, that it swept away more People in four Months, than the Wars had done in fifteen Years past. Also in his nineteenth Year was another Pestilence; which beginning in the latter end of *September*, continued to the Beginning of *November*, twelve Months following; in which space of time innumerable People died.

Two great Plagues.

Of his Wife and Issue.

KIng *Edward* had been contracted to *Eleanor* Daughter to *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, married after to Sir *John Butler*, Baron of *Sudely*; but he married *Elizabeth* the Widow of Sir *John Gray*, Daughter of *Richard Woodvile*, by his Wife *Jaqueline* Dutchess of *Bedford*: She liv'd his Wife eighteen Years and eleven Months; by whom he had three Sons and seven Daughters. *Edward* his eldest Son, born in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*: *Richard* his second Son, born at *Shrewsbury*: *George*, his third Son, born also at *Shrewsbury*, but died a Child. *Elizabeth* his eldest Daughter promised in Marriage to *Charles* Dauphin of *France*, but married afterward to King *Henry* the seventh: *Cicely* his second Daughter, promised in Marriage to *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, Prince of *Scotland*; but was married afterward to *John* Viscount *Wells*, whom she out-lived, and was again re-married, but by neither Husband had any Issue: She lieth buried at *Quarena* in the *Isle of Wight*. *Ann* his third Daughter, was married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marshal and high Treasurer of *England*, by whom she had two Sons, both dying without Issue: She lieth buried at *Framingham* in *Norfolk*. *Bridget* his fourth Daughter, born at *Eltham* in *Kent*, became a Nun in the Nunnery of *Dartford* in *Kent*, which King *Edward* had founded. *Mary* his fifth Daughter, was promised in Marriage to the King of *Denmark*, but died in the Tower of *Greenwich*, before it could be solemnized; she lieth buried at *Windsor*. *Margaret* his sixth Daughter died an Infant. *Katharine* his seventh Daughter was married to to *William Courtne* Earl of *Devonshire*; to whom she bare Lord *Henry*, who by King *Henry* the Eight was created Marquess of *Exeter*.

King *Edward's* three special Concubines.

Concubines he had many; but three especially; and would use to say, that he had three Concubines, who in their several Properties excelled: One, the merriest; another, the wyliest; the third, the holiest Harlot in his Realm; as one whom no Man could lightly get out of the Church to any Place, unless it were to his Bed. The other Two were greater Personages than are fit to be named: But the merriest was *Shore's* Wife; in whom therefore he took speical Pleasure. This Woman was born in *London*, worshipfully descended, and well married; but when the King had abused her, anon her Husband (as he was an honest Man, and did know his good, not presuming to touch a King's Concubine) left her up to him altogether.

Shore's Wife.

By these he had natural Issue, *Arthur* surnamed *Plantagenet* (whose Mother, as is supposed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*) created Viscount *Lisle*, by King *Henry* the eighth, at *Bridewell* in *London*; and *Elizabeth*, who was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley* Knight; to whom she bare *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did descend.

The late Lord *Lumley* from whom descended.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was (saith *Comines*) the goodliest Personage that ever mine Eyes beheld, exceeding

tall of Stature, fair of Complexion, and of most Princely Presence; and we may truly say, he was of full Age before he came to one and twenty; for being but eighteen Years old when his Father died, he sued out his Livery presently: So as he began the Race of his Fortune just like *Augustus Cæsar*, each of them at the same time succeeding an Ancestor after a violent Death; and each of them left to set on a Roof, where but only a Foundation was laid before. For his Conditions, he was of an erected Composure both of Body and Mind, but something sagging on the Fleshes side; and never any Man, that did marry for Love, did so little love Marriage; for he took as much Pleasure in other Mens Wives as in his own. He was never more confident, than when he was in Danger, nor ever more doubtful than when he was secure. Of the four Cardinal Vertues, Fortitude and Prudence were in him naturally: Temperance and Justice, but to serve his turn. He was Politick even to Irreligion; for to compass his Ends he would not stick to swear what he never meant. Yet he was religious beyond Policy; for before Battels, he used to make his Prayers to God, after Victories to give him Thanks. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious: And could use Familiarity, and yet retain Majesty. He was a great Briber, and what he could not get by Force, he would by Rewards, as much as what he could not get by Battery, he would by Mines. He was too credulous of Reports, which made him be in Error, sometimes to the Hurt of himself, oftentimes of others. He had made the White Rose to flourish as long as *Henry* the fourth made the Red, if he had not made it change Colour with too much Blood. He had been fortunate in his Children, if he had not been unfortunate in a Brother; but he was well enough served, that would think a Wolf could ever be a good Shepherd. He had an excellent Art in improving his Favors; for he could do as much with a small Courtesie, as other Men with a great Benefit: And that which was more, he could make Advantage of Disadvantages: For he got the Love of the *Londoners* by owing them Money; and the good Will of the Citizens, by lying with their Wives.

Of his Death and Burial.

WHether it began from his Mind being extreamly troubled with the injurious dealing of the King of *France*; or from his Body by Intemperance of Diet, to which he was much given; He fell into a Sickness (some say a Catarrh, some a Feaver) but into a Sickness whereof he died. In the time of which Sickness, and at the very point of Death, Sir *Thomas Moor* makes him to make a Speech to his Lords; which I might think to be the Speech of a sick Man, if it were not so sound; and of a weak Man if it were not so long: But it seems Sir *Thomas Moor* delivers rather what was fit for him to say, than what he said; the Contents being only, to exhort the Lords, whom he knew to be at Variance, to be in Love and Concord amongst themselves; for that the Welfare of his Children, whom he must now leave to their care, could not otherwise be preserved but by their Agreement. And having spoken to this Purpose as much as his Weakness would suffer him, he found himself sleepy; and turning on one side, he fell into his long Sleep, the ninth of *April*, in the Year 1484. when he had lived one and forty Years, reigned two and twenty and one Month; and was buried at *Windsor*, in the new Chappel, whose Foundation himself had laid.

His Speech to his Lords at his Death.

Of Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Valour in his time were many, but himself the chiefest; the rest may be observed in reading his Story. For Men of Letters, we may have leave at this time to speak of some Strangers, having been Men of extraordinary Fame; as *Johannes de Monte Regio*, *Purbachius* and *Blancanus*, all great Astronomers; *Ludovicus Pontanus*, *Paulus Castrensis*, and *Antonius Rossellanus*, all great Lawyers; *Servisanus*, *Savanarola* and *Barzizius*, all great Physicians; *Bessarion* and *Cusanus*, both great Cardinals; *Argyropole*, *Philelphus*, *Dinus*, *Leonardus*, *Aretinus*, and *Poggius*, all great Men in humane Literature. And of our Countrymen, *John Harding* an Esquire, born in the North Parts, who wrote a Chronicle in *English* Verse; and, among other special Points therein touched, hath gathered all the Submissions and Homages made by the *Scottish* Kings, even from the Days of King *Athelstan*: Whereby it may evidently appear, how the *Scottish* Kingdom, even in a manner, from the establishing thereof here in *Britain*, hath been appertaining unto the Kings of *England*, and holden of them as their chief and superiour Lords. *Juliana Barnes*, a Gentlewoman of excellent Gifts, who wrote certain Treatises of Hawking and Hunting, also a Book of the Laws of Arms, and Knowledge appertaining to Heraulds. *John Fortescue* a Judge and Chancellour of *England*, who wrote divers Treatises concerning the Law and Politick Government: *Rochus* a *Chester-house*-Monk, born in *London*, who wrote divers Epigrams. *Walter Hunt*, a *Carmelite* Fryer, who for his excellent Learning was sent from the whole Body of the Realm, to the General Council holden first at *Ferrara*, and after at *Florence*, by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth; where he amongst others disputed with the *Greeks*, in Defence of the Order and Ceremonies of the *Latin* Church. *William Caxton*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Fructus Temporum*, and an *Appendix* unto *Trevesa*, besides divers other Books and Translations. *John Milverton*, a *Carmelite* Fryer of *Bristow*, and Provincial of his Order; who, because he defended such of his Order as preached against Endowments of the Church with Temporal Possessions, was committed to Prison in the Castle of Saint *Angelo* in *Rome*, wherein he continued three Years. *David Morgan* a *Welshman*, who wrote of the Antiquities of *Wales*, and a Description of the Country. *John Tiptoft*, a Nobleman born, who wrote divers Treatises, but lost his Head in the Year 1471. *Robert Huggon*, born in *Norfolk*, who wrote certain vain Prophecies.

William Caxton who writes a Chronicle.

Thomas

Scogan at this time lived.

Thomas Littleton, who wrote the Tenures at this time liv'd.

Thomas Norton, born in *Briſtow* an Alchymiſt. *Scogan* a learned Gentleman, and a Student for a time in *Oxford*; who for his preſent Wit and merry Conceits, was called to Court. But moſt worthy of all to be remembred, *Thomas Littleton*, a reverend Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great Part of the Law into Method, which lay before confuſedly diſperſed; and his Book called *Littleton's Tenures*.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Time.*

In his Firſt Year,
Sir *Hugh Wich* was Mayor.
George Ireland, *John Lock*, Sheriffs.

In his Second Year,
Sir *Thomas Cook* was Mayor.
William Hampton, *Bartholomew James*, Sheriffs.

In his Third Year,
Sir *Matthew Philip* was Mayor.
Robert Baſſet, *Thomas Muſchampt*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourth Year,
Sir *Ralph Joceline* was Mayor.
John Tate, *John Stones*, Sheriffs.

In his Fifth Year,
Sir *Ralph Verney* was Mayor.
Henry Weaver, *William Conſtantine*, Sheriffs.

In his Sixth Year,
Sir *John Young* was Mayor.
John Brown, *Henry Brice*, *John Darby*, Sheriffs.

In his Seventh Year,
Sir *Thomas Oldgrave* was Mayor.
Thomas Stalbrook, *Humfrey Heyford*, Sheriffs.

In his Eighth Year,
Sir *VVilliam Taylor* was Mayor.
Simon Smith, *VVilliam Herriot*, Sheriffs.

In his Ninth Year,
Sir *Richard a Lee* was Mayor.
Richard Gardner, *Robert Drope*, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth Year,
Sir *John Stockton* was Mayor.
John Croſbey, *John Ward*, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh Year,
Sir *William Edwards* was Mayor.
John Allen, *John Shelley*, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth Year,
Sir *William Hampton* was Mayor.
John Brown, *Thomas Bledlow*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth Year,
Sir *John Tate* was Mayor.
Sir *William Stocker*, *Robert Beliſdon*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth Year.
Sir *Robert Drope* was Mayor.
Edmund Shaa, *Thomas Hill*, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth Year,
Sir *Robert Baſſe* was Mayor.
Hugh Brice, *Robert Colwich*, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth Year,
Sir *Ralph Joceline* was Mayor.
Richard Rawſon, *William Horn*, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth Year,
Sir *Humfrey Heyford* was Mayor.
Henry Collet, *John Stocker*, Sheriffs.

In his Eighteenth Year,
Sir *Richard Gardner* was Mayor.
Robert Harding, *Robert Biſield*, Sheriffs.

In his Nineteenth Year,
Sir *Bartholomew James* was Mayor.
Thomas Ilam, *John Ward*, Sheriffs.

In his Twentieth Year,
Sir *John Brown* was Mayor.
Thomas Daniel, *William Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty firſt Year,
Sir *VVilliam Herrot* was Mayor.
Robert Tate, *Rich. Charey*, *VVill. VViking*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ſecond Year,
Sir *Edmund Shaa* was Mayor.
VVilliam VVhite, *John Mathew*, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING EDWARD The FIFTH.

1483. King *Edward* proclaimed King; but never crowned.

KING *Edward* the Fourth being dead, his eldeſt Son *Edward*, ſcarce yet eleven Years old, ſucceeded in the Kingdom, but not in the Crown; for he was proclaimed King, but never crowned: And it may not ſo properly be called, the Reign of *Edward* the Fifth, as the Tyranny of *Richard* the Third; for from the time of King *Edward*'s Death, though not in Name, yet in Effect, he not only ruled as King, but raged as a Tyrant. Prince *Edward*, when his Father died, was at *Ludlow* in *Wales*, where he had lived ſome time before, the better by his Preſence to keep the Welſh in Awe; he had about him of his Mothers Kindred many; but Sir *Anthony Woodvile*, the Earl *Rivers* his Uncle, was appointed his chief Counſellour and Director. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was at this time in the North, but had Word preſently ſent him from the Lord *Haſtings*, Lord Chamberlain, of his Brother King *Edward*'s Death, who acquainted him withal, that by his Will, he had committed the young King, his Queen, and other Children, to his Care and Government; and thereupon putting him in mind, how neceſſary it was for him ſpeedily to repair to *London*: But the Duke of *Gloceſter* needed no Spur to ſet him forward, who was already in a full Career; for he had long before projected in his Mind, how he might come to attain the Crown; and now he thought the Way was made him. For as it is ſaid, the very Night in which King *Edward* died, one *Miſſelbrook*, long e're Morning came in great haſte to the Houſe of one *Potter*, dwelling in *Redcroſs-ſtreet*, without *Cripplegate*; where he ſhewed unto *Potter*, that King *Edward* was departed: To whom *Potter* anſwered, By my troth Man, then will my Maſter the Duke of *Gloceſter* be King: What Cauſe he had ſo to think, is hard to ſay; but ſurely it is not likely he ſpake it of nought. And now the young King was coming up to *London* with a ſtrong Guard, partly to make a firſt Expreſſion of his Greatneſs, and partly to oppoſe any Diſorders that might be offered. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* finding this Proceeding like to be a Rub in his way, at leaſt, not fit for his Deſigns, he preſently falls to undermining; writes moſt loving Letters to the Queen, proteſting all humble and faithful Service to the King and her; but withal perſwading her, that this great Guard about the King might be preſently diſmiſſed; which did but miniſter Matter of Suſpicion, and would be apt to breed new Jealouſies in them who were now throughly reconciled. The Queen of a Nature eaſie to be wrought upon, gives credit to his glozing Letters; and thereupon ſends in all Haſte to her Son, and to her Brother the Lord *Rivers*, requiring them by all means, for ſome Cauſes to her known, to diſmiſs their Guard, (not mentioning by whoſe Advice ſhe writ them; which if ſhe had done, they would never have done it) but now upon her Letters they preſently did, and came forward with only a ſober Company. And now is *Gloceſter*'s firſt Work done; but he, knowing that the Work yet behind was too great to be done by himſelf alone, gets the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Haſtings*, two of the greateſt Men of Power at that time in the Kingdom, to joyn with him in Opinion, that it was not fit the Queens Kindred ſhould be ſo wholly about the King; and others of better Blood and Deſert, to be eſtranged from him, and therefore by all means for to endeavour to remove them: To which the Duke of *Buckingham* is eaſily wrought, upon a Promiſe to have the Earldom of *Hereford* conferred upon him; and the Lord *Haſtings* not hardly, upon a Hope by this means to cut off many, whom in King *Edward*'s Days he had juſtly offended. And now another great Work was done; it remains in the next place, to put it in execution, which was preſently thus effected: The yong King had been at *Northampton*, and from thence went to *Stony-Stratford*, whither the two Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* arrived; but pretending the Town to be too little for the Entertainment of their Companies, they went back to *Northampton*, and alight at the ſame Inn where the Earl *Rivers* had taken up his Lodging for that Night, intending the next Morning early to overtake the King. Upon this their accidental meeting, great Shews of Courteſie paſſed between them; and Supper ended, the Dukes pretending Wearineſs, retire to their Lodgings, the Earl to his: But the Dukes being entred into their Chambers, enter into Conſultation with their private Friends, in which they ſpent a great Part of the Night, and then ſecretly get the Keys of the Inn-Gates, ſuffering none to paſs either in or out; whereof the Earl having notice by his Hoſt, though he ſuſpected the worſt, yet ſetting

The Duke of *Gloceſter* hearing of his Brothers Death, poſts out of the North to *London*.

He perſwades the Queen that her Son may diſmiſs his Guard.

And thereupon ſeizeth upon the Kings Uncle and other Friends.

ting a good Countenance upon the matter, and trusting to his own Innocency, he boldly went to the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Chamber, where he found the Duke of *Buckingham* and the rest closely set in Council; with whom he expostulates the reason of this Course, to imprison him in his Inn against his Will: But they instead of answer, command presently to lay hands on him, charging him with many Crimes, whereof themselves were only guilty: And then taking Order for his safe Imprisonment, they speedily took Horse and came to *Stony-Stratford*, at such time as the King was taking Horse, whom in all reverent manner they saluted: But presently in the Kings Presence, a Quarrel is pickt against the Lord *Richard Gray*, the Kings Half-Brother: The Duke of *Buckingham* making Relation to the King, that he and the Marquess his Brother, with the Earl *Rivers* the Queens Brother, had endeavoured, and almost effected, to draw to themselves the whole managing the Affairs of the Kingdom, and to set Variance between the Peers of the Realm; and particularly, that the Lord Marquess without any Warrant, had taken out of the Tower of *London* both Treasure and Armour, to a great Quantity: But to what purpose though they were ignorant, yet there was just Cause to suspect it was to no good End: And therefore it was thought expedient by the Advice of the Nobility, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him forth-coming to make his answer for these and many other his over-bold Actions. The King unable to sound the Depth of these Plots, mildly said unto him: What my Brother Marquess hath done I cannot say; but for my Uncle and Brother here, I dare answer that they are ignorant of any unlawful Practices either against me or you. Oh (saith the Duke of *Buckingham*) that hath been their cunning to keep their treachery from your Graces knowledge: And thereupon, instantly in the Kings Presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, Sir *Richard Hall*, and brought the King and all his Company back to *Northampton*, putting away all his old Servants, and placing in their Rooms Creatures of their own, whom they had Power to command. At which dealing the young King wept, but it booted nothing; and to colour the matter, the Duke of *Gloucester* at Dinner sent a Dish from his own Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good cheer, for all shortly would be well. But the Lord *Rivers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Messenger to carry it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same Message for his Comfort, as one to whom such Adversity was strange; but as for himself, he had all his Days been acquainted with it, and therefore could the better bear it. But for all the comfortable Courtesie of the Duke of *Gloucester*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, into the North Country, into divers Places to Prison; and afterwards to *Pomfret*, where in Conclusion, they were all beheaded.

The Earl *Rivers* and other Lords beheaded at *Pomfret*.

The Duke of *Gloucester* gives out Colours for these Lords Imprisonment.

And now the Duke of *Gloucester* having thus gotten the Custody of the King, set forwards toward *London* giving out by the way, that the Marquess and the Queens Kindred had plotted the Destruction of the King, and of all the ancient Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the Government of the Common-wealth; and that they were only imprisoned to be brought to their Tryal according to Law. And the better to settle these Suggestions in the Apprehension of the Vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour (of their own providing) with Dry-fats and great Chests, wherein they reported to be Treasure for the Payment of Soldiers, with which they so possest the Common People, that all was believed for Truth which was thus rumored: But the finest Device of all was, to have five of the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Instruments manacled and pinioned like Traytors; and these in every Place where the King lodged, to be dispersed and given out to be Men of great Birth, drawn into this vile Plot of Treason by the Queens Brother: Who must seem to be penitent for their Offence, and to confess their own Guilt: And this Device continued acting till the King came to *London*, where their Vizards were pulled off, and the Disguise was soon discovered.

The Queen with her young Son and Daughters takes Sanctuary.

The Queen in the mean time having Intelligence of these doleful Accidents, and fearing there were worse to follow; with her second Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at *Westminster*; and the young King hearing of these things, with Tears and Sighs expressed his Grief: But the Dukes making Protestation of their Fidelity, and Care of his Safety, seemed only to marvail why he should be melancholick.

At this time a Messenger came from the Lord Chamberlain to the Archbishop of *York*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, to signifie to him, that there was no Fear of any thing, for that he assured him all should be well. Well (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will; I assure him it will never be so well as we have seen it. And thereupon, presently after the Messengers Departure, he calleth up his Servants (being then in the Night) and taking the great Seal with him, came before Day to the Queen, whom he found sitting alone on the Rushes, all desolate and dismayed, whom he comforted the best he could; assuring her, that if they Crowned any King but her Son, whom they had with them, he would presently after Crown his Brother whom she had with her; and therewithal delivering to her the great Seal, departed: But soon after bethinking himself better, he thought he had done too rashly, to deliver the great Seal to the Queen; and therefore sent for it again, and had it delivered him: Yet shortly after, reproved for delivering it, by the Council-Table, he had it taken from him, which was then delivered to Doctor *Russel*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, the most learned Man at that time.

The Lord Chancellour delivers the great Seal to the Queen, and after fetcheth it from her again.

The Duke of *Gloucester* is appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom.

And now the Duke of *Gloucester* so respectively carries himself towards the King, with so much Shew and Care of Faithfulness, that by a general Consent of the Council, he is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdom; and by this means, he hath the King in his Custody: It remains now, how to get his Brother the Duke of *York*; for without having both, he were as good (as to his purpose) have neither: And to effect this, he

makes

makes the Effect to become a Cauſe: For whereas by his undue dealings, he had made the King melancholick, he now makes that Melancholy a cauſe to require his Brothers Company to make him merry: And therefore wiſhes ſome courſe may be taken, either by Perſwaſion or otherwiſe, to procure the Queen to ſend the Duke of *York* to keep his Brother the King company. Here the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Lord Cardinal, the Man thought moſt fit to be ſent in this Employment, riſeth up and ſaith, he would do his beſt Endeavour to perſwade her; but if he could not, he then thought it was not to be attempted againſt her Will, for that it would turn to the high Diſpleaſure of God, if the Priviledge of that holy Place ſhould now be broken, which had ſo many Years been inviolably kept, which both Kings and Popes ſo good had granted, ſo many had confirmed, and which holy Ground was more than five hundred Years ago, by Saint *Peter* in his own Perſon, accompanied with great Numbers of Angels by Night, ſo ſpecially hallowed and dedicated to God; and for Proof hereof, there is yet in the Abby, St. *Peters* Cope to ſhew; that from that time hitherward, there never was ſo undevout a King, that durſt violate that ſacred Place; nor ſo holy a Biſhop that durſt preſume to conſecrate it: And therefore (ſaith he) God forbid, that any Man, for any earthly thing, ſhould enterpriſe to break the Immunity and Liberty of that ſacred Sanctuary: And I truſt with God's Grace, we ſhall not need it, at leaſt my Endeavours ſhall not be wanting; if the Mothers Dread and womaniſh Fear be not the Let. Womaniſh Fear, nay Womaniſh Frowardneſs, (quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*) for I dare take it upon my Soul, ſhe well knoweth there is no need of any Fear, either for her Son, or for her ſelf: And proſecuting his Diſcourſe, declareth at large, that there was no juſt Cauſe for the Queen to keep her Son, ſo there was great cauſe for them to require him; and that for breach of Sanctuary in this caſe there could be none; for that he had often heard of Sanctuary-men, but never heard of Sanctuary-Children. And to this purpoſe having ſpoken much, it was well aſſented to by the Lords that were preſent, and with this Inſtruction is the Archbiſhop (upon whom the Queen ſpecially relied) ſent unto her: Who after humble Salutations, acquaints her with his Meſſage, earneſtly perſwading her not to oppoſe the Lord Protector's Requeſt, and giving her many Reaſons, firſt that ſhe ought not, and then that ſhe could not keep him in Sanctuary. She anſwered all his Reaſons, though with great Mildneſs, yet with great Earneſtneſs; ſo as the Archbiſhop finding little Hope to prevail with her by Perſwaſion, turns the Tenor of his Speech another way; telling her plainly, that if ſhe did not conſent to ſend her Son; he doubted ſome ſharper courſe would be ſpeedily taken. This warning ſank ſo deep into the Queen's Mind, that after a little pauſing, taking her Son by the Hand, ſhe ſaid, my Lord Archbiſhop, here he is; for my own part I will never deliver him, but if you will needs have him, take him, and at your Hands I will require him: And therewith weeping bitterly, Dear Child (ſaith ſhe) let me kiſs thee, before we part. God knows whether ever we ſhall meet again; And ſo the Child weeping as faſt as ſhe, went along with the Archbiſhop to the *Star-Chamber*, where the Lord Protector, and other Lords had ſtayed all the while looking for his coming back: And as ſoon as he was entred the Room, the Protector ſpying the Child, riſeth up and embraceth him, ſaying, Dear Nephew, now welcome with all my Heart, next to my Soveraign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me ſo much Contentment as your Preſence: And we may believe him, he ſpake as he thought; for now he had the Prey which he ſo much deſired, a few days after, pretending to have them lodged in a place of more ſecurity, until the diſtempers of the Common-wealth might better be quieted; he cauſed them in great Pomp and State, to be conveyed through *London* to the *Tower*, there at pleaſure to remain, till the time of Coronation; whereof there was great ſhew of preparation made.

But now the great work is to be done, the Princes are to be made away; and how to have it done, *Hoc opus, hic labor eſt*: There muſt be potent Inſtruments, and none ſo potent as the Duke of *Buckingham*; and he, by a match to be concluded betwixt their Children, and an equal partition of the Treaſure of the Realm betwixt them two, not only is drawn to condeſcend, but moſt forward to contrive and plot ſtratagems to effect it. The firſt rub in the way was the Lord *Haſtings*; who being found ſo firm to his old Maſter King *Edward*'s Sons, that nothing could remove him, it was fit to remove him out of the way; which was done in this manner: All the Lords of the privy Council, in the Protectors name, are convoked to the *Tower*; where fitting Preparations for the Coronation of the young King, are propoſed, until the Protector came in; who taking his Chair, very affably ſaluted them, merrily jeſting with ſome, and more than ordinarily pleaſant with them all: when after a little talk, he ſaid to the Biſhop of *Ely*; my Lord, I hear you have very good Strawberries at your Garden in *Holborn*; I pray let us have a Meſs of them: Moſt gladly (ſaid the Biſhop) and preſently ſent for ſome: And then the Protector riſing up, prayed the Lords to ſpare his abſence a little; and ſo departed. Within the ſpace of an hour he returned; but ſo changed in countenance, and with ſuch inward perturbations, which with ſighings and other paſſionate geſtures he expreſſed ſo, that it made them all to marvail. After long ſilence (the better to prepare them to the more attention) he confuſedly interrogates, What they deſerved that nefariouſly had practiſed his deſtruction? This unexpected interrogation ſtruck ſuch amazement amongſt the Lords, that they all ſate gazing on one another, and were as it were, ſtricken dumb: At length the Lord *Haſtings*, by *Buckingham*'s inſtigation as one preſuming on his intimacy with the Protector, boldly anſwered, that they deſerved the Puniſhment of Traytors; which all the reſt by their ſilence approved: Whereat the Protector riſeth up, and with a ſtern look upon the Lord *Haſtings*, replied: Why it is the old Sorcereſs my Brothers

The Archbiſhop of *York* is ſent to perſwade the Queen to ſend her young Son to keep his Brother company.

The Duke of *Buckingham* vilifies the priviledge of Sanctuary.

The Archbiſhops reaſons prevail with the Queen to deliver her Son, but with great heavineſs.

The Protectors ſhew of kindneſs to the young Prince.

The two Princes are with great ſhew of honour conveyed to the Tower.

The Lord *Haſtings* firm to the Princes and therefore is firſt made away, and in what manner.

thers Widow, and her Partner the common Strumpet *Jane Shore*, that have by Incantation conspired to bereave me of my life: and though by God's grace I have escaped the end of their malice, yet see the Mischief they have done me; for behold (and then he bared his left arm to the elbow: and shewed it) how they have caused this dear Limb of mine to wither, and grow useless; and so should all my body have been served, if they might have had their Will a little longer. Those to whom the Queens Religious courses were not unknown, and who knew his withered arm to have been such from his birth, sate gazing one upon another, not knowing what to think or say; until the Lord *Hastings*, thinking thereby to leave all blame upon the Queen, and excuse his Paramour Mistress *Shore* (whom ever since the death of King *Edward* he had entertained for his bed-fellow, and had but that morning parted from her,) with a sober look submissively said, *If the Queen have conspired*— Which word was no sooner out of the Lord *Hastings*'s mouth, than the Protector clapping his hand upon the board, and frowningly looking upon him, said, Tellest thou me of *If* and *And*? I tell thee, They, and none but they have done it; and thou thy self art partaker of the villany. What I, my Lord, quoth he? Yea thou Traytor, quoth the Protector; and therewith, upon a Watch-word given, those prepared before for that purpose, in the outer Chamber, cried, Treason, Treason! when presently a great number of Men in Arms came rushing in, as it were to guard the Protector; one of which with a Pollax strook a main blow at the Lord *Stanley*, and wounded him on the head, and had slain him outright, if he had not avoided the stroke by slipping backward, and falling down to the ground. Forthwith the Protector arrested the Lord *Hastings* of high Treason, and wished him to make haste to be confessed; for he swore by Saint *Paul* (his usual Oath) that he would not touch bread nor drink till his head were off. It booted not to ask, why; for he knew the Protector's Actions were not to be examined. So he was led forth unto the Green (before the Chappel) within the *Tower*, where his head was laid down upon a long log of timber, and there strucken off. His Body afterwards with his head were interred at *Windsor*, besides the body of King *Edward*. In this man's death we may see how inevitable the blows of Destiny are: for the very night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent a secret Messenger to him at midnight, in all haste to acquaint him with a Dream he had; in which he thought that a Boar with his tusks so goared them both by the heads, that the blood run about their shoulders: and forasmuch as the Protector gave the Boar for his Cognisance, this Dream made so fearful an impression in his heart, that he was throughly resolved to stay no longer; and had made his Horse ready, requiring the Lord *Hastings* to go with him, and that presently, to be out of danger, before it should be day. But the Lord *Hastings* answered the Messenger: Good Lord! leaneth your Master so much to such trifles, to put such faith in Dreams, which either his own fear fantasieth, or else do rise in the nights rest, by reason of the days thoughts? Go back therefore to thy Master, and commend me to him, and pray him to be merry, and have no fear; for I assure him, I am as sure of the Man he wotteth of, as of my own hand. The man he meant, was one *Catesby*, well learned in the Laws of the Land; who by his favour was grown into good authority in *Leicestershire*, where the Lord *Hastings*'s Estate lay. Of this man he made himself so sure, that he thought nothing could be plotted against him, which he would not presently reveal unto him. But this man deceived him, and was grown so inward with the Protector, that being set by the Protector to draw him to be a party in his designs, and finding he could not do it, was himself the first mover to rid him out of the way. Another warning the Lord *Hastings* had, the same morning in which he was beheaded, his Horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to falling: which though it often happen to such to whom no mischance is toward, yet hath it of old been observed as a token foregoing some great misfortune. Also at the *Tower-Wharf*, near to the place where his head soon after was strucken off, he met with one *Hastings* a Pursuivant of his own name; to whom he said, Ah *Hastings*, dost thou remember I met thee here once with a heavy heart? Yea, my Lord, saith he, I remember it well; and God be thanked that time is past. In faith man, said the Lord *Hastings*, I never stood in so great dread of life, as I did when thou and I met thee here: and lo, how the world is changed! Now stand my Enemies in the danger, as thou mayst hap to hear hereafter (for the Enemies he meant, were the Lord *Rivers*, and other of the Queens Kindred, who that very day were beheaded at *Pomfret*:) and I never so merry, nor in so good surety as now I am. That we may know, there is not a greater *Omen* or sign of ill Fortune, than to presume of good. And indeed, such is the uncertainty of our estate in this life, that we seldom know when we are in a tempest at Sea, nor when we are in a calm on shore; thinking our selves oftentimes most safe, when we are most in danger, and oftentimes to be in danger, when we are most safe: He only is in the true Haven that can say, as Christ teacheth us, *Thy Will be done in earth as it is in Heaven.*

The Lord *Hastings* is beheaded.

His neglect of presages and Warnings.

But this Lord being thus put to death, the Lord Protector, to colour the matter immediately after dinner, in all haste, sent for many substantial Citizens; at whose coming, himself with the Duke of *Buckingham*, stood harnessed in old rusty Brigandines, to make a shew they were forced by the sudden danger to take such as they could first come by: and withal, a Herauld of Arms is sent with a Proclamation in the King's name, signifying that the Lord *Hastings* with some others had conspired the same day to have slain the Lord Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, as they sate in Council; and after to have taken upon them to rule the King and Kingdom at their own pleasures. Now was this Proclamation made within two hours after the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded; and was so curiously indicted, and so fair written in Parchment, and withal so long, that every Child might perceive it was prepared before; which made

How the Lord Protector colours the Death of the Lord *Hastings*.

made one that was Schoolmaster of *Pauls* ſtanding by when the Proclamation was read, to ſay, *Here is a gay goodly taſt; foul caſt away for haſte:* To whom a Merchant anſwered, *It was written by Prophecy.* And now by and by, as it were in revenge of his offence, the Protector ſent the Sheriffs of *London* into the houſe of *Shore*'s Wife, and ſpoiled her of all her Goods, above the value of three thouſand Marks; and then conveying her through *London* to the *Tower*, there left her priſoner; where he laid to her charge, that ſhe went about to bewitch him, and was of Council with the Lord *Haſtings* to deſtroy him. In concluſion, ſhe was laid into *Ludgate*, and by the Biſhop of *London* put to open Penance for Incontinency, going before the Croſs in Proceſſion upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand: In which, although ſhe were out of all array, ſave her Kirtle only; yet went ſhe ſo fair and lovely, and withal ſo womanly and demurely, that many who hated her courſe of Life, yet pitied her courſe uſage, and were not a little grieved to ſee her miſery. And indeed, this may be ſaid in her behalf, that being in extraordinary favour with King *Edward*, yet ſhe never uſed it to the hurt of any, but to the relief of many: and was ever a Mediator, an Oppreſſor never.

Shore's Wife how puniſhed.

Now it was contrived by the Protector, that the very day in which the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded at *London*, and about the very ſame hour, there were beheaded at *Pomfret* the Lord *Rivers*, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at *Northampton*, and *Stony-Stratford*, which was done in the preſence, and by the Order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, Knight, whoſe ſervice the Protector ſpecially uſed in that buſineſs; who bringing them to the Scaffold, and not ſuffering them to declare their innocency, leſt their words might have inclined men to hate the Protector, cauſed them haſtily, without Judgment or Order of Proceſs, to be beheaded.

When theſe were thus rid out of the way, then thought the Protector, that now was the time to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the Crown: but all the ſtudy was, by what means this matter being ſo hainous in it ſelf, might be broken to the people, in ſuch wiſe as that it might be well taken: for which purpoſe, it was thought fit to call to this Council *Edmund Shaw*, Knight, the then Mayor of *London*: who upon promiſe of advancement, ſhould frame the peoples Inclination to it. And becauſe ſpiritual Men are beſt hearkened to, for matters of Conſcience, ſome of them were uſed alſo, among whom, choice was made of *John Shaw*, Clerk, Brother to the Mayor; Fryer *Penker*, Provincial of the Order of the *Auguſtine* Fryers; both great Preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning. Theſe two were appointed to preach, the one at *Paul*'s Croſs, the other at the *Spittle*, in praiſe of the Protector: *Penker* in his Sermon ſo loſt his voice, that he was fain to leave off and came down in the midſt: *Shaw* by his Sermon loſt his reputation, and ſoon after his life; for he never after durſt come abroad for very ſhame of the world.

Shaw Mayor of *London* is made an Inſtrument for bringing the Duke of *Glocester* to the Crown.

But now was all the labour and ſtudy to find out ſome convenient pretext, for which the people ſhould be content to have the Prince depoſed, and the Protector be received for King; to which purpoſe many things were deviſed: the chief was, to alledge Baſtardy either in King *Edward* himſelf, or in his Children, or in both. To lay Baſtardy to King *Edward*, ſounded openly to the reproach of the Protector's own Mother, who was Mother to them both; he would therefore that point ſhould more favourably be handled: but the other point concerning the Baſtardy of his Children, he would have enforced to the uttermoſt. The ground whereof was, that King *Edward* had been formerly contracted to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy* by whom he had a Child; though the ſaid Lady, having been examined about it, confeſſed plainly, they were never aſſured. Yet upon this pretext, Doctor *Shaw* taking for his Text, *Baſtard plants ſhall take no deep root*; in his Sermon delared, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was before God, Husband to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, and ſo his Children Baſtards. And beſides that, neither King *Edward* himſelf, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were reckoned very ſure for the Children of the noble Duke *Richard*, as thoſe that by their favours more reſembled other known men; but the Lord Protector (ſaith he) is the Father's own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his Viſage, the plain expreſs likeneſs of that noble Duke. Now, it was before deviſed, that juſt at the ſpeaking of theſe words the Protector ſhould have come, to the end that theſe words meeting with his preſence, might be taken among the bearers, as though the Holy Ghoſt had put them in the Preacher's mouth, and ſo ſhould move the people even then to cry, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, that it might be after ſaid, he was ſpecially choſen by God, and in a manner by Miracle: But this device failed, for whether by the Protector's ſlackneſs in coming, or the Doctor's haſte in preaching, he had paſſed theſe words, and was gone clean to another matter before the Protector came; ſo as afterward ſeeing him come, he was fain to leave the matter he had in hand, and out of all Order and Frame begin to repeat thoſe words again: This is the very noble Prince, the Father's own figure, his own Countenance, the very print of his Viſage, the plain expreſs likeneſs of that noble Duke. While theſe words were in ſpeaking, the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, preſſed through the people into the place where the Doctors ſit; and there ſate to hear the Sermon. But the People were ſo far from crying King *Richard*, that they cryed ſhame on the Preacher for abuſing his ſacred Function with ſo ſhameful a Sermon.

Cauſes deviſed to make the two Princes illegitimate.

The Tueſday following this Sermon, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with divers Lords and Knights, came to the *Guildhall* in *London*; and there before the Mayor and whole aſſembly of Citizens, made a very ſolemn and long Oration, wherein he recited many grievances of the late King *Edward*'s Government; his many unneceſſary Taxations and unjuſt Severities; thereby to bring his Children into hatred; and then remembred them of the late Sermon made at *Paul*'s Croſs, by a learned Doctor; who clearly

The Duke of *Buckingham* at *Guildhall* propoundeth the Duke of *Glocester* for the rightful Heir to the Crown.

clearly shewed the bastardy of King *Edward*'s Children; and that *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester* was the only rightful and indubitate Heir to the Crown of *England*: which the Lords of the Kingdom having taken into their Consideration, had thereupon agreed to accept him for their King; and now himself was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their consents. Which Oration ended, all men stood wondering at the motion, but no man offered to speak a word. At which the Duke marveling, as supposing the Mayor had prepared them before, he asked the Mayor privately, what this silence meant? who answered, that perhaps they had not heard or understood what it was he said. Whereupon the Duke with a more audible voice repeated the same matter again, in a more earnest and plain expression; yet neither did that move them to shew any inclination to the motion. Then the Duke whispering with the Mayor, it was thought that the Citizens being used to have such motions made them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him, and thereupon the Recorder is commanded to move them in it: but the Recorder (called *Fitzwilliams*) being an honest man, and newly come to his place, repeated only as near as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; so as neither did this move the People to break their silence. At last the Duke seeing their resolved sullenness, told them plainly, that all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were agreed to chuse the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir; so as he needed not to have moved them to it, but only for the great respect they all bear to this honourable City, and therefore required them plainly to speak their minds, whether they would joyn with them in this choice or no. At this, certain servants of the Dukes, and others of their procuring, standing at the lower end of the Hall, cast up their Caps, and cried aloud King *Richard*, King *Richard*; whereat, though the whole multitude of Citizens marvelled what they meant; yet the Duke taking advantage of it, as of an unanimous consent; A goodly cry (saith he) and thanked them all for their universal approbation, promising he would acquaint the Protector with the great love they shewed toward him; and then requiring the Mayor and chief Citizens to meet him the next morning at *Baynard*'s Castle, where the Protector then lay, there to joyn with him in petitioning the Protector to accept of this their freely proffered subjection, he took his leave and so departed.

The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Mayor of *London*, make suit unto the Protector to take the Crown upon him.

The next morning according to appointment they all meet at *Baynards* Castle; where the Duke of *Buckingham* sends up word to the Lord Protector, that himself with the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, were come to present a supplication to him concerning a business of great importance: but the Protector (though pre-acquainted with all passages, yet) made it strange what their supplication should be; and answered, that though he suspected nothing which the Duke of *Buckingham* presented to him, yet he desired at least some slight intimation to what it might tend. To this it was answered, that the business they came about was to be made known to himself in person; and therefore humbly besought him of Admission in his presence. Upon this, as if not yet well assured of their meaning towards him; he appears unto them in an upper Gallery, making semblance as though he would prevent all danger, by standing something aloof and in his Fort: To whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, in behalf of the Mayor and Nobility there present, in most respective and reverent manner, makes request that his Grace would pardon what he should deliver to him: and much circumstance he used, before he would discover their cause of coming: but though long first, yet at last he told it: That in respect of the urgent necessities of the Commonwealth, they all humbly intreated him, to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom, as in his own right; to whom they all rendered their Allegiance. At which words the Protector starting back, as if he had heard something most unpleasing to him, passionately answered: I little thought, good Cousin, that you of all men would have moved me to a matter which of all things in the World I most decline: Far be it from me to accept of that, which without injury or wrong to my dear deceased Brother's sweet Children, and my own upright Conscience, I cannot well approve of. And then being about to proceed in his premeditated dissimulation, the Duke in a seeming abrupt passion, kneeling upon his knee, said, Your Grace was pleased to give me free liberty to deliver unto you in the name of this worthy Assembly the tender of their dutiful Obedience to you: but I must further add, that it is unanimously resolved on, That your late Brother King *Edward*'s Children, as being generally known to be illegitimate, shall never be admitted to the Crown of *England*; and therefore if your Grace shall neither regard your self nor us so much, as to accept it, we are directly determined to confer it upon some other of the House of *Lancaster*, that will be more sensible of his own and our good. These words wrought so powerfully upon the Protector's passions, that with some change of countenance, and not without seeming reluctation, he said: Since I perceive the whole Realm is so resolved, by no means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to reign over you; and seeing the Right of succession belongs justly to me, as the indubitate Heir of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, my illustrious Father: We are contented to condescend to your importunities, and to accept of the Royal Government of the Kingdom; and will, to the uttermost of my power, endeavour to procure and maintain the welfare thereof. And having so said, he came down from his Gallery, and very formally saluted them all: which so pleased the giddy multitude, that presently they fell to acclamations, Long live King *Richard* our dread Sovereign Lord, and then every man departed.

The Protector started at their motion.

But yet accepts it.

The REIGN of KING RICHARD The THIRD.

1483. IT was now the eighteenth day of *June* in the year 1483, when *RICHARD* Duke of *Gloceſter* took upon him the Crown: ſo as the imaginary Reign of *Edward* the Fifth, continued but juſt ten weeks. The next day King *RICHARD* with a great Train went to *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and placed himſelf in the Court of the King's Bench, ſaying, he would take the Crown upon him in that place where the King himſelf ſitteth and miniſtreth the Law, becauſe he conſidered that it is the chiefeſt duty of a King to adminiſter the Laws. And here, to get the love of the people by a feigned clemency, he ſent for one *Fooge* out of Sanctuary, who for fear of his diſpleaſure was fled thither; and there in the ſight of all the people, cauſed him to kiſs his hand.

King *Richard* marries the Relict of Prince *Edward* Son to *Henry* the ſixth.

After his Return home he took to Wife the Lady *Ann*, youngeſt Daughter of the great *Warwick*, and the Relict of Prince *Edward*, Son of *Henry* the Sixth, though ſhe could not be ignorant, that he had been the Author both of her Husband's and Father's death. But womens affections are Eccentrick to common apprehenſion; whereof the two Poles are Paſſion and Inconſtancy.

Againſt his Coronation he had ſent for five thouſand men out of the North; and theſe being come under the leading of *Robin Riddeſdale*, upon the fourth of *July*: together with his new Bride, he went from *Baynard's* Caſtle to the *Tower* by water, where he created *Edward* his Son, a Child of ten years old, Prince of *Wales*; *John* Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, his Son Sir *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*; *William* Lord *Berkley* Earl of *Nottingham*; *Francis* Lord *Lovel* Viſcount *Lovel* and his Chamberlain; and the Lord *Stanley* (who had been committed priſoner to the *Tower*, in regard his Son the Lord *Strange* was reported to have levied Forces in *Lancaſhire*) not only that day was releaſed out of Priſon, but was made Lord Steward of his Houſhold. The Archbiſhop of *York* was likewiſe then delivered; but *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely* (as one that could not be drawn to the diſinheriting of King *Edward*'s Children) was committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who ſent him to his Caſtle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*, there to be in cuſtody. The ſame night were made ſeventeen Knights of the *Bath*, *Edmund* the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Son, *George Gray* the Earl of *Kent*'s Son, *William* the Lord *Zouches* Son, *Henry Aburgaveny*, *Chriſtopher Willoughby*, *Henry Babington*, *Thomas Arundel*, *Thomas Boleign*, *Gervis Cliffton*, *William Say*, *Edmund Bedingfield*, *William Enderby*, *Thomas Lewknor*, *Thomas* of *Urmond*, *John Brown*, and *William Berkley*. The next Day, being the fifth of *July*, the King rode through the City of *London* to *Weſtminſter*, being accompanied with the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Buckingham*, and *Suffolk*; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Wiltſhire*; *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, and *Lincoln*, the Viſcounts *Liſle and Lovel*, the Lords *Stanley*, *Audley*, *Dacres*, *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Powis*, *Scroop* of *Upſale*, *Scroop* of *Bolton*, *Gray* of *Codnor*, *Gray* of *Wilton*, *Sturton*, *Cobham*, *Morley*, *Burgaveny*, *Zouch*, *Perrers* of *Croby*, *Wells*, *Lumley*, *Matrevers*, *Herbert* and *Beckham*, and fourſcore Knights. On the morrow, being the ſixth of *July*, the King, with Queen *Ann* his Wife, came down out of the White Hall, into the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, and went directly to the King's Bench; and from thence, going upon Ray-cloth, bare-footed, went to St. *Edward*'s Shrine, all his Nobility going with him, every Lord in his degree. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* bore the Croſs before the Cardinal: Then followed the Earl of *Huntington*, bearing a pair of gilt Spurs, ſignifying Knighthood: Then followed the Earl of *Bedford*, bearing St. *Edward's* Staff for a Relique: After him came the Earl of *Northumberland* bare-headed, with the pointleſs Sword in his hand, ſignifying Mercy: The Lord *Stanley* bare the Mace of Conſtableſhip: The Earl of *Kent* bore the ſecond Sword, on the right hand of the King, naked with a point which ſignified Juſtice to the Temporality: The Lord *Lovel* bore the third Sword on the King's left hand, with a Point, which ſignified Juſtice to the Clergy: The Duke of *Suffolk* followed with the Scepter in his hand, which ſignified Peace: The Earl of *Lincoln* bore the Ball and Croſs, which ſignified Monarchy: The Earl of *Surrey* bore the fourth Sword before the King in a rich Scabbard, which is called the Sword of Eſtate: Then went three together; in the midſt went *Garter* King of Arms, in his rich Coat; and on his right hand went the Mayor of *London*, bearing a Mace; and on his left hand went the Gentleman-Uſher of the privy-Chamber: Then followed the Duke of *Norfolk*, bearing the King's Crown between his hands: Then followed King *Richard*

King *Richard* and his Queen in great ſtate are crowned, and the manner of it.

Lords created.

Morton Biſhop of *Ely* committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

chard in his Robes of Purple Velvet, and over his head a Canopy, born by four Barons of the Cinque-ports; and on each Side of the King went a Bishop; one one side the Bishop of *Bath*, on the other, of *Durham*: Then followed the Duke of *Buckingham*, bearing the King's Train, with a white Staff in his hand, signifying the Office of High Steward of *England*. Then followed the Queen's Train, before whom was born the Scepter, the Ivory Rod, with the Dove (signifying Innocency) and the Crown: her self apparelled in Robes like the King's, under a rich Canopy, at every Corner thereof a Bell of Gold. On her head she wore a Circlet, set full of precious Stones, the Countess of *Richmond* bearing her Train; the Dutchesses of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* in their Coronets, attending, with twenty Ladies of Estate most richly attired. In this Order they passed the Palace into the Abbey: and going up to the High Altar, there shifted their Robes; and having other Robes open in divers places from the middle upward, were both of them Anointed and Crowned: and then after the Sacrament received (having the Host divided betwixt them) they both offered to St. *Edward*'s Shrine, where the King left St. *Edward*'s Crown wherewith he had been Crowned, and put on his own: and this done, in the same Order and State as they came, they returned to *Westminster* Hall, and there held a most Princely Feast, at the second course whereof, there came into the Hall Sir *Robert Dymock* the King's Champion, making Proclamation, that whosoever would say that King *Richard* was not lawful King of *England*, he was there ready to prove it against him; and thereupon threw down his Gantlet: and then all the Hall cried, King *Richard*, King *Richard*. And thus with some other Ceremonies the Coronation ended, and the King and Queen returned to their Lodgings.

King *Richard* sends to make Amity with the King of *France*, but he rejects it.

Presently after this, King *Richard* sent a Solemn Ambassage to *Lewis* King of *France*, to conclude a League and Amity with him: but the *French* King so abhorred him, and his Cruelty, that he would not so much as see or hear his Ambassadors; but sent them away with shame, in disgrace of their Master.

At this time with his Queen, he made a Progress to *Gloucester*, under colour to visit the place of his old Honour; but indeed to be out of the way, having a special villany to be acted: for though he had satisfied his Ambition, by depriving his dear Nephews of their Livelihoods; yet it satisfied not his Fear, if he deprived them not also of their Lives. For effecting whereof, his old Friend the Duke of *Buckingham* was no fit Instrument; it must be one of a baser metal; and to find out such a one he needed not go far; for upon inquiry, he was told of two that lay in the next chamber to him, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *James Tyrrel*; two Brothers like *Jacob* and *Esau*, not more near in blood, than different in conditions; of equal goodliness of Personage both, but not of equal goodness of mind; Sir *Thomas* a man of an honest and sober disposition; but Sir *James* of a turbulent spirit, and one who gaping after preferment, would not stick to make a fortune out of any Villany. Being told of this man as he was sitting at the Close-stool, he presently rose and went to him; where being met, the match is soon made up between them; for he found Sir *James* more ready to undertake the work, than he was himself to set him about it. It only remained to procure him free passage to the place where the Work was to be done: for King *Richard* had formerly sent a trusty Privado of his, named *John Green*, to Sir *Robert Brackenbury* then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, thinking that he, having been raised by him, would not have refused to do the deed himself; but when he heard how averse he was from it, Good Lord (saith he) whom may a man trust? Once he saw plainly, that, whilst he was Lieutenant, there was no possibility to affect it. To remove therefore this rub, he sends his Letters Mandatory to *Brackenbury*, to deliver presently the Keys of the *Tower* to Sir *James Tyrrel*, who being now Lieutenant for the time, and having the two innocent Princes under his custody, gets two other, as very villains as himself, the one *Miles Forrest*, the other *James Dighton*, his Horsekeeper, a big sturdy Knave; and these he makes his under-agents: who coming into the Childrens Chamber in the night (for they were suffered to have none about them, but one Black *Will*, or *William Slaughter*, a bloody Rascal) they suddenly lapped them up in their cloathes, and keeping down by Force the Feather-bed and Pillows hard under their mouths, so stifled them, that their breath failing, they gave up their innocent souls to God; whom when the Murtherers perceived, first by their strugling with the pains of death, and then by their long lying still, to be throughly dead; they laid their bodies out upon the bed, and then fetched Sir *James* to see them; who presently caused their bodies to be buried under the stairs, under a heap of stones: from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Christian-burial, by a Priest of Sir *Robert Brackenburies*, who dying within a few days after, and none knowing the place but himself, was cause that it hath not been known to this day; and gave occasion afterward to the Imposture of *Perkin Warbeck* in King *Henry* the Seventh's Reign. Some report that King *Richard* caused their bodies to be taken up and closed them in Lead, and then to be put in a Coffin full of Holes, hooked at the ends with Iron, and so cast into a place called the Black Deeps, at the *Thames* mouth, to be sure they should never rise up, nor be seen again. And now see the Divine Revenge upon the Actors of this execrable Murther: *Miles Forrest*, at St. *Martins le Grand*, piece-meal rotted away: *Dighton* lived at *Callice* a long time after, but detested of all men, died in great misery: Sir *James Tyrrel* was beheaded afterward on the *Tower-hill* for Treason; and King *Richard* himself, after this abominable fact done, never had a quiet mind, troubled with fearful Dreams; and would sometimes in the night start out of his Bed, and run about the Chamber in great fright, as if all the Furies of Hell were hanging about him; that it was verified in him, *Ultrix Tisiphone vocat agmina sæva sororum.*

King *Richard* sets Sir *James Tyrrel* to murther the two Princes.

The Princes are murthered.

But where buried not known.

The murtherers miserable ends.

Confederacies in evil are seldom long-lived

King *Richard* and Duke of *Buckingham* fall at variance.

and commonly end in a reciprocal deſtruction and ſo was it now with King *Richard* and the Duke of *Buckingham*; They had confederated together to the deſtruction of many; and now their Confederacy diſſolves in both their ruines. But what the cauſe was of their diſſolving, is not ſo certain: whether it were that the Duke thought not himſelf ſo well rewarded as his great Services had deſerved; or whether it were, that King *Richard* thought not himſelf abſolute King as long as the Duke, by whoſe means he came to be King, was in ſuch a height and greatneſs; or whether it were (as was rather thought) that the Duke being a man ambitious, and of an aſpiring ſpirit; though, he had himſelf been the means to bring King *Richard* to the Crown; yet when the Crown was put upon his head, ſo envied at it, that he turned his head another way, as not enduring the ſight; and for the ſame cauſe, was willing not to have been preſent at the Coronation, pretending Sickneſs in excuſe of his abſence: but that King *Richard* ſent him a ſharp meſſage: requiring him to come, or he would fetch him; whereupon the Duke went, but with ſo ill a mind, that he bore it in mind ever after. Whatſoever it was, certain it is, that preſently after the Coronation there grew great jealouſies between them, and the Duke retired himſelf to his Caſtle at *Brecknock*, where he had the Biſhop of *Ely* in cuſtody. And here we may obſerve the unſearchable depth of the Divine Providence, the bottom whereof, the ſoundeſt judgment of man can never ſound, as working effects by contrary cauſes: for whereas King *Richard* had committed the Biſhop to the Duke, as to one that would have a moſt watchful eye over him, this which the King did for the Biſhop's greater puniſhment, proved a means afterward of the Biſhop's greater advancement, and a means at the preſent of King *Richard*'s ruin: for the Duke being retired home, and having his head ſo full of thoughts, that of Neceſſity it required vent; for his own recreation would ſometimes fall in talk with the Biſhop, with whoſe diſcourſe (as he was a man of great wit and ſolid judgment) the Duke was ſo taken, that he grew to delight in nothing more than to be conferring with him. One time it happened, that the Duke had opened his mind ſomething freely to him; and the Biſhop following him in his own way, and cunningly working upon that humour of the Duke which he found moſt working in the Duke; which he perceived to grow out of envy to King *Richard*; he ſaid to this purpoſe: My Lord, you know I followed firſt the part of King *Henry* the Sixth, and if I could have had my wiſh, his Son ſhould have had the Crown, and not King *Edward*: But after that God had ordained King *Edward* to Reign, I was never ſo mad, that I would with a dead man ſtrive againſt the quick. And ſo was I to King *Edward* alſo a faithful Chaplain, and glad would have been that his Child had ſucceeded him: Howbeit, if the ſecret Judgment of God have otherwiſe provided, I purpoſe not to labour to ſet up that which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord Protector, and now King—and even there he left, ſaying, he had already medled too much with the World; and would from that day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly to hear what he would have ſaid, becauſe he ended with the King, and there ſuddenly ſtopped; and thereupon entreated him to be bold to ſay whatſoever he thought; whereof he faithfully promiſed there ſhould never come hurt, and peradventure more good than he would think; and withal, that himſelf intended to uſe his ſecret counſel; which (he ſaid) was the only cauſe for the which he had procured of the King to have him in his cuſtody. The Biſhop humbly thanked him, and ſaid, In good faith my Lord, I love not to talk much of Princes, as a thing not at all out of peril, though the word be without fault; for ſo much as it ſhall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaſeth the Prince to conſtrue it. And ever I think on *Æſop's* Tale, that when the Lion had proclaimed on pain of death, that no horned Beaſt ſhould abide in a certain Wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of Fleſh, fled away a great pace: the Fox that ſaw him run ſo faſt, asked him whither he made all that haſte? who anſwered, in faith I neither wot nor reck, ſo I were once hence, becauſe of the Proclamation made of horned Beaſts: Why fool (quoth the Fox) thou mayeſt abide well enough, the Lion meant it not by thee, for it is no horn that is in thy head: No marry (quoth he) that wot I well enough: but what if he call it a horn, where am I then? The Duke laughed at the Tale, and ſaid, My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lion nor the Boar ſhall pick any matter at any thing here ſpoken; for it ſhall never come near their ear. Then ſaid the Biſhop, in good faith, Sir, if it did, the thing I was about to ſay, taken as well as afore God I meant it could deſerve but thanks; and yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to leſs. Then longed the Duke much more, to hear what it was: whereupon the Biſhop ſaid, My Lord, as for the late Protector, ſith he is now King in poſſeſſion, I purpoſe not to diſpute his Title: but for the weal of the Realm, I could wiſh he had in him thoſe excellent Vertues which God hath planted in the Perſon of your Grace; and there left again. The Duke ſomewhat marveling at this ſudden pauſe, ſaid, My Lord, I cannot but note your ſudden ſtoppage in your ſpeech, ſo as your words come not to any direct ſentence, whereby I may have knowledge, either what your inward intent is now toward the King, or what your affection is toward me: I therefore intreat you to uſe no more ſuch obſcurity, but plainly to diſcloſe your mind unto me, who upon mine Honour will be as ſecret in the caſe as the deaf and dumb perſon is to the ſinger, or the tree to the Hunter. The Biſhop then upon confidence of the Duke's promiſe, ſaid, My Lord, I plainly perceive, the Kingdom being in the caſe as it is, under ſuch a King as now we have, muſt needs decay and be brought to confuſion; but one hope I have, that when I conſider and daily behold your noble Perſonage, your Juſtice, your ardent Love towards your Country, and in like manner the great Love of your Countrey towards you; I

The Duke of *Buckingham* plots with *Morton* Biſhop *Ely*, to put down King *Richard*, and to bring in the Earl of *Richmond*.

muſt

muſt needs think this Realm fortunate, that hath ſuch a Prince in ſtore, meet and apt to be a Governour; in whoſe perſon conſiſteth the very undoubted Image of true honour. And then taxing the preſent King with many cruelties and oppreſſions, he concluded, ſaying, And now my Lord, if ever you love God, your Lineage, or your native Country, you muſt your ſelf take upon you the Crown and Imperial Diadem of this Realm: but if your ſelf will refuſe to take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the Faith you own to God, and by the love you bear to your native Country, to deviſe ſome way how this Realm may by your Princely Policy be reduced to ſome convenient regiment, under ſome good Governour by you to be appointed: And if you could deviſe to ſet up again the Lineage of *Lancaſter*, or advance the eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* to ſome puiſſant Prince: not only the new Crowned King ſhould little enjoy the Glory of his Dignity, but all Civil War ſhould ceaſe, and Peace and Profit ſhould again flouriſh. When the Biſhop had ended his ſaying, the Duke ſighed, and ſpake not of a good while, which ſore abaſhed the Biſhop, and made him change colour, which the Duke perceiving, he ſaid, be not afraid my Lord, all promiſes ſhall be kept; ſo for that time they parted. The next day the Duke ſent for the Biſhop, and having rehearſed unto him the communication had between them the day before, he went on and ſaid: My Lord of *Ely*, ſince I perceive your true heart, and ſincere affection toward me, I will now diſcover unto you all that hath paſſed my own imaginations. After I had found the diſſimulation and falſeneſs of King *Richard*, and eſpecially after I was informed of the murther of the two young Princes, to which (God be my judge) I never condeſcended, I ſo much abhorred the ſight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court; but feigning a cauſe to depart, I took my leave of him, (he thinking nothing leſs, than that I was diſpleaſed) and ſo returned to *Brecknock* to you; but in that returning, whether it were by inſpiration, or elſe through ſome melancholick diſpoſition, I had divers imaginations, how to deprive this unnatural and bloody Butcher of his Royal Seat and Dignity. Firſt, I fantaſied, that if I liſt to take upon me the Crown, now was the time, when this Tyrant was abhorred and deteſted of all men; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me: In this imagination I reſted two days at *Tewkſbury*; in my journey from thence, I muſed and thought, that it was not beſt nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was ſure that all men, and eſpecially the Nobility would oppoſe me; but at laſt there ſprung up a branch in my head, which I ſurely thought would have brought forth fair flowers, but they turned indeed to dry weeds: for I ſuddenly remembred that the Lord *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, my Grandfather, was with King *Henry* the Sixth, in two or three degrees of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*: ſo that I thought certainly, my Mother being eldeſt Daughter to Duke *Edmund*, that I was next Heir to King *Henry* the Sixth, of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: This Title pleaſed well ſuch as I made of my Council, and much more it elevated my ambitious intent; but while I was in amaze, whether I were beſt ſuddenly to ſet this Title open amongſt the Common people, or elſe keep it ſecret a while, to ſee what chanced: As I rode between *Worceſter* and *Bridgnorth*, I met with the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, now Wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the Daughter and ſole Heir to *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, my Grandfather's elder Brother (which was as clean out of my mind, as if I had never ſeen her) ſo that ſhe, and her Son the Earl of *Richmond*, have both of them Titles before mine, and then I clearly ſaw how I was deceived: whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquiſh all ſuch fantaſtical imaginations concerning the obtaining the Crown my ſelf; and found there could be no better way to ſettle it in a true eſtabliſhment, than that the Earl of *Richmond*, very Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, ſhould take to Wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward*, the very Heir of the Houſe of *York*; ſo that the two Roſes may be united in one: and now (ſaith the Duke) I have told you my very mind. When the Duke had ſaid this, the Biſhop was not a little glad, for this was the Mark he had himſelf aimed at: and thereupon, after ſome complements of extolling his device, he ſaid: Since by your Graces incomparable wiſdom, this noble conjunction is now moved; it is in the next place neceſſary to conſider, what friends we ſhall firſt make privy of this intention. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with the Counteſs of *Richmond* the Earl's Mother; who knoweth where he is, either in Captivity, or at large in *Britain*. And thus was the foundation laid of a League, by theſe two great men, by which the death of the two young Princes was fully revenged; and it was not talkt of only, but preſently put in execution; for now is *Reynold Bray* employed by the Biſhop, to his Miſtreſs the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*; Doctor *Lewis*, the Dutcheſſes Phyſician, was employed by her to the Queen *Elizabeth*; *Hugh Conway*, and *Thomas Rame*, were employed to the Earl of *Richmond*, to acquaint them, but in moſt ſecret manner, with the intended plot, and to procure their promiſes to the propounded marriage, which was no hard matter to make them all willing to their own wiſhes. This done, Inſtruments are employed to draw in parties to the confederacy: *Bray* by his credit drew in Sir *Giles Dawbeny*, Sir *John Cheyney*, *Richard Guildford*, *Thomas Rame*, and others; *Urſewick* likewiſe drew in *Hugh Conway*, *Thomas Colepeper*, *Thomas Roper*, with ſome others; Doctor *Lewis* drew in *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother *Peter* Biſhop of *Exeter*. It is memorable, that *Thomas Conway* being ſent moſt part by Sea, and *Thomas Rame* moſt part by Land; yet came to the Earl of *Richmond* in *Britain*, within the ſpace of little more than an hour; upon whoſe information of the plot, the Earl acquaints the Duke of *Britain* with it, who, though by *Hutton* King *Richard*'s Ambaſſador, he had by many great offers been ſolicited to detain him in Priſon, ye he both readily promiſed, and really performed, both his advice and

and aid to the Earl's proceedings. In this mean time Bishop *Morton*, not without asking the Duke's leave, though without obtaining it, secretly in disguise, gets him into the Isle of *Ely*; and there having done the Earl good offices by procuring of Friends, he thence passeth into *Britain* to him; from whence he returned no more, till afterward the Earl being King, sent for him home, and made him Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Bishop *Morton* in disguise passeth over into *Britain* to the Earl of *Richmond*.

But though all these things were carried closely, and oath taken by all for secrecy, yet came it to King *Richard*'s knowledge: who notwithstanding dissembled it, sends for the Duke of *Buckingham* to come to him; and he putting off his coming with pretended excuses, is at last peremptorily sent for to come upon his Allegiance: when he returned this resolute answer: that he owed no Allegiance to such a perjur'd inhumane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood: and so from that time preparation for Arms is made on both sides. The Duke had gotten a good power of *Welshmen*, and the Marquess of *Dorset* having gotten out of Sanctuary, was labouring in *Yorkshire* to raise Forces; the like did the two *Courtneys* in *Devonshire* and *Cornwal*, and *Guilford* and *Rame* in *Kent*. King *Richard* setting forward with his Forces, the Duke of *Buckingham* doth the like, intending at *Glocester*, to have passed the *Severn* and so to have joyned with the two *Courtneys*; but such abundance of rain at that time fell, that the *Severn* was broken out, and impossible to be passed over; which the *Welshmen* seeing, and taking it for an ill sign, they secretly slipt away: so as the Duke left well-near alone, without either Page, or so much as a Footman, repaired to the House of one *Humfrey Bannister* near to *Shrewsbury*; who having been raised by him, and his Father before him; he thought himself safe under his roof: But *Bannister*, upon proclamation made by King *Richard*, that whosoever could apprehend the Duke, should have a thousand pound for his labour; like an ungrateful and perfidious wretch, discovered him to *John Morton*, High Sheriff of *Shropshire*, who took him in a pilled black Cloak, as he was walking in an Orchard behind the House; and carried him to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* then lay, and there without Arraignment, or Legal proceeding, he was in the Market-place beheaded. Whether *Bannister* received the Proclaimed reward from the hand of the King, is uncertain; but certain it is, that he received the reward of a Villain from the hand of Divine Justice, for himself was afterward hanged for man-slaughter, his eldest Daughter was defloured by one of his Carters, as some say, strucken with a foul Leprosie; his eldest Son in a desperate Lunacy murthered himself, and was found to have done so, by the Coroner's Inquest; and his younger Son in a small puddle was strangled and drowned.

The Duke of *Buckingham* sent for by King *Richard*, refuseth to come.

The Duke of *Buckingham* betakes himself to the house of one *Humfrey Bannister* his own Servant, who betrays him.

and is beheaded.

The Judgment of God upon *Bannister*.

Upon this disaster of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his complices shifted for themselves, some taking Sanctuary, some keeping themselves in unknown places, but many conveyed themselves into *Britain* to the Earl of *Richmond*; of whom the Marquess *Dorset*, *John* Lord *Wells*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, and his Brother Sir *John Bouchier*, Sir *Edward Woodvile* Brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Giles Daubeny*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and his two Bretheren, Sir *William Brackley*, Sir *William Brandon*, and his Brother *Thomas*, Sir *Richard Edgecome*, *Hollewel*, and *Poynings* Captains, were the Chief. Whilst these things are in doing, King *Richard* receives intelligence from *Hutton* his Ambassador Lieger in *Britain*; that the Duke not only refuseth to restrain the Earl of *Richmond*, but intendeth also to give him assistance: whereupon the King took present order for preparing his Navy to stop the Earl's landing in any Port of *England*. He apprehended also in divers parts of the Realm, certain Gentlemen of the Earl of *Richmond*'s confederation; but coming himself to the City of *Exeter*, and to the Castle there, and understanding that it was called *Rugemont*, he suddenly fell into a dump, as one astonied, said; Well, I see my days be not long: He spake this of a Prophecy told him, that when he came once to *Richmond*, he should not live long after: which fell out to be true, not in respect of this Castle, but in respect of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*.

Upon the twelfth day of *October*, in the year 1484, the Earl of *Richmond*, with forty Ships and five thousand waged *Britains*, took to Sea; but that evening, by tempest of Weather, his whole Fleet was dispersed; so as only the Ship wherein the Earl himself was, with one little Bark, was driven upon the Coast of *Cornwall*; where discovering upon the shore great store of Armed Souldiers to resist his landing, he hoised Sail, and returning toward *France*, arrived in *Normandy*; from whence sending Messengers to *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, he was by him not only kindly invited to come to his Court, but was aided also with good sums of money to bear his charges. After this, the Earl returning into *Britain*, received there the news of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s death, and the dispersing of the Confederates Forces; with which, though he was at first much troubled, yet was he as much comforted afterward, when he saw the Marquess *Dorset*, and those other Lords and Captains come unto him: soon after whose coming, upon *Christmas* day before the High Altar in the great Church of *Rheims*, the Earl of *Richmond* gave Oath, to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, as soon as she should be quietly settled in the Government of *England*: and thereupon all the Lords and Knights there present did him homage; and in the same place each to other Religiously vowed, taking the Sacrament upon it, never to cease prosecuting War against King *Richard*, till either his Deposition or Destruction.

1484.

The Earl of *Richmond* is aided by the King of *France*.

He takes Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Edward*'s eldest Daughter.

King *Richard* being informed of these things, makes diligent inquiry after all such as might be suspected to be favourers of *Richmond*'s association; of whom Sir *George Brown*, and Sir *Roger Clifford* with four other Gentlemen are apprehended and executed at *London*: Sir *Thomas Semleger*, who married *Ann* the Duke of *Exeter*'s Widow, this King's own Sister, and *Thomas Rame* Esquire, were executed at *Exeter*.

Thomas

Thomas Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and all ſuch as were with the Earl of *Richmond*, were at a Parliament then holden attainted of Treaſon, and all their Goods and Lands ſeized on to the King's uſe: Beſides theſe, a poor Gentleman called *Collingborn*, for making a ſmall Rhyme of three of his wicked Councellors, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Cateſby*: which Rhyme was thus framed: *The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel the Dog, rule all* England *under a Hog*: was put to death, and his body divided into four quarters.

At this time a Truce is concluded betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, for three years; and for ſettling a firmer amity between the two Kingdoms, a marriage is treated of between the Duke of *Rothſay*, eldeſt Son to the King of *Scots*, and the Lady *Ann de la Pool*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Ann* Siſter to King *Richard*: which Siſter he ſo much favoured, that after the death of his own Son, who died ſome time before, he cauſed *John*, Earl of *Lincoln*, her Son and his Nephew, to be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*.

King *Richard* ſeeks by great gifts to have the Earl of *Richmond* delivered to him.

And now King *Richard*, to take away the root of his fear, once again ſent Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Britain*, with order (beſides the great gifts they carried with them) to make offer, that King *Richard* ſhould yearly pay and anſwer the Duke of all the Revennes and Profits of all Lands and Poſſeſſions, as well belonging to the Earl of *Richmond*, as of any other Nobleman or Gentleman that were in his company; if he after that time would keep them in continual priſon, and reſtrain them from liberty. But the Duke of *Britain* being at that time fallen into ſuch infirmity, that the Ambaſſadors could have no audience; they addreſſed themſelves to *Peter Landois* the Duke's chief Treaſurer: and he taken with this golden hook, faithfully promiſed to ſatisfie their Requeſts; and had done ſo indeed, but that Biſhop *Morton* ſojourning then in *Flanders*, having by his friends intelligence of his purpoſe, preſently informed the Earl thereof. The Earl was then at *Vannes*, who upon the Biſhop's Information, taking with him only five Servants, as though he went but to viſit ſome friend; when he was five miles forward on his way, ſuddenly turned into a Wood adjoining, and there changing Apparel with one of his Servants followed after as their attendant, and never reſted till by ways unknown, he came to his company, abiding at *Angiers*: yet was not his departure ſo ſecret nor ſo ſudden, but that *Peter Landois* had notice of it; who ſending Poſts after him, was ſo near overtaking him, that he was ſcarce entred one hour into *France*, when the Poſts arrived at the Confines, and then durſt go no further. In the mean time, Sir *Edward Woodvile* and Captain *Poinings*, who with their Companies were left behind in *Vannes*, had been in danger of *Peter Landois* his malice; but that the Duke being informed by the Chancellour of their caſe, not only protected them, but furniſhed them with all neceſſaries for their journey to the Earl: and was ſo incenſed againſt *Landois* for this action of his, that for this and ſome over-bold preſumptions he was afterward hanged.

Which plot the Earl eſcapes by *Morton*'s information, and in what manner.

Peter Landois hanged.

The Earl having paſſed this danger in *Britain*, and being arrived in *France*, addreſſeth himſelf to the *French* King, imploring his aid; and hath it promiſed and performed: and in this time *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who had long time been kept priſoner in the Caſtle of *Hammes*, ſo far prevailed with *James Blunt* Captain of the Fortreſs, and Sir *John Forteſcue*, Porter of the Town of *Callice*; that not only they ſuffered him to be at liberty, but accompanied him alſo to the Earl of *Richmond*, to whom Captain *Blunt* gave aſſurance that the Fortreſs remained wholly at his Devotion. At this time alſo there reſorted to the Earl, divers young Gentlemen that were Students in the Univerſity of *Paris*, proffering him their ſervice; amongſt whom was *Richard Fox*, at that time famous for his learning; with whom afterward the Earl adviſed in all his affairs, made him one of his moſt Privy Council, and at laſt Biſhop of *Winchester*.

Richard Fox made firſt known to the Earl of *Richmond*.

But now King *Richard* having been diſappointed of his deſign in *Britain*, hath another way in his head to diſappoint the Earl of *Richmond* of his Marriage with the Daughter of Queen *Elizabeth*: and to this end, he ſent to the Queen, (being ſtill in Sanctuary) divers meſſengers, who ſhould firſt excuſe and purge him of all things formerly attempted and done againſt her; and then ſhould largely promiſe promotions innumerable, not only to her ſelf, but alſo to her Son Lord *Thomas* Marqueſs *Dorſet*: by Force of which promiſes the meſſengers ſo prevailed with her, that not only ſhe began to relent, but at laſt was content to ſubmit her ſelf wholly to the King's pleaſure. And thereupon putting in oblivion the murther of her innocent Children, the butchering of her own Brother and Son, the infamy of her Royal Huſband, the aſperſion of Adultery caſt upon her ſelf, the imputation of Baſtardy laid to her Daughters, forgetting alſo her Oath made to the Earl of *Richmond*'s Mother: ſeduced by flattering words: ſhe firſt delivered into King *Richard*'s hands her five Daughters, and after ſent Letters to the Marqueſs her Son, being then at *Paris* with the Earl of *Richmond*; willing him by any means to leave the Earl, and with all ſpeed to repair into *England*; where for him were provided great Honours and Promotions: Aſſuring him further, that all offences on both parts were forgotten and forgiven; and both he and ſhe incorporated in the King's favour. If we conſider at this credulity in the Queen, we may conceive ſhe was moved with the two great motives of Fear and Hope; ſhe feared (no doubt) that if ſhe denyed the King's requeſt, he would preſently take ſome ſharp courſe both againſt her and her Daughters; and ſhe hoped that if ſhe yielded to his requeſt, he would undoubtedly perform his promiſe, ſeeing it was as eaſie for him to keep it as break it.

King *Richard* ſeeks to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Edward*'s Daughter.

The Queen is brought to give her conſent.

But now King *Richard*'s purpoſe being to marry one of his Brother King *Edward*'s Daughters; there was one impediment which directly hindred it, that he had a Wife living: and how to be rid of her, that he might not bring new aſperſions upon himſelf, he could not well tell: yet this he reſolved, that be rid of her

1485.

King *Richard* rids himſelf of his preſent Wife, and by what devices.

her he would by some way or other: but before he would use extremity, he would first try milder ways, and first he abstained both from her bed and company, and complained to divers of her barrenness; which coming to her ear, he hoped might cause her to dye with grief: and when this device failed, he then caused a rumour to be spread among the people, that she was suddenly dead, hoping the very conceit thereof would kill her: When this device also failed, (for the Queen hearing of it, and mistrusting the worst) with a most sorrowful countenance came unto him, demanding what she had done, that he should judge her worthy to die? who answered with fair words, bidding her be of good cheer, for (to his knowledge she should have no other cause) he then made sure work, for within few days after, whether by poison, or by what other means, it is not certainly known, she departed this life; and with all solemnity, not without some formal tears of King *Richard*, was interred in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Westminster*.

He makes love to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

King *Richard* now by his Wives death, having made himself way to marry another, useth all the alluring means he can devise, to win the love of the Lady *Elizabeth* his Neece; but meaning at last to purchase his desire by Rape, if he could not otherwise; and had perhaps done it, but that the storms threatned from beyond the Seas, growing every day more strong than other, forced him to prorogue the execution of his desires, and look to the prevention of his present danger. The Lord *Stanley* is commanded presently to levy Forces for the King's aid, as he will justifie his integrity to him; but yet is not permitted to go down into the Country, untill he had left *George* Lord *Strange* his eldest Son, as a pledge of his Loyalty behind him. And now King *Richard* being informed (though the information was craftily suborned by his Enemies) that the Earl of *Richmond* was out of hope of any great assistance from *France*, discharged the Ships which he had appointed to guard the Seas, and likewise all the Souldiers; only order is given for diligent watching of the Beacons.

At this time, one *Morgan Kidwely*, a Student at the Inns of Court, with great hazard of his life, passed over to the Earl; informing him, that King *Richard* by all means laboured to match himself with the Lady *Elizabeth*; which so wrought with the Earl, that he saw there was no lingring: and the more, being by him further informed, that *Rice ap Thomas* and *John Savage*, two powerful men in their Countreys, were ready with great Forces to assist him. Whereupon, not having above two thousand Mercenaries, and but indifferent Shipping to convey him over, about the middle of *August* he put to Sea, and by the advice of the said *Kidwely*, steered his course for *Wales*, and on the seventeenth day after his Departure from *Harfleur*, arrived at *Milford*-Haven; and there landing his Forces without trouble or impeachment, from thence marched peaceably to *Hereford*, where by the Inhabitants he was joyfully received. Here he received news by Captain *Arnold Butler*, that the Earl of *Pembroke* with all his retinue was upon the way to joyn with him; also thither came to him *Richard Griffith*, and *John Morgan*, with a band of brave *Welshmen*, and the same day Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with all the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Tenants, (being about two thousand well appointed men) came unto him: with these he marched toward *Shrewsbury*, at which time word is brought him, that Sir *Robert Herbert* and *Rice ap Thomas*, were ready with a great power to stop his passage, which somewhat troubled him, that his friends so suddenly should revolt; but it was a trick of *Rice ap Thomas*, to make his bargain the surer: for soon after, *Rice ap Thomas* meets him, and offers him his service, so as the Earl will pledge his faith to perform his promise formerly made; which was, that having once obtained the Crown, he would make *Rice* sole Governour of *Wales*; which was now assented to, and afterward performed. At this time the Lord *Stanley* with five thousand men had taken up his lodging at the Town of *Leicester*; but hearing of the Earl's march that way, he left *Leicester*, and went to *Adderton*, not daring to shew himself openly for the Earl, for fear the King should put his Son the Lord *Strange* to death, whom he had left an Hostage with him.

Which makes him hasten his coming over. To whom many Lords and others come.

All this time King *Richard* lay at *Nottingham*, and was as it were fatally taken with a spirit of security, hearing that the Earl had but small assistance either from *France* or in *England*, and therefore slighting him as little able to do any greater matter: but when he heard that part of his own Forces was revolted to him, then he began to look about him, and sends present direction to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*, with Sir *Thomas Brackenbury* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with all speed to bring their Forces to him at *Leicester*; from whence upon their arrival, hearing that the Earl was encamped at *Lichfield*, he marched thitherward; at which time, Sir *Walter Hungerford* and some others, withdrew themselves from King *Richard*'s part; and Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Stanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, with their several Forces, joined with the Earl.

Near to *Bosworth* their Armies meet: and how King *Richard*'s Army was marshalled.

King *Richard* took the advantage of a large Plain near *Bosworth*, adjoining to a Hill called *Ann Beam*; where he encamped: And observing by his Adversaries manner of approach, that they meant to give him Battel, he the next morning put his Forces in order: The Vaunt-guard was led by the Duke of *Norfolk*, which consisted of one thousand two hundred Bowmen, flanked with two hundred Cuyrassiers, under the conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*: The Battel, King *Richard* led himself, which consisted of a thousand Bill-men, empaled with two thousand Pikes: The Rereward was led by Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, consisting of two thousand mingled Weapons, with two wings of Horsemen, containing fifteen hundred, all of them cast into square maniples; expecting the Lord *Stanley*'s coming with two thousand, most of them Horsemen: but the Lord *Stanley* carried himself so warily, that he might neither give cause of suspicion to the King, nor yet cause of disadvantage to the Earl: that when early in the morning the Earl sent unto him, desiring his

his preſent repair; he anſwered, that he muſt look for no aid from him, till the Battels ſhould be joyned; and therefore adviſed him, with all poſſible ſpeed to give the onſet. This anſwer ſomewhat ſtaggered the Earl, becauſe his number did but little exceed one half of the King's: Yet to make the beſt ſhew he could, by the advice of his Council of War, he made his Vanguard open and thin; of which *John* Earl of *Oxford* had the leading: The Earl himſelf led the Battel, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* commanding the right-wing, and Sir *John Savage* the left: whoſe Souldiers being all alike clad in white Coats and Hoods of Frize, by the reflection of the Sun upon them, made them appear in the view of their Enemies, double the number. The Rereward was governed by the Earl of *Pembroke*, which conſiſted moſt of Horſe and ſome Pikes, and black Bills. King *Richard*, to encourage his Souldiers, made a ſolemn ſpeech to them: But alas what hope could he have to put them in heart, whoſe hearts he had loſt? or to raiſe alacrity in others, who had none in himſelf? For now the remembrance of his fore-paſſed villanies, and ſpecially, a fearful Dream he had the night before, (wherein it ſeemed to him, he ſaw divers Images like Devils, which pulled and haled him, not ſuffering him to take any reſt or quiet) ſo damped his Spirits, that although he ſet a good face upon the matter, yet he could not chooſe but have a preſaging fear, that the date of his days was not far from expiring. The Earl of *Richmond* on the other ſide, having a clear conſcience in himſelf, and ſpeaking to men that followed him for love, had the eaſier means to give them encouragement: which he did with ſo chearful a countenance, as though already he had gotten the Victory. After their military exhortations ended, King *Richard* commanded to give the onſet. Between both Armies there was a great Marſh; which the Earl left on his right hand, that it might be a defence for his Soldiers on that ſide; and beſides, by ſo doing he had the Sun at his Back, and in the Faces of his Enemy. When King *Richard* ſaw the Earl's company was paſſed this Marſh, he commanded with all ſpeed to ſet upon them. Then were the Arrows let fly on both ſides, and thoſe ſpent, they came to hand-ſtrokes: at which encounter comes in the *Lord Stanley*, and joyns with the Earl. The Earl of *Oxford* in the mean time, fearing leſt his company ſhould be compaſſed in with the multitude of his Enemies, gave charge in every rank, that no man ſhould go above ten foot from the Standard: whereupon they knit themſelves together, and ceaſed a while from fighting: which the Enemy ſeeing, and miſtruſting ſome fraud, they alſo pauſed and left ſtriking. But then the Earl of *Oxford* having brought all his Band together, ſet on the Enemy afreſh; which the Enemy perceiving, they placed their men ſlender and thin before, but thick and broad behind; and reſolutely again began the fight. While theſe two Van-guards were thus contending, King *Richard* was informed that the Earl of *Richmond* with a ſmall number was not far off: whereupon he preſently makes towards him; and being of an invincible courage, whereof he was now to give the laſt proof, he made ſo furious an aſſault, that firſt with his own hands he ſlew Sir *William Brandon*, who bore the Earl's Standard; next he unhorſt and overthrew Sir *John Cheyney*, a ſtrong and ſtout man at Arms, and then aſſaulted the Earl of *Richmond* himſelf, who (though no man would have thought it, yet) for all the King's fury held him off at his Launces point, till Sir *William Stanley* came in with three thouſand freſh men: and then oppreſt with multitude, King *Richard* is there ſlain. It is ſaid, that when the Battel was at the point to be loſt, a ſwift Horſe was brought unto him; with which he might have ſaved himſelf by flight, but out of his undaunted courage he refuſed it, ſaying, he would that day make an end of all Battels, or elſe loſe his life. In this Battel *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who led King *Richard*'s Rereward, never ſtruck ſtroke; as likewiſe many other, who followed King *Richard* more for fear than love: and ſo King *Richard*, who had deceived many in his time, was at this time deceived by many; which was not unforeſeen by ſome, who cauſed a Rhyme to ſet upon the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Gate the night before the Battel, which was this:

King *Richard* encounters the Earl of *Richmond* hand to hand.

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dicken thy maſter is bought and ſold.

Yet notwithſtanding this warning, the noble Duke continued firm to King *Richard*; and more conſidering what he was towards him, than what towards others, followed him at the laſt, and in his quarrel loſt his life. This *John Howard* was the Son of Sir *Robert Howard* Knight, and *Margaret* eldeſt Daughter of *Thomas Mowbrey* Duke of *Norfolk*, in whoſe right he was created Duke of *Norfolk* by King *Richard* the Third, in the year 1483, having been made a Baron before by King *Edward* the Fourth. The whole number ſlain in this Battel on King *Richard*'s part was not above a thouſand perſons; whereof, of the Nobility, beſides the Duke of *Norfolk*, only *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Robert Brakenbury* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and not many Gentlemen more. Sir *William Catesby*, one of the chief Councellours of King *Richard*, with divers others, was two days after beheaded at *Leiceſter*. Amongſt thoſe that ran away, were *Francis* Viſcount *Lovel*, *Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his Brother, who took Sanctuary in Saint *Johns* at *Glocester*. Of Captives and Priſoners there were great numbers. *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who though on King *Richard*'s ſide, intermeddled not in the Battel, was incontinently taken into favour, and made of the Council: But *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, though he ſubmitted himſelf, yet, as having been ſpecially familiar with King *Richard*, was committed to the Tower; where he remained a long time: but at laſt was delivered and highly promoted. On the Earl of *Richmond*'s part were ſlain ſcarce an hundred perſons; (ſome ſay but ten) of whom the principal was Sir *William Brandon*, the Earl's Standard-bearer. This Battel was fought at *Rodmor*, near *Boſworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, the two and twentieth

John Howard Duke of *Norfolk* firm to King *Richard* to the laſt.

day of *August*, in the year 1485, having continued little above two hours. Presently after the Battel, the Earl Knighted in the field, Sir *Gilbert Talbut*, Sir *John Mortimer*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Robert Poynts*, Sir *Humfrey Stanley*, Sir *John Turbervile*, Sir *Hugh Perſhal*, Sir *R. Edgecomb*, Sir *John Pykenil*, and Sir *Edmund Carew*: and then kneeling down, he rendred to Almighty God his hearty Thanks for the Victory he had obtained; and commanded all the hurt and maimed perſons to be cured: whereat the people rejoycing, clapped their hands, and cried, King *Henry*, King *Henry*: which good-will and gladneſs of the people when the Lord *Stanley* ſaw, he took the Crown of King *Richard* which was found amongſt the Spoils in the field, and ſet it on the Earl's head, as though he had been elected King by the Voice of the people. It may not be forgotten that when King *Richard* was come to *Boſworth*, he ſent to the Lord *Stanley* to come preſently to his preſence; which if he refuſed to do, he ſwore by Chriſt's Paſſion, that he would ſtrike off his Son's head before he dined: whereto the Lord *Stanley* anſwered, That if he did ſo, he had more Sons alive, and he might do his Pleaſure; but to come to him, he was not then determined. Which anſwer when King *Richard* heard, he commanded the Lord *Strange* immediately to be beheaded; but being at the very time when both Armies were in ſight of each other; his Lords perſwaded him, it was now time to fight, and not to put to execution: and ſo the Lord *Strange* eſcaped.

The Lord *Stanley* takes the Crown from King *Richard's* head, and puts it on the Earl of *Richmond.*

Of his Taxations.

WE muſt not look for Taxations in kind in this King's Reign; for he drew from his Subjects not money ſo much as Blood; and the money he drew was moſt by Blood, which drew on Confiſcations: whereof let never any Prince make a Preſident: for where Taxations properly do but *Tondere*, theſe did *Deglubere*. Yet in his ſecond year, he called a Parliament, wherein, beſides the great Confiſcations of thoſe that were then attainted, he impoſed upon the people a great Tax, which what it was, is not recorded.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HAving gotten the Crown by peſtilent courſes, he ſought to eſtabliſh it by wholeſome Laws; for in no King's Reign were better Laws made, than in the Reign of this man. Amongſt others of his Laws, it was enacted, That from thenceforth the Commonalty of the Realm ſhould in no wiſe be charged by any impoſition called a Benevolence; nor any ſuch like charge; and that ſuch actions called a Benevolence, before this time taken, ſhould be taken for no example to make any ſuch like charge hereafter; but ſhall be damned and annulled for ever. Many other good Laws were by him made; that we may ſay he took the ways of being a good King, if he had come to be a King by ways that had been good.

No Benevolence to be required.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time the troubles of the Temporality kept the Clergy at quiet; and though there were complainings in the ſtreets, there was none in the Church. Onely *Shore's* Wife might complain, why ſhe ſhould do Penance for offending lightly againſt only the Seventh Commandment; and King *Richard* do none for offending heavily againſt all the ten, but that perhaps he had gotten ſome good fellow to be his Confeſſor.

Works of Piety done by him.

AS bad as this King was, yet ſome good works he did; he founded a College at *Middleham* beyond *York*; and a Collegiate Chauntry in *London*, near unto the Tower, called our *Lady of Barking*: He endowed the Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*, with five hundred Marks of yearly Revenue; and diſforeſted the great field of *Wichwood*, which King *Edward* his Brother had incloſed for Deer.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his ſecond year, at the time when the Duke of *Buckingham* meant to paſs with his Army over *Severn*, ſo great an Inundation was of water, that men were drowned in their beds, houſes were overturned, children were carried about the fields ſwimming in Cradles, Beaſts were drowned on Hills: which rage of water continued ten days; and is to this day in the Countreys thereabout, called the Great Water, or the Duke of *Buckingham's* Water.

A great Inundation called the Duke of *Buckingham's* water.

Of his Wife and Iſſue.

HE married *Ann* the ſecond Daughter of *Richard Nevil* the Great Earl of *Warwick*, being the Widow of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Son of King *Henry* the ſixth, ſhe lived his Wife to the laſt year of his Reign; and then, to make way for another, was brought to her end, and laid at reſt in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*: By her he had only one Son, born at *Middleham*, near *Richmond* in the County of *York*: at four years old, created Earl of *Salisbury* by his Uncle King *Edward* the Fourth; at ten years old created Prince of *Wales* by his Father King *Richard*, but died ſoon after.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

THere never was in any man a greater uniformity of Body and Mind, than was in him; both of them equally deformed. Of body he was but low, crook'd-back'd, hook-ſhouldered, ſplay-footed, and goggle-eyed, his face little and round, his complexion ſwarthy, his left arm from his Birth dry and withered: born a Monſter in nature, with all his teeth, with hair on his head, and nails on his fingers and toes. And juſt ſuch were the qualities of his mind: One quality he had in ordinary, which was, to look fawningly when he plotted, ſternly when he executed. Thoſe Vices, which in other men are Paſſions, in him were Habits: and his

and his Cruelty was not upon occasion, but natural. If at any time he shewed any Vertue, it was but pretence; the Truth of his mind was only lying and falshood. He was full of courage, and yet not valiant; valour consisting not only in doing, but as well in suffering, which he could not abide. He was politick, and yet not wise; policy looking but to the middle, Wisdom to the end: which he did, and did not. And it was not so much Ambition that made him desire the Crown, as Cruelty; that it might be in his Power to kill at his Pleasure. And to say the truth, he was scarce of the number of men who consist of flesh and blood, being nothing but blood. One Miracle we may say he did; which was, that he made the Truth of History to exceed the Fiction of Poetry, being a greater Harpy than those that were feigned. He would fain have been accounted a good King, but for his life he could not be a good Man; and it is an impossible thing to be one without the other. He left no Issue behind him: and it had been Pity he should, at least in his own Image; one such Monster was enough for many Ages.

Of his Death and Burial

King *Richard* basely used being dead.

BEing slain in the Battel at *Bosworth*, as before is related; his body was left naked and despoiled to the very Skin, not so much as a clout left about him to cover his privy parts: and taken up, was trussed behind a Pursuivant at Arms, one *Blanch Sanglier*, or *White-Boar*; his head and arms hanging on one side of the Horse, and his legs on the other; and all besprinkled with mire and dirt; he was brought to the *Gray-Friers* Church within the Town of *Leicester*, and there for some time lay a miserable spectacle; and afterward, with small Funeral Pomp, was there interred. But after this, King *Henry* the Seventh caused a Tomb to be made and set up over the place where he was buried, with a Picture of Alablaster, representing his Person, which at the suppression of that Monastry was utterly defaced: Since when, his Grave overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone Chest, wherein his Corps lay, is now made a Drinking-Trough for Horses at a common Inn in *Leicester*, and retaineth the only memory of this Monarch's greatness. But his Body (as is reported) was carried out of the City, and contemptuously bestowed under the end of *Bow-bridge*, which giveth passage over a branch of *Sowre*, upon the West side of the Town. Upon this Bridge (the like report runneth) stood a Stone of some height; against which King *Richard*, as he passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance struck his Spur: and against the same stone, as he was brought back, hanging by the horse-side, his head was dashed and broken: as a wise Woman (forsooth) had foretold; who before his going to Battel, being asked of his success, said, That were his Spur struck, his head should be broken. But these are but Reports. He had lived seven and thirty years, Reigned two, and two Months.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF men of Note for wickedness and villany, enough hath been mentioned in the body of the Story: and for men of Valour and Learning, they will fitter be placed in a better King's Reign.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Time.*

In his first year,
William Billesdon was Mayor.
Thomas Newalnd, *William Marvin*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Thomas Hill was Mayor.
Richard Chester; and he dying *Ralph Astry*, *Thomas Britain*, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING HENRY The SEVENTH.

1485. King *Henry's* first Title.

HENRY Earl of *Richmond*, born in *Pembroke* Castle, Son to *Edmund* Earl of *Richmond*, by his Wife *Margaret*, sole Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, which *John* was Son of *John* Earl of *Somerset*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, by his third Wife *Katharine Swinford*; and by this Descent Heir of the House of *Lancaster*; having won the Battel at *Bosworth*, against King *Richard*, is by publick acclamations saluted King of *England*, on the 22 day of *August*, in the year 1485. and this was his first Title. And now to take away a Root of danger, before his departure from *Leicester*, he sent Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Castle of *Sheriffehaton* in the County of *York*, for *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, being then of the Age of fifteen years, whom King *Richard* had there kept a Prisoner all his time; who was thence conveyed to *London*, and shut up in the *Tower* to be kept in safe custody. In the same Castle also King *Richard* had left residing the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth: and her now King *Henry* appoints honourably attended to be brought up to *London*, and to be delivered to the Queen her Mother. This done, he took his journey towards *London*; where at his approaching near the City, *Thomas Hill* the Mayor, *Thomas Britain* and *Richard Chester*, Sheriffs, with other principal Citizens, met him at *Shoreditch*, and in great state brought him to the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, where he offered three Standards: In the one was the Image of St. *George*; in the other was a red fiery Dragon, beaten upon white and green Sarcenet; in the third was painted a Dun Cow, upon yellow Tartern. After prayers said, he departed to the Bishop's Palace, and there sojourned a season: And in the time of his stay here, he advised with his Council, and appointed a day for solemnizing his Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*: before which time notwithstanding, he went by water to *Westminster*, and was there with great solemnity Anointed and Crowned King of *England*, by the whole consent as well of the Commons, as of the Nobility, by the Name of *Henry the Seventh*, on the thirtieth day of *October*, in the year 1485; and this was his second Title. And even this was revealed to *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britains*, seven hundred ninety and seven years past; That his Offspring should Reign and bear Dominion in this Realm again.

Edward Plantagenet Son and Heir of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, shut up in the *Tower*.

The Earl of *Richmond* is Crowned King.

On the seventeenth day of *November* following, he called his High Court of Parliament: wherein, at the first sitting, two scruples appeared; One concerning the Burgesses, for that many had been returned Burgesses and Knights of Shires, who by a Parliament in King *Richard's* time stood attainted still: and it was thought incongruous for men to make Laws, who were themselves outlawed: For remedy whereof an Act was presently passed for their restoring, and then they were admitted to sit in the House. The other concerning the King himself, who had been attainted by King *Richard*: but for this, it was resolved by all the Judges in the Chequer-Chamber, That the possession of the Crown takes away all defects; yet for Honours sake, all Records of his Attainder were taken off the File. And so these scruples thus removed, the Parliament began; wherein were attainted, first, *Richard* late Duke of *Gloucester*, calling himself *Richard* the Third: Then his Assistants at the Battel of *Bosworth*: *John* late Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, *Francis* Viscount *Lovel*, *Walter Devereux* late Lord *Ferrers*, *John* Lord *Zouch*, *Robert Harrington*, *Richard Charleton*, *Richard Ratcliff*, *William Catesby* of *Wely*, *Robert Middleton*, *James Harrington*, *Robert Brakenbury*, *Thomas Pilkington*, *Walter Hopton*, *William Catesby*, *Roger Wake*, *William Sapcote*, *Humfrey Stafford*, *William Clark* of *Wenlock*, *Geoffry St. Germain*, *Richard Watkins* Herauld at Arms, *Richard Sevel*, *Thomas Pulter*, *John Welles*, *John Kendal* late Secretary to the late King *Richard*, *John Buck*, *Andrew Rat*, *and William Brampton* of *Burford*. But notwithstanding this Attainder, divers of the persons aforesaid were afterwards not only by King *Henry* pardoned, but restored also to their Lands and Livings. As likewise he caused Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would submit themselves, and take Oath to be true Subjects, should have their Pardon. Whereupon many came out of Sanctuaries and other places; who submitting themselves, were received to mercy.

The possession of the Crown takes away all defects.

Lords and others attainted by Parliament.

And now King *Henry* considering that *Pena & Præmio Respublica continetur*; after punishing for Offences, he proceeds to rewarding for Services; and first, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle, he created Duke of *Bedford*: *Thomas* Lord

Dukes and Earls created.

Lord *Stanley*, he created Earl of *Derby*; the Lord *Chandos* of *Britain*, his special friend, he made Earl of *Bath*: Sir *Giles Daubeny* was made Lord *Daubeny*; Sir *Robert Willoughby* was made Lord *Broke*; and *Edward Stafford* eldest Son to the late Duke of *Buckingham*, he restored to his Dignity and Possessions. Besides, in this Parliament an Act was made, for setling the Crown upon the Person of King *Henry* and the Heirs of his Body successively for ever. And then with all speed he sent and redeemed the Marquess *Dorset*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, whom he had left Hostages in *France* for money: and called home *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox*, making *Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox* Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of *Exeter*. Besides these, he made also of his Privy Council, *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *John* Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain of his Houshold, Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Broke*, Lord Steward of his Houshold, Sir *Giles Daubeny*, Sir *John* Lord *Dynham*, after made Lord Treasurer of *England*; Sir *Reynold Bray*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Richard Tunstal*, Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Edmund Poynings*, Sir *John Risley*, with some others.

Morton is made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Fox* is made Lord Privy Seal.

1486. These things thus done, as well in performance of his Oath, as to make the Crown he the surer on his head, on the eighteenth day of *January* he proceeded to the solemnizing his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, which gave him a third Title: And indeed this conjunction made a wreath of three so inseparable, that no Age since hath ever quartered it, and it is fixt upon a Tree planted so happily by the waters side, and hath at this day so many flourishing branches, that there is good hope it will continue as long as the World continues.

King Henry marries the Lady *Elizabeth*.

The King's Guard first ordained.

And now whether King *Henry* doubted any sudden attempt upon his person, or whether he did it to follow the Example of *France*; in the very beginning of his Reign he ordained a band of tall comely men to be attending upon him, which was called the King's Guard; which no King before, and all Kings since have always used. But though he provided a Guard for defence of his own body, yet for the bodies of his people he could provide none; for at this time a Sickness (of the Symptome called the Sweating-sickness) seized so violently upon them, that within a short time many thousands perished, particularly in *London*, two Mayors successively, and six Aldermen within eight days died: and for this Sickness no Physick afforded any cure; till at last this remedy was found: If a man were taken with the sweat in the day-time, that then he should presently lie down in his cloaths, and so lie still the whole four and twenty hours; if he were taken in the night, then he should not rise out of his bed for the space of four and twenty hours; not provoking sweat, nor yet eating or drinking at all, at least but very moderately. In this Sickness there was one good circumstance, that though it were violent, yet it lasted not long: for beginning about the one and twentieth of *September*, it cleared up before the end of *October* following.

A violent sickness in *London*, & the remedy.

And now all things being set in good order in the South parts, there ariseth a little storm in the North, but was soon dispersed. For King *Henry* making a journey into the North parts, to shew himself there where he had not yet been; and where the respect to King *Richard* might have left some opposites: at his coming to *Lincoln* was certified, that the Lord *Lovel* and *Humfrey Stafford* were gone out of Sanctuary in *Colchester*; but whither, no man knew. The King therefore not much regarding it, went forward to *York*, and being come thither, it was then plainly told him, That the Lord *Lovel* with a strong power was at hand, and would presently invade the City. This made the King in a great strait: for neither had he any Army ready; nor if he had men, had he any Weapons or Munition for them. Yet in this strait he commanded the Duke of *Norfolk*, with three thousand men to set out against him; but ill armed, that their Armours for the most part were but of tanned Leather: who being come near the Camp of the Rebels, caused Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would submit themselves as Loyal Subjects, should have their Pardons, and be received into Grace. Which Proclamation so prevailed with it, as made the Lord *Lovel* secretly in the night to flee away; and then the Army, left without a head, submitted themselves to the King's mercy. The Lord *Lovel* fled into *Lancashire*, and there for a time lurked with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a man powerful in those parts. *Humfrey Stafford* took Sanctuary in a Village called *Culbone*, two miles from *Abbington*; but the Sanctuary being judged by the Justices of the King's Bench, to be no lawful defence for Traytors; he was taken from thence by force, and conveyed to the *Tower*, afterward to *Tamworth*, and there hanged. His brother *Thomas* was pardoned, because it was thought he was drawn in by his Brother *Humfrey*.

The Lord *Lovel* raiseth an Army against the King, but upon Proclamation of pardon is dispersed.

A Sanctuary no defence for Traytors.

In this year *John Percival* the Mayor of *London*'s Carver, waiting at his Table, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of *London*, only by Sir *John Crosby*, then Mayor, drinking to him in a Cup of Wine, as the custom is to drink to him whom he list to name sheriff, and forthwith the said *Percival* sate down at the Mayor's Table, and covered his head, and was afterward Mayor himself.

The Mayor's Carver chosen Sheriff of *London*, and by what occasion.

At this time a mean instrument attempted a great work; by which we may see, how far imaginations may out-go reason: One *Richard Simond* a Priest, a man of base birth, though some learning, had a Scholar of baser birth, the Son of a Shoomaker (some say a Baker) named *Lambert Symnel*; boy of a pregnant wit, and comely personage: Him he gives out to be *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, lately (as was said) escaped out of Prison, both of them being of like years and stature: with this Scholar of his, he sails into *Ireland*, and so sets forth the matter, that not only the Lord *Thomas Fitz-Gerrard*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*; but many other of the Nobility gave credit to his words; and as those that affected the House of *York*, were ready to take his part, and even already saluted the young *Simnel* King. Withal they

Lambert Simnel given forth to be *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*.

Countenanced in *Ireland*.

Chiefly by the Lady *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgoign.*

they sent into *Flanders* to the Lady *Margaret* Sister to the late King *Edward*, and Widow of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*, requiring aid and assistance from her. This Lady being of the House of *York*, bore an inward grudge against King *Henry*, being of the house of *Lancaster*; and therefore, though she well understood it was but a coloured matter, yet was willing to take advantage of it; and thereupon promised her assistance. King *Henry* being advertised of these things, advised with his Councel, by whom it was agreed, that two things presently should be done. First, to grant a pardon to any that would submit themselves, for any offence whatsoever, though it were for High Treason. The next, that the Earl of *Warwick* should be openly shewed abroad in the City, and other publick places; whereby, the report spread abroad of his being in *Ireland*, might appear plainly to be false. Whereas, the Queen *Elizabeth*, Widow of King *Edward* the Fourth, and Mother to the present Queen, was judged to forfeit all her Lands and Possessions, and to live confined in the Abby of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*; where in great peevishness within a few years she died. And for what cause this severity was used against this Queen, is not altogether certain: To say (as was commonly said) that it was for tendring her self and her Daughters into the hands of King *Richard*, were manifest injustice, to punish her for doing a thing out of fear, which else she should have been compelled to do by force. And to say (as some also have said) That it was for giving aid under-hand to *Perkin*, were a manifest unlikelihood, that she should aid a Counterfeit against her own Son-in-law. We will therefore content our selves with knowing the bare colourable pretence, and leave the true reason as a secret of State. But this shewing abroad of the true Earl of *Warwick*, though it satisfied some, yet not all: for some gave out that it was but a trick of the King, and not the true *Warwick*. At least the Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, would not omit to take the advantage, though he knew that *Symnel* was a Counterfeit. And thereupon, as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he fled secretly into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Dutchess of *Burgoigne*; between whom it was concluded, that he and the Lord *Lovel* should go into *Ireland*, and there attend upon the Counterfeit *Warwick*, and honour him as a King, and with the power of the *Irish* men bring him into *England*: but it was contrived withal, that if their actions succeeded, then the Counterfeit *Warwick* should be deposed, and the true delivered out of Prison, and Anointed King. And to this purpose the Earl of *Lincoln*, by the help of the Lady *Margaret*, had gotten together two thousand *Almains*, with one *Martin Swart*, a valiant and expert Captain, to be their Leader. With this power the Earl sailed into *Ireland*, and at the City of *Dublin*, caused young *Lambert*, the Counterfeit *Warwick*, in most solemn manner, first to be proclaimed, and after to be Crowned King of *England*; and then with a great number of beggerly and unarmed *Irish* men, under the conduct of the Lord *Thomas Geraldine* Earl of *Kildare*, they sailed into *England*, and landed at a place called the *Pile of Fowdray*, not far from *Lancaster*; hoping there by the means of Sir *Thomas* [illegible], a powerful man in that Countrey, to have their Army both furnished and increased. King *Henry* hearing that the Earl of *Lincoln* was landed at *Lancaster*, assembled a great Army, conducted by the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*, and with these he marched to *Nottingham*, and there by a little Wood called *Bowres*, he pitched [illegible]; whither there came unto him [illegible] *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord [illegible], Sir *John Chidley*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen, an which mean time the Earl of *Lincoln* being entred into *Yorkshire*, passed quietly on his journey, without doing spoil or hurt unto any; thinking thereby to have won the people to come to his aid; but when he perceived few or none to resort unto him, he then determined not to venture a Battel with the Army he had already, and thereupon took his way from *York* to *Newark* upon *Trent*. King *Henry* understanding which way he took, came the night before the Battel to *Newark*, and passing three miles further, near to a Village called *Stoke*, there waited the approach of the Earl of *Lincoln*; so the next day they joyned Battel, where after a long fight of at the least three hours, though the *Almains*, and especially their Captain *Martin Swart*, behaved themselves full valiantly, yet the *Irish*, being [illegible] but naked men, were at last overthrown, [illegible] slain, and the rest put to flight, but [illegible] of their Captains; for the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, *Martin Swart*, and the Lord *Geraldine*, were all found dead in the very place where they had fought, that though they had [illegible] yet they won the reputation of hardy and forward Souldiers. Only of the Lord *Lovel* [illegible] report, that attempting to save himself by flight, in passing over the River of *Trent*, he was drowned. On the King's part, though [illegible] were slain, yet not any man of note. This Battel was fought on a *Saturday* (observed as always fortunate to King *Henry*) being the sixteenth of *June*, in the second year of King *Henry*'s Reign. The young *Lambert* and his Master *Simond* the Priest, were both taken, and both had their lives saved: *Lambert*, because but a Child, *Simond* because a Priest; yet *Simond* was kept in prison, *Lambert* was taken into the King's Kitchin, to turn the Spit in the turn of his fortune, and at last made one of the King's Falkners.

In the beginning of his third year, King *Henry* having been in *Yorkshire*, to settle the minds of that people, about the midst of *August* came to *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, and from thence sent Ambassadors into *Scotland*, *Richard Fox*, lately before made Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb* Comptroller of his House, to conclude a Peace or Truce with *James* King of *Scots*. A Peace, by reason of the peoples backwardness, could not be obtained: but a Truce was concluded for the term of seven years; with a promise from the King, that it should be renewed before

By the Plot of the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Lady *Margaret*, *Symnel* is conveyed into *Ireland* and there Crowned King of *England*.

1487.

Queen *Elizabeth* hath all her goods confiscated and her self confined.

King *Henry* goeth with an Army against the Earl of *Lincoln*.

At *Stoke* he gives him Battel, and overthrows him.

Where he and divers other Lords are slain.

Saturday always fortunate to King *Henry*.

Lambert is taken into the King's Kitchin.

1488.

A Truce for seven years between King *Henry* and the King of *Scots*.

fore the first seven years should be expired.

At this time, Ambassadours came from the King of *France* to King *Henry*, who declared, that their Master King *Charles* was now at War with *Francis* Duke of *Britain*, for that he succoured the Duke of *Orleance* and other Rebels against the Realm of *France*; and therefore requested, that for the old familiarity that had been between them, he would either assist him, or not assist the Duke, but stand Neuter. King *Henry* answered, That having received courtesies from them both, he would do his uttermost endeavour to make them friends: and to that end, as soon as the *French* Ambassadours were departed, he sent *Christopher Urswick* his Chaplain over into *France*, who should first go to the *French* King, and after to the Duke of *Britain*, to mediate a Peace between them.

Queen *Elizabeth* is Crowned.

In the time of *Urswick*'s Ambassage, King *Henry* caused his Wife the Lady *Elizabeth* to be Crowned Queen on Saint *Katharine*'s day, in *November*, with all solemnity; and at the same time delivered the Lord *Thomas* Marquess *Dorset* out of the *Tower*, and received him again into his former favour.

Urswick travelled between the two Princes to procure a Peace: but they, though making a shew to incline to Peace, yet prepared for War, and offers on neither side would be accepted. In which time *Edward* Lord *Woodvile*, Uncle to the Queen, made suit to the King, for leave to go over with a power of men, in aid to the Duke of *Britain*; which suit, though the King denied, yet the Lord *Woodvile* would venture it; and with a power of four hundred able men, got secretly over, and joyned with the *Britains* against the *French*. This the *French* King took ill at King *Henry*'s hand; but being informed that it was against the King's will, he seemed satisfied; and a Peace was concluded between *France* and *England*, to endure for twelve months. But in conclusion, King *Henry* finding that the *French* King dealt not really with him, but only held him on with pretences; he called his High Court of Parliament, requiring their advice what was fit to be done: where it was concluded, that the Duke of *Britain* should be aided; and to that end great summs of money were by Parliament granted. This determination of the Parliament, King *Henry* signifies to the *French* King, hoping it would have wrought him to some terms of Peace. But the King of *France* little regarding it, proceeded on in his violent courses against the *Britains*, so at last, on the eight and twentieth day of *July*, the *Britains* gave battel to the *French*, near to a Town called St. *Aubyn*, having apparelled seventeen hundred of the *Britains* in Coats with red Crosses, after the *English* fashion, to make the *French* men believe they were all *English*, although indeed they had no more *English* than the four hundred of the Lord *Woodvile*'s. But notwithstanding this device, the Victory fell to the *French*; so that all the *English* men almost were slain, with the Lord *Woodvile* himself, besides six thousand *Britains*. The Duke of *Orleance*, and the Prince of *Orange*, who were on the *Britain*'s part, were taken Prisoners. The *French* lost twelve hundred men; and amongst other, that valiant *Italian* Captain, *James Galeot*.

A Peace between *France* and *England*.

The King of *France* overthrows the Duke of *Britain*'s Army, where the Lord *Woodvile* is slain.

This news being brought into *England*, caused King *Henry* to make haste to send forth his Army: and thereupon the Lord *Brook*, with Sir *John Cheyny*, Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *Ralph Hilton*, Sir *Richard Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Richard Lacon*, and Sir *Edmund Cornwal*, are sent over with all speed into *Britain*, having with them eight thousand men, to aid the Duke of *Britain* against the *French*. But while this War was thus set forward, the Duke of *Britain* died; leaving, in effect, one only Daughter, the Lady *Ann* (for the other being the younger, died soon after) and then the chief Rulers of *Britain* falling at dissention amongst themselves, little regarded the defence of the Country: whereupon the *English* returned home within five months after their setting forth; and the *French* King getting the upper hand of the *Britains*, and marrying the Lady *Ann*, sole Daughter to the Duke of *Britain*, incorporated that Dutchy to the Crown of *France*.

King *Henry* sends an Army to aid the duke of *Britain*.

The *French* King marries the Heir of the Duke of *Britain*.

In the last Parliament, a Subsidy was granted for the furnishing out an Army into *Britain*; and it was agreed that every man should be taxed after the rate of his substance, to pay the tenth penny of his goods: which Tax the most part of *York-shire* and the Bishoprick of *Durham* refused to pay: whereof the Collectors complained to *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, President of the North parts: The Earl signifies it to the King, and the King commands him to levy the same by distress or otherwise (without sparing of any) as he should think most meet. The rude multitude hearing of this Command from the King, with great violence set upon the Earl, by the exciting of a simple fellow named *John a Chamber*; and alledging all the fault to be in the Earl, as chief Author of the Tax, they cruelly murthered both him and divers of his houshold-Servants. And to make good their seditious fact, they assembled a great number, and made one Sir *John Egremond* their Captain: declaring, That in defence of their liberties, they would bid the King battel. In this bravery they stood, as long as none opposed them; but when *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* appeared with an Army, though they skirmished a while, yet they were soon discomfited, and their Ring-leader *John a Chamber* was taken, and at *York* on a Gibbet set upon a square pair of Gallows, like an Arch-traytor, was hanged, and many of his Complices on a lower Gallows; the Inno-cent people for the most part pardoned. But Sir *John Egremond* fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgundy*; the common and sure refuge for all Rebels against King *Henry*. After this, the King appointed Sir *Richard Tunstal* to gather the Subsidy, and would not spare the payment of a penny. This year, notwithstanding this Tax, the King borrowed of every Alderman of *London* two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eighty two pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence, which was paid again at the time with great thankfulness; which he did at a time he needed not, to the end perhaps he might do it another time, when he needed.

The Earl of *Northumberland* is slain in collecting the Subsidy.

1489.

John a Chamber Ring-leader of the Insurrection is hanged.

At this time *James* the third, King of *Scotland*,

land, having by ſome errors of Government incurred the hatred of his Nobility and People, laboured with King *Henry*, as alſo with the Pope, and the King of *France*, to make an accord between him and his people; who had compelled Prince *James* his Son to be the Titular head of thoſe Arms which they aſſumed againſt him. The Kings accordingly interpoſed their mediations by Ambaſſadours; but could receive no other but this outragious anſwer, That there was no talking of Peace, unleſs he would reſign his Crown. Which anſwer the Kings proteſted againſt, declaring by their Ambaſſadors, that they thought it a common injury to themſelves, and that the Example was not ſufferable for Subjects to lift their hands againſt their Sovereign. Hereupon it came to a Battel at *Bannocks-born* by *Strivelin*; where King *James*, raſhly beginning the fight before his whole Forces were come, was (notwithſtanding the contrary commandment of the Prince his Son) ſlain in the Mill of that field, whither he fled after the Battel ended.

James King of *Scots* in a Battel at *Bannocksborn* is ſlain.

About this time, a difference fell out which grew to a War, between the Emperour *Frederick*, and ſome Towns of his in *Flanders*, eſpecially *Gaunt* and *Bruges*: In this War, the Lord *Ravenſtein* a principal perſon about *Maximilian*, not only forſook the Emperour and his Son *Maximilian* his Lord (corrupted as was thought from *France*) but made himſelf head of the popular party, ſeizing upon the Towns of *Ipre* and *Sluce*: and not this only, but forthwith ſent to the Lord *de Cordes*, Governor for the *French* King in *Picardy*, to aid him againſt ſome Towns in *Flanders*: To which the Lord *de Cordes*, willing of any occaſion to ſet foot in *Flanders*, was eaſily drawn. But K. *Henry* not liking to have the *French* ſo near his *Engliſh* pale, ſent over the Lord *Morley* with a thouſand men, who ſhould joyn with the Lord *Dawbeny*, then Deputy of *Callice*, to reſiſt them. Amongſt other Acts by them performed, this was chief, That the Lord *Dawbeny*, with the Lord *Morley*, Sir *James Tirrel* Captain of *Guiſnes*, Sir *Henry Willoughby*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and Sir *Humfrey Talbot*, Marſhal of *Callice*, and others, to the number of two thouſand, iſſued ſecretly one night out of *Callice*, and came to *Newport*, and from thence to *Divemude*; where the Lord *Dawbeny* comanded all men to ſend back their Horſes: which the Lord *Morley* only refuſing to do, was cauſe that he only of all the Captains was ſlain with a Gun: for the reſt after their Arrows diſcharged, fell proſtrate to the ground; by which means the Enemies Ordnance over-ſhot them, killing only the Lord *Morley* that was on Horſe-back. Here they ſlew of the Enemy to the number of eight thouſand, of the *Engliſh* part was ſlain the Lord *Morley*, and not above a hundred more. This Victory ſo enrich'd the *Engliſh*, that they who went forth in Cloth, came home in Silk; and they who went out on foot, returned back on Horſe-back. Upon this deſeat, the Lord *de Cordes* lying at *Ipre*, with twenty thouſand, and thinking to be revenged, beſieged the Town of *Newport*; and ſo ſtrongly aſſaulted it, that one day his men entred, and ſet up his Banner upon a Tower of the Town; when ſuddenly a Bark arriving with only fourſcore freſh *Engliſh* Archers, ſo terrified them, thinking their number to be far greater, that the *French* were glad to leave their Banner behind them, and give over the aſſault; and the night following, the Lord *de Cordes* (who ſo much longed for *Callice*, that he would commonly ſay, he would be content to lye ſeven years in Hell, ſo that *Callice* were in the poſſeſſion of the *French*) brake up his ſiege, and returned to *Helding* with as much ſhame, as the *Engliſh* to *Callice* with honour.

King *Henry* ſends an Army to aſſiſt the Emperor againſt the *French*.

The Lord *Morley* ſlain and by what chance.

The *French* frighted with a conceit.

How much the *French* longed for *Callice*.

A little before this time, *Francis* Duke of *Britain* dying, left only one Daughter, the Lady *Ann*, affianced to *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*; and in ſo ſolemn a manner, that ſhe taking upon her to be the Bride, and being laid in her bed, was contented to permit *Maximilian*'s Deputy, in preſence of many noble witneſſes, as well men as women, to put his leg ſtript naked to the knee, between the Spouſal-ſheets, accounting that Ceremony to amount to the Conſummation. The King of *France* likewiſe had been contracted to the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to the foreſaid *Maximilian*, and had received her to that end: Yet all this, notwithſtanding, out of a violent deſire to joyn the Dutchy of *Britain* to the Crown of *France*, he diſannulled and made void both the Contracts. But to the end he might do it without oppoſition of the King of *England*, he ſent Ambaſſadours, the Lord *Francis* of *Luxemburgh*, *Charles Marignane*, and *Robert Cheguine*, to King *Henry*; partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure King *Henry*'s good will to make void the foreſaid Contracts: to which, though King *Henry* was not willing to give conſent, yet he conſented willingly to have a Treaty for Peace; and to that end, ſent over *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenſtone* Prior of *Chriſt*'s Church in *Canterbury*, to the *French* King about it. But during this Treaty, and before conditions of Peace could be agreed on, the *French* King had gotten into his poſſeſſion the Lady *Ann* of *Britain*, and ſolemnly married her. Which under-hand dealing ſo incenſed King *Henry*, that he preſently called his High Court of Parliament, and there declared the juſt cauſe he had of War with *France*, deſiring their Benevolence to the Charge thereof; which was as readily granted as deſired, and great ſums of money were ſoon collected.

Two Contracts of Marriage formerly made, diſannulled by the King of *France*.

King *Henry* propounds to this Parliament a War with *France*, to which end he hath a Benevolence granted.

1491.

In the year 1491, being the ſixth year of the King's Reign, on the ſixth of *April*, the Nobility of the Realm aſſembled in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, where alſo was the Mayor and Aldermen, and principal Citizens in their Liveries: to whom Doctor *Morton* Lord Chancellor made an Oration, declaring from his own Letters, that the King of *Spain* had won the great and rich City and Countrey of *Granada* from the *Moors*, which had been in their poſſeſſion above ſeven hundred years: and having, in places of their ſuperſtition, built Churches to the Honour of Chriſt, was thereupon entituled the Catholick King. For joy whereof, *Te Deum* was ſung with great ſolemnity.

Granada won by the King of *Spain* from the *Moors*.

In the Month of *May* was holden a ſolemn Juſting at the King's Palace of *Sheen*, now called *Richmond*, which continued the ſpace of a month,

A Juſt at *Sheen* which continued a month.

month, sometimes within the Palace, and sometimes without, upon the green before the Gate; in which Justs, Sir *Tomas Parker* running against a Gentleman named *Hugh Vaughan*, by reason of a faulty Helmet, was stricken into the mouth at the first course; so that his Tongue was born to the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place.

King *Henry* is drawn into *France* to assist the Emperour, upon promise, which the Emperour keeps not.

And now *Maximilian* having received back his Daughter from the King of *France*, was so displeased, that he presently sent an Ambassador, one *James Caribald*, to King *Henry*, requiring him to take his part in a War against the *French* King; towards which he promised to provide ten thousand men with pay for two years: King *Henry* consented to it; and having provided himself of a puissant Army, on the fifth day of *October*, sailed to *Callice*; but finding his Almoner *Christopher Urswick*, and Sir *John Egley* to *Maximilian*, requiring his promised Forces; they found him altogether unprovided of either men or money; which brought King *Henry* into a great straight what he should do. To proceed in the War with his own Forces alone, would be full of Hazard: to return home without doing any thing would bring an Imputation upon him among his Subjects, as though he had used the pretence of War but as a trick to get money: at last he resolved to do something; and thereupon went and besieged *Boloigne*, having in his Army, of cheif Lords, *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, his Lieutenant General, *Thomas* Marquess *Dorset*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Suffolk*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Kent*, *Worcestershire*, and *Surrey*, sundry Barons, as *Dawbeny*, *Abergany*, *De la Ware*, *Zouch*, *Hastings*, *Cobham*, and others. During his Siege of *Boloigne* (in which there were but a few slain, and none of note, but Sir *John Savage*, who riding to take view at what place the Town might best be assaulted, was set upon by certain *French* men, and by them slain) King *Henry* was secretly dealt with by the Lord *Cordes*, Governor of *Terwine*, on the King of *France*'s behalf, to accept of certain conditions of Peace. Who thereupon sent *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* to treat with them; which amongst other Articles were, That King *Henry* without quitting his Claim to *France*, should, for a Peace to continue during the two Kings Lives, receive in present of *Charles* King of *France*, for his charges in that War, seven hundred forty and five thousand Ducats, which in *English* mony amounts to five hundred eighty six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; and five and twenty thousand Crowns yearly, towards the expences he had been at before in aiding the *Britains*; which (by the *English* called Tribute) was duly paid, during all the King's Reign, and due to King *Henry* his Son afterward, longer than it could continue upon any computation of Charges. There was also assigned by the *French* King, unto all king *Henry*'s principal Councellours, great Pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to save his own Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business that was displeasing to his people, was diversly interpreted: for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace; and therefore a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best Captains and Men of War, to advice him to a Peace under their hands in an earnest manner, in the nature of a Supplication; that he might have it to shew for justifying himself, and to give some allay to the discontentments of many, who had sold and engaged their Estates upon the hopes of the War. After the Peace thus concluded, he went to *Callice*, where he stayed some time, and the seventeenth of *December* following, came to *Westminster*, where he kept his Christmas.

King *Henry* hath a great sum of money of the King of *France*, to agree to a Peace.

Soon after his return, he elected into the Order of the Garter, *Alphonsus* Duke of *Calabria*, Son and Heir to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*: to whom *Christopher Urswick*, the King's Almoner, was sent to *Naples* to carry it; which as soon as *Alphonsus* had received, he apparelled himself presently in the Habit, before a great Assembly, indeed to shew what favour he was in with the King of *England*.

There had been disturbance in the Realm before by a Counterfeit Son of the Duke of *Clarence*; but that device had two main imperfections; one, that the true Son of the Duke was alive coming, and to be shewed openly for convincing the false; the other, that though the counterfeit had been the true, yet he could have had no Claim to the Crown, as long as any Daughters of King *Edward* the Fourth were living: Now therefore a device is found, by which those Imperfections were both of them amended; for now a counterfeit was set on foot, who pretended to be *Richard* the younger Son of King *Edward* the Fourth: so that unless there any other could be produced to convince him of being false, no true Daughters of King *Edward* could hinder his Right for obtaining the Crown. This device was first forged by *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgundy*; a Woman that could never be quiet in her mind, as long as King *Henry* was quiet in his Kingdom: and by this device she hoped, if not to put him clean out of his seat, yet foully at least to disturb him in it; and this was the purpose of the plot; but by what instrument it was acted, by what abettours fomented, and what Issue the device had, are worthy all to be related. The Dutchess having formerly given out, that *Richard* the younger Son of King *Edward*, was not murthered, but in compassion spared, and sent secretly away to seek his fortune; and having after long search got ten at last a fit Boy to personate a Prince, keeps him secretly a good time with her, in which time she so throughly instructed him in all Circumstances, and he afterward put them so gracefully in practise, that even those who had seen and known the young Prince while he lived, could hardly perceive but that this was he. It is true, though he were not King *Edward*'s Son, yet he was his Godson, and might perhaps have in him some base blood of the house of *York*; This *Perkin Warbeck* (for so was the youth's name, called *Perkin*, as a diminutive of *Peter*) when he so perfectly had learned his lesson, that he was fit to come upon the Stage, she sent him into *Portugal*, that coming

1493.

The Dutchess of *Burgundy* sets up *Perkin Warbeck*, to take upon him to be *Richard* the younger Son of *Edward*, and how the plot was carried.

from a ſtrange Countrey, it might be thought, he had been driven to wander from one Country to another, for ſafeguard of his life, at leaſt that he of all others might not be ſuſpected. From *Portugal* he cauſed him to paſs into *Ireland*, where the Houſe of *York* was ſpecially reſpected in reſpect of the great love which *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of King *Edward* the fourth, had won amongſt them: by reaſon whereof, this *Perkin*, as eſteemed his Grandchild, was well entertained by them, and held in great eſtimation. He had not been long in *Ireland* when the *French* King ſent for him: for being at that time at variance with King *Henry*, he thought he might make good uſe of *Perkin*, as a pretender againſt King *Henry* for the Crown. *Perkin* being come to *Paris*, was entertained in a Princely fashion, and for his more honour, had a guard aſſigned him, over which the Lord *Congreſhal* was Captain. He had not been long at *Paris*, when there reſorted to him Sir *George Nevil* Baſtard, Sir *John Taylour*, *Richard Robinſon*, and about a hundred other *Engliſh*. Amongſt the reſt, one *Stephen Fryon*, that had been King *Henry's* Secretary for the *French* Tongue, but diſcontented, fled, and became a chief Inſtrument in *Perkin's* proceedings. But this float of *Perkins* laſted not long; for as ſoon as Peace was concluded between the two Kings, the King of *France* diſmiſſed *Perkin*, and would keep him no longer. Then paſſed he ſecretly to his firſt foundreſs, the Lady *Margaret*; who at his firſt coming, made a ſhew of ſuſpecting him to be a Counterfeit: but cauſing him in great aſſemblies to be brought before her, as though ſhe had never ſeen him before, and finding him to anſwer directly to all queſtions ſhe put unto him: ſhe openly profeſſed, That ſhe was now ſatisfied, and thought him verily to be her true Nephew, and thereupon aſſigned a Guard of thirty perſons, cloathed in Murrey and Blue, and called him the White Roſe of *England*. Upon report hereof many in *England* were inclined to take his part; and Sir *Robert Clifford*, and *Robert Barkley* were ſent into *Flanders*, to acquaint the Dutcheſs with the People's reſpect to *Perkin*: and indeed Sir *Robert Clifford* upon ſight and conference with him, wrote Letters into *England*, wherein he affirmed, that he knew him to be the true Son of King *Edward*, by his face, and other lineaments of his body. King *Henry* hearing of theſe things, ſent certain ſpials into *Flanders*, that ſhould feign themſelves to have fled to *Perkin*, and by that means the better ſearch out who were of the Conſpiracy with him. Whoſe names being returned into the King, he cauſed them to be apprehended and brought to his preſence: the chief of whom were *John Ratcliff*, Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, and Sir *Thomas Thwayts*, Knights, *William Daubeny*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Creſſener*, and *Thomas Aſtwood*. Alſo certain Prieſts, *William Richford* D. of Divinity, *Thomas Boyn*, D. *William Sutton*, *William Worſley* Dean of *Pauls*, *Robert Layborn*, & *Richard Liſley*, of whom ſome hearing of it, fled to Sanctuary; others were taken and condemned, as Sir *Simon Mountford*, *Robert Ratcliff*, and *William Daubeny*, who were all three beheaded. The Lord *Fitzwater* pardoned of life, was conveyed to *Calice*, and there laid in hold; where ſeeking to make eſcape by corrupting his Keeper, he loſt his head. Shortly after, Sir *Robert Clifford*, returning out of *Flanders* (not as ſome think, ſent over from the beginning, but rather now at laſt, either diſcerning the Fraud, or won by Rewards) ſubmitted himſelf to the King's mercy; diſcovering unto him, as far as he knew, all that were either open or ſecret abettors of the Conſpiracy; amongſt whom he accuſed Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain, his accuſation was this, That in conference between them, Sir *William* had ſaid, That if he certainly knew that the young man named *Perkin* were the Son of King *Edward* the fourth, he would never fight nor bear Arms againſt him. Theſe words being conſidered of by the Judges, ſeemed to expreſs a tickle hold of Loyalty: for who could tell how ſoon he might be perſwaded that he knew it? beſides that the uttering ſuch an expreſſion was in it ſelf to make the matter to be diſloyal to King *Henry*: And withal it ſtruck upon a ſtring which had always ſounded harſh in King *Henry's* Ears, as preferring the Title of *York* before that of *Lancaſter*. Sir *William* being hereupon arraigned, whether truſting to the greatneſs of his favours, or the ſmallneſs of his fault, denied little of that wherewith he was charged, and upon confeſſion was adjudged to die; and accordingly on the ſixteenth day of *February*, was brought to the *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded: after whoſe death, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny*, was made Lord Chamberlain. This was that Sir *William Stanley* who came in to reſcue the Earl of *Richmond* when he was in danger of his life; who ſet the Crown upon his head; and was the cauſe of his being ſaluted King. And could it enter into his breaſt, to put him to death, that had ſaved his life, and done him ſo many great Services beſides? But it may be ſaid, It was not the Earl of *Richmond* that did it, but the King of *England*, ſo entertaining in many caſes, nothing to ſay to Mercy to Mercy, ſo much as a private man may. Howſoever to that affirm, the cauſe of his death was not words only, but real acts, as giving aid to *Perkin* underhand by money. And it ſeems there was ſome conflict in the mind of King *Henry*, what he ſhould do in this caſe; for he ſtayed ſix weeks after his Accuſation, before he brought him to his Arraignment. However it was, the Summer following, the King went in Progreſs to *Latham*, to the Earl of *Derby*, who had married his Mother, and was Brother to Sir *William Stanley*: perhaps to congratulate his own ſafety; perhaps to condole with him his Brother's death; but certainly to keep the Earl from conceiving any deſperate opinion of him; For to think that Sir *William's* ſuing to be Earl of *Cheſter* (an Honour appointed to the King's Son) or his great Wealth, (for he left his Caſtle at *Holt* in ready money forty thouſand Marks, beſides Plate and Jewels) were cauſes that procured or ſet forward his death; are conſiderations very unworthy of ſo juſt a Prince, againſt a ſervant of ſo great deſerving.

Perkin is entertained by the King of *France*.

Perkin's aſſiſtants taken and put to death.

Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain accuſed to partake with *Perkin*.

Is convicted and beheaded.

But in this mean while *Perkin* having gotten a power of idle looſe fellows, took to Sea,

1495. A hundred and fixty of *Perkin's* followers executed.

Sea; intending to land in *Kent*; where, though he were repelled, yet some of his Souldiers would needs venture to go on Land, of whom a hundred and fixty persons were taken prisoners, whereof five were Captains; *Moreford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebait*, *Quintyn*, and *Genyne*; The hundred and sixty Persons were brought to *London*, tailed in Ropes, like Horses drawing in a Cart, who upon the arraignment, confessing their offence, were executed, some at *London*, and some in Towns adjoyning to the Sea Coast. *Perkin* finding no entertainment in *Kent*, sailed into *Ireland*, and having stayed there a while, and finding them also, being a naked people, to be no competent assistants for him, from thence he sailed into *Scotland*, where he so moved the King of *Scots* with his fair words and coloured pretext, (made no doubt before by the Dutchess of *Burgoigne*) that he received him in great state, and caused him to be called the Duke of *York*; and to perswade the world that he thought him so indeed, he gave him in marriage the Lady *Katharine Gourdon*, Daughter to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley*, his own near Kinswoman; and soon after, in *Perkin's* quarrel entered with a puissant Army into *England*, making Proclamation, That whosoever would come in and aid the true Duke of *York*, should be spared; but none coming in, he then used all kind of cruelty, and the whole County of *Northumberland* was in a manner wasted: whereat *Perkin* at his return, expressed much grief, saying, It grieved him to the heart, to see such havock made of his people: To whom the King answered, Alas, alas, you take care for them, who for any thing that appears are none of yours; for not one of the Countrey came in to his Succour. King *Henry*, incensed with this bold attempt of the King of *Scots*, called his High Court of Parliament, acquainting them with the necessity he had of a present War to revenge the indignity offered him by the *Scots*, and thereupon requiring their aid by money, had a Subsidy of sixscore thousand pounds readily granted him, and then in all haste a puissant Army is provided, and under the Conduct of the Lord *Dawbeny* sent into *Scotland*; but before he arrived there, he was suddenly called back by reason of a commotion begun at *Cornwal*, for payment of the Subsidy lately granted, which though it were not great, yet they grudged to pay it. The Ringleaders of this Commotion were *Thomas Flammock* a Gentleman learned in the Laws, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith; who laying the blame of this exaction upon *John Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Reynold Bray*, as being chief of the King's Council, exhorted the People to take up Arms; and having assembled an Army, they went to *Taunton*, where they slew the Provost *Peyrn*, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidy, and from thence came to *Wells*, intending to go to *London*, where the King then lay, who having revoked the Lord *Dawbeny*, apointed *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* (after the death of the Lord *Dinham*, made Lord Treasurer of *England*) to have an eye to the *Scots*, and if they made invasion, to resist them. In the mean time *James Twichet* Lord *Audley* confederated himself with the Rebels of *Cornwal*, and took upon him to be their Leader, who from *Wells* went to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, and so to *Kent*, hoping there to have had great aid, but found none; for the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Abergavenny*, *John Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Edmund Poynings*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, *John Peachy*, and *William Scot*, were ready in Arms to resist them; whereupon the Rebels brought their Army to *Black-heath*, four Miles distant from *London*, and there in a Plain on the top of a hill encamped themselves, whereof when the King had knowledg, he presently sent *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, and Sir *Humfrey Stanley*, to environ the hill on all sides, that so all hope of flight might be taken from them; and then set forward himself, and encamped in St. *George's* Fields; where for encouragement he made divers Bannerets. The next day he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to set upon the Rebels early in the morning, who first got the Bridge at *Deptford Strand*, though strongly defended by the Rebels Archers, whose Arrows were reported to be full Cloth-yard in length; but notwithstanding, the Lord *Dawbeny* coming in with his company, and the Earls assailing them on every side, they were soon overcome: in which Conflict were slain of the Rebels above two thousand, taken prisoners a very great number, many of whom the King pardoned, but of the chief Authors none, for the Lord *Audley* was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a coat of his own Arms, painted upon paper, reversed and all torn; and there on the four and twentieth day of *June* was beheaded; *Thomas Flammock* and *Michael Joseph* were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their heads and quarters, pitched upon stakes, set up in *London*, and other places. Of the King's Army were slain not above three hundred. It is memorable, with what comfort *Joseph* the Blacksmith cheered up himself at his going to execution, saying, That yet he hoped by this that his name and memory should be everlasting; so dear even to Vulgar spirits is perpetuity of Name, though joyned with Infamy: what is it then to Noble Spirits, when it is joyned with Glory?

James Twichet Lord *Audley* confederates with the Rebels.

The Rebels are overthrown.

The Lord *Audley* beheaded. *Flammock* and *Joseph* the Smith hanged and quartered.

In the mean time the King of *Scots*, taking advantage of these troubles in *England*, invaded the Frontiers, forraged the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and at last besieged the Castle of *Norham* whereof *Richard Fox* then Bishop of *Durham* was owner; who thereupon sent presently to the Earl of *Surrey*, acquainting him with this invasion: Whereupon the Earl, taking with him *Ralph* Earl of *Westmorland*, *Thomas* Lord *Barns*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevil*, *George* Lord *Strange*, many other Lords and Knights, and an Army of little less than twenty thousand men; besides a Navy, whereof the Lord *Brook* was Admiral, set forward against the *Scots*, and not only forced the *Scots* to raise the Siege of *Norham* Castle; but followed them also into *Scotland*; where he overthrew and defaced the Castle at *Cawdstraims*, the Tower of *Heton hall*, the Tower of *Eddington*, the Tower of *Fulden*, and at last by composition took the strong Castle of *Hayton*, and razed it to the Ground.

1496. The King of *Scots* invades the Frontiers, but is repelled.

At the Earl's being at *Hayton*, the King of *Scots* ſent to him *Marchemont* and another Herald, requiring him at his Election, either to fight with him with their whole Armies, or elſe they two to fight with him in ſingle Combat; upon condition, that if the victory fell to the *Scottiſh* King, the Earl ſhould deliver for his Ranſom the Town of *Berwick*: Whereunto the Earl made anſwer, That the Town of *Berwick* was the King his Maſters, and therefore not for him to diſpoſe of; but for his offer of ſingle Combat, he willingly accepted it, and thought himſelf highly honoured by ſuch a Match: But King *James* of *Scotland* had no meaning to perform either one or other, but privily in the night fled back into *Scotland*, and then the Earl returned to *Berwick*. In the mean time, one *Peter Hyalas*, a man of great learning and policy, was ſent Ambaſſador to the King of *Scots*, from the King of *Spain*, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; who finding the King of *Scots* conformable to his motion, found after, the King of *England* (who was never averſe from Peace upon honourable Conditions) no leſs inclining to it: and ſo a Truce was concluded for certain years; upon condition, that *Perkin Warbeck* ſhould be ſent out of the *Scottiſh* Dominions.

A Truce between King *Henry* and the King of *Scots*.

About this time the Lord *Champlyre*, and others ſent from *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtria*, and Duke of *Burgundy*, came to King *Henry* for a concluſion of Amity, and to procure the *Engliſh* Merchants reſort again to his Country; for King *Henry* ſometime before, upon diſpleaſure with the *Flemings*, but ſpecially with the Lady *Margaret*, for abetting *Perkin Warbeck*, not only had baniſhed all *Flemiſh* Wares and Merchandizes out of his Dominions, but had alſo reſtrained all *Engliſh* Merchants from having any Traffick in any of their Territories, cauſing the Mart for all *Engliſh* Commodities to be kept at *Callice*: but now, upon this invitation, and having found it had been a great hinderance to his own Merchant-Adventurers, and thereupon ſome Inſurrections had riſen, he willingly condeſcended to their requeſt, and ſo the *Engliſh* reſorted again to the Arch-dukes Dominions, and were received into *Antwerp* with general Proceſſion; ſo glad was that Town of the *Engliſh* mens returns.

In the eleventh year of this King's Reign died *Cicely* Dutcheſs of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, at her Caſtle of *Berkamſtead*, being of extream age; who had lived to ſee three Princes of her Body Crowned, and four Murthered: ſhe was buried at *Foderingham* by her Husband.

Shortly after the Truce concluded between *England* and *Scotland*, *Perkin Warbeck* was commanded to depart out of the *Scottiſh* Dominions; who thereupon with his Wife and Family ſailed into *Ireland*: where underſtanding that the *Corniſh* men were ready to renew the War again, he thought beſt not to let paſs ſo fair an occaſion; and thereupon, having with him four ſmall Ships, and not above ſixſcore men, he ſailed into *Cornwal*, and there landed in the month of *September*, and came to a Town called *Bodmin*; where with fair words, and large promiſes he ſo prevailed with the people, that he had gotten to him above three thouſand perſons to take his part; and then made Proclamations in the name of King *Richard* the Fourth, as Son to King *Edward* the fourth: and, by the advice of his three Counſellors; *John Heron* a bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Skelton* a Taylor, and *John Aſtley* a Scrivener, determined to attempt firſt the winning of *Exeter*; which with great violence he aſſaulted, and the Townſmen with as great valiantneſs defended: whereof when the King heard, he ſent the Lord *Dawbeny* to their reſcue: but before he came, the Lord *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the valiant Lord *William* his Son, accompanied with Sir *Edmund Carew*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, Sir *John Halewel*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecomb*, *William* St. *Maure*, with others, came to their aid: upon whoſe coming *Perkin* left the ſiege, and retired to *Taunton*, where he muſtered his men, as though he meant to prepare for Battel: but finding his number to be much diminiſhed (for of ſix thouſand which he had at *Exeter*, many were fled from him, when they ſaw no great ones to take his part) he began to diſtruſt his caſe; and hearing withal, that the King with a great Power was at hand, about midnight with threeſcore Horſemen in his Company, he departed in poſt from *Taunton*, and took Sanctuary in a Town called *Beauley* near to *Southampton*. When King *Henry* heard that *Perkin* was fled, he ſent after him to the Sea ſide, to ſtop his Paſſage, and apprehend him: But the Meſſengers that were ſent, when they came to St. *Michael's Mount*, though they found not *Perkin*, yet there they found his Wife the Lady *Katherine Gourdon*, whom they preſently brought to the King; a beautiful young Lady; to whom, in honour of her Birth, and commiſeration of her beauty, the King allowed a competent maintainance, which ſhe enjoyed during the King's life, and many years after. King *Henry*, being come to *Exeter*, ſtayed there a few days, about the examination of the Rebellion, and execution of the chief Offenders: of whom there being a great multitude, and all of them craving Pardon, the King cauſed them all to be aſſembled in the Church-yard of St. *Peter*, where they all appeared bare-headed in their ſhirts, and halters about their necks: whom the King viewing out of a window made for the purpoſe, after he had pauſed a while, made a Speech unto them, exhorting them to obedience; and then in hope they would afterward be dutiful Subjects he pardoneth them all: whereat they made a great ſhout, crying all, God ſave King *Henry*! though ſome of them afterward, like ungrateful wretches, fell into new Rebellions.

Followed by the King's Forces, he takes Sanctuary at *Beauly*.

King *Henry* pardons *Perkin*'s followers.

Perkin thruſt out of *Scotland*, ſailed into *Ireland*, and from thence came into *Cornwal*, and there gets Forces.

All this while *Perkin* was in Sanctuary: and the King, thinking himſelf in danger as long as he was in ſafety, ſet a Guard about the place, to keep him from eſcaping; whereby *Perkin* was ſo reſtrained, that at laſt he ſubmitted himſelf to the King's mercy, and was thereupon ſent to the Tower, to be there in ſafe cuſtody. This done, King *Henry* appointed *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Amyas Paulet*, and *Robert Sherburn* Dean of *Pauls*, to be Commiſſioners for

Perkin ſubmits himſelf to King *Henry*, and is ſent to the Tower.

for making enquiry of the Offenders, and for aſſeſſing their Fines, which they did with great ſeverity to ſome, with great mildneſs to others, to all with equity.

1499. It was now the fourteenth year of the King's Reign, when one *Sebaſtian Gabato*, a *Genoueſe*'s Son, born at *Briſtow*, perſwaded the King to Man and Victual a Ship at *Briſtow*, to ſearch for an Iſland, which (he ſaid) he knew to be repleniſhed with rich Commodities; who ſetting forth with three other ſmall Ships of *London*-Merchants, returned home two years after, when he had made a large diſcovery Weſtward, and would have gone to *Cataja*, if the Mariners had not forced him to return; as likewiſe ſix years before, one *Chriſtopher Columbus* a *Spaniard*, made the firſt diſcovery of *America*.

Perkin makes eſcape out of the Tower.

Perkin being in the *Tower*, and carefully guarded, yet found means to eſcape; and fled to the Priory of *Sheen*, near *Richmond*; where diſcovering himſelf to the Prior of that Monaſtery, he begged of him for God's ſake to get the King's Pardon for his life; which the Prior effected: but then was *Perkin* brought to the Court at *Weſtminſter*, and was one day ſet fettered in a pair of Stocks before *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and there ſtood a whole day: the next day he was ſet upon a like Scaffold in *Cheapſide*; and there ſtanding a whole day alſo, he then read openly his Confeſſion, written with his own hand; wherein he declared his Parentage, and the place of his Birth, and all the paſſages of his Life, and by what means he was drawn to make this attempt. After this, he was committed again to the *Tower*, and care taken he ſhould be better looked to than he was before. But all the care notwithſtanding once again *Perkin* attempted to eſcape; and drawing into a confederacy with him the young Earl of *Warwick*, by fair words and large promiſes ſo corrupted his Keepers, *Strangwiſh*, *Blewet*, *Aſtwood*, and Long *Roger*, Servants to Sir *John Digby* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, that they intended to have ſlain their Maſter, and ſet *Perkin* and the Earl of *Warwick* at liberty: But this practice was ſoon diſcovered, ſo that *Perkin* and *John a Water*, ſometime Mayor of *Cork* in *Ireland*, one of *Perkin*'s chief Founders, were on the ſixteenth day of *November* arraigned at *Weſtminſter* and condemned, and both of them on the two and twentieth day were drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged; where *Perkin* took it upon his death, that the Confeſſion he had formerly made, was true: ſoon after alſo *Blewet* and *Aſtwood*, two of the Lieutenants men were in the ſame place executed. On the one and twentieth day of the ſame month, *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick* was arraigned at *Weſtminſter* before the Earl of *Oxford*, then High Steward of *England*; not for conſenting to break Priſon, but for conſpiring with *Perkin* to raiſe Sedition, and deſtroy the King; and, upon his Confeſſion, had Judgment, and on the eight and twentieth day of the ſame month, in the year 1499, was brought to the Scaffold on the *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded. This Earl of *Warwick* was the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, and was the laſt Heir-male of the name of *Plantagenet*, and had been kept in the *Tower* from his very infancy out of all company of men, and ſight of Beaſts; ſo as he ſcarcely knew a Hen from a Gooſe, nor one Beaſt from another; and therefore could never know how to practiſe his eſcape of himſelf, but by *Perkin*'s ſubtilty: for which cauſe the King favoured him ſo far, that he was not buried in the *Tower*, but at *Biſſam* by his Anceſtors. And thus ended the deſigns of *Perkin Warbeck*, which had troubled both the Kingdom and the King the ſpace of ſeven or eight years, a great part of the King's Reign.

Perkin attempting again to eſcape, is hanged at *Tyburn*.

Edward Plantagenet Earl of *Warwick*, for plotting with *Perkin* is beheaded.

Another Practice to ſet up one *Ralph Wilford* to be the Earl of *Warwick*.

But in the time of *Perkin*'s being in the *Tower*, another like practice was ſet on foot: for an *Auguſtine* Frier called *Patrick*, in the County of *Suffolk*, having a Scholar named *Ralph Wilford*, a Cord-wainer's Son, he cauſed him to take upon him to be the Earl of *Warwick*, lately by great chance gotten out of the *Tower*; and they going together into *Kent*, when the Frier perceived ſome light credit to be given to him, he then ſtuck not to declare it openly in the Pulpit, deſiring all men to aſſiſt him. But this practice was ſoon diſcovered, and both the Maſter and the Scholar were apprehended and attainted, the Scholar *Wilford* was hanged on *Shrove-Tueſday* at St. *Thomas Waterings*, and the Frier was condemned to perpetual priſon: for at that time ſo much reverence was attributed to Holy Orders, that a Prieſt, though he had committed Treaſon againſt the King, yet had his life ſpared: And this practice was ſome cauſe to exaſperate the King againſt the Earl of *Warwick*, who though innocent in himſelf, yet was nocent in pretenders: and beſides King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, with whom at this time there was a Treaty for marriage of his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, had written to the King in plain terms, that he ſaw no aſſurance of his Son's ſucceſſion, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived: and thus all things unfortunately concurred to bring this innocent Prince to his end.

But the practice diſcovered, and *Wilford* hanged.

1500. In the fifteenth year of his Reign, partly to avoid the danger of the Plague, then reigning in *England*; but chiefly to confer with the Duke of *Burgoigne* about many important buſineſſes; the King and Queen ſailed over to *Callice*, where at an interview between him and the Duke, at St. *Peter*'s Church without *Callice*, the Duke offered to hold the King's ſtirrop at his alighting, which the King by no means would permit, but deſcending from horſe-back, they embraced with great affection: and after communication between them, the King and Queen in the end of *June* returned into *England*.

King *Henry* ſails to *Callice* to confer with the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

1502. In his ſeventeenth year two great Marriages were ſolemnized: the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain* was ſent by her Father King *Ferdinand*, with a puiſſant Armada of Ships into *England*, where ſhe arrived at *Plymouth* the ſecond day of *October*; and, on the fourteenth of *November* after, was eſpouſed openly to Prince *Arthur*, both being clad in white; he of the age of fifteen years, ſhe of eighteen, at night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that night: when morning appeared, the Prince (as his Servants about him reported) called for drink, which before time he had not uſed to do; whereof one of his Chamberlains asking him the cauſe, he anſwered merrily, ſaying, I have been this night in the midſt of *Spain*, which is a hot Country, and that

Prince *Arthur* eſpouſeth the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*: and lye together all night.

that makes me so dry: though some write, that a grave Matron was laid in bed between them, to hinder actual Consummation. The Lady's Portion was Two hundred thousand Duckets, her Joynture the third part of the Principality of *Wales*, *Cornwal*, and *Chester*. At this Marriage was great Solemnity and Royal Justings: during which time there came into *London* an Earl, a Bishop, and divers other Noble Personages sent from the King of *Scots* for a conclusion of Marriage (before treated of) between the Lady *Margaret* the King's eldest Daughter, and him; where the Earl, by Proxy in the name of King *James* his Master, affianced and contracted the said Lady; which Contract was published at *Paul's* Cross, the day of the Conversion of Saint *Paul*; for joy whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and great fires were made through the City of *London*; And if such joy were made when the Match was made, what joy should be made now at the issue of the Match, when by the Union of those persons is made an Union of these Kingdoms; and *England* and *Scotland* are but one *Great Britain*? The Ladies portion was Ten thousand pounds, her joynture Two thousand pounds a year, after King *James* his death; and in present One thousand. When this Match was propounded at the Council-Table, some Lords opposed it; objecting, that by this means the Crown of *England* might happen to come to the *Scottish* Nation. To which King *Henry* answered, What if it should? It would not be an accession of *England* to *Scotland*, but of *Scotland* to *Enland*. And this answer of the King passed for an Oracle: and so the Match proceeded, and in *August* following was consummate at *Edenburgh*, and she conducted thither in great state by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The King of *Scots* marries the Lady *Margaret*, King *Henry's* eldest Daughter.

Prince *Arthur* after his marriage, was sent again into *Wales* to keep that Country in good order; to whom were appointed for Councellors, Sir *Richard Pool* his Kinsman and chief Chamberlain, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *Richard Crofts*, Sir *David Philips*, Sir *William Vdal*, Sir *Thomas Englefield*, Sir *Peter Newton*, *John Walleston*, *Henry Marion*, and Doctor *William Smith* President of his Council; but within five months after his Marriage, at his Castle at *Ludlow*, he deceased, and with great solemnity was buried at the Cathedral Church at *Worcester*. His Brother *Henry* Duke of *York* was stayed from the Title of Prince of *Wales* the space of half a year, till to women it might appear, whether the Lady *Katharine*, the Relict of Prince *Arthur*, was with child or no. The towardliness in learning of this Prince *Arthur* is very memorable; who dying before the age of sixteen years, was said to have read over all or most of the Latin Authors, besides many other.

Prince *Arthur* within five months after his marriage dieth.

His towardliness in learning.

And now Prince *Arthur* being dead, and the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain* left a young Widow; King *Henry* loth to part with her Dowry, but chiefly being desirous to continue the Alliance with *Spain*; prevailed with his other Son Prince *Henry*, though with some reluctation, such as could be in those years (for he was scarce twelve years of age) to be contracted with the Princess *Katharine* his Brother's Widow: for which marriage, a dispensation, by advice of the most Learned men at that time in Christendom, was by Pope *Julius* the second granted, and on the five and twentieth day of *June*, in the Bishop of *Salisbury's* house in *Fleetstreet*, the marriage was solemnized.

Prince *Henry* not above twelve years old is contracted to the Lady *Katharine* his Brother's Widow, by dispensation from the Pope.

A little before this time, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, and Lady *Elizabeth* Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, had in his fury killed a mean person, and was thereupon indicted of Murther; for which, although he had the King's Pardon, yet because he was brought to the King's-Bench-Bar, and there arraigned, he took it for so great a blemish to his Honour, that in great rage he fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*; where having stayed a while, when his passion was over, he returned again. But after the marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katharine*, whether it were that in that solemnity he had run himself in debt, or whether he were drawn to do so by the Lady *Margaret*, he passed over the second time, with his Brother *Richard*, into *Flanders*. This put the King into some doubt of his intention; whereupon he had recourse to his usual course in such cases, and sent Sir *Robert Curson* Captain of *Hammes* Castle, to feign himself one of that Conspiracy, thereby to learn the depth of their intentions: and to take away all suspicion of his employment, the first Sunday of *November* he caused the said Earl and Sir *Robert Curson*, with five others, to be accursed openly at *Paul's* Cross, as enemies to him and his Realm. In conclusion, Sir *Robert Curson* acquainted the King with divers of that Faction; amongst whom, *William* Lord *Courtney*, and *William de la Pool*, Brother to the foresaid Earl of *Suffolk*, who were taken but upon suspicion, yet held long in Prison: but Sir *James Tyrrel* (the same that had murdered the two young Princes in the *Tower*) and Sir *John Windham*, who were proved to be Traytors, were accordingly attainted, and on the sixth day of *May*, at the *Tower-hill* beheaded. Whereof, when the Earl heard, despairing now of any good success, he wandered about all *Germany* and *France*, where finding no succour, he submitted himself at last to *Philip* Duke of *Austria*, by whom afterward he was delivered to King *Henry*, by this occasion: *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon*, by his Wife *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, had only two Daughters, the eldest whereof named *Jone*, was married to this *Philip* Duke of *Austria*; the younger named *Katharine*, to *Arthur* Prince of *England*; and now Queen *Isabella* being lately dead, by whose death the Kingdom of *Castile* descended in Right of his Wife, to this Duke *Philip*, they were sailed out of *Germany* into *Spain*, to take possession of the Kingdom; but by tempests and contrary winds were driven upon the Coast of *England*, and landed at *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*; where desiring to refresh themselves a little on shore, they were invited by Sir *Thomas Trenchard* (a principal Knight in that Countrey) to his house, who presently sent word to the King of their arrival. King *Henry* glad to have his Court honoured by so great a Prince, and perhaps upon hope of a courtesie from him, which afterward he obtained; sent presently the Earl of *Arundel* to wait upon him; till himself might follow:

Edmund de la Pool Earl of *Suffolk* his courses by which he offended King *Henry*, and what his end was.

1506.

follow; and the Earl went to him in great magnificence, with a gallant Troop of three hundred Horse, and for more state came to him by Torch-light. Upon whose Message, though King *Philip* had many reasons of haste on his journey; yet not to give King *Henry* distaste, and withal to give his Queen the comfort of seeing the Lady *Katharine* her Sister; he went upon speed to the Queen at *Windsor*, while his Queen followed by easie Journeys. After great magnificence of entertainment, King *Henry* taking a fit opportunity, and drawing the King of *Castile* into a room where they two only were private; and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, said unto him, You have been saved upon my Coast; I pray you will not suffer me to wrack upon yours. The King of *Castile* asking him what he meant by that Speech? I mean it (saith the King) by that hare-brain'd fellow the Earl of *Suffolk*, who being my Subject, is protected in your Countrey, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it. The King of *Castile* sweated, I had thought, Sir, your Majesty had been above those thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will banish him. King *Henry* replied, that his desire was to have him delivered to him. With this the King of *Castile*, a little troubled, said, That can I not do with my Honour. Well then (said the King) the matter is at an end. At last the King of *Castile*, who held King *Henry* in great estimation, interposing his Countenance, said, Sir, you shall have him. Upon my Honour, (said he) not take him, but promise it upon my Honour, said King *Henry*: And he kept his promise, for he was put to death during all his Reign; however he took such order, that in the Reign of his Son King *Henry* the Eighth, he had his head cut off. During the stay of *Castile* at *Windsor*, a Treaty was concluded, and signed the 9th of *November*; which the *Flemings* term the Intercourse, for that the free Trading of the Subjects upon the Coasts and Seas of both Princes is by the Treaty of *Undecimo*, which is the Treaty confirmed, and all other Articles. And now when King *Henry* had received the King of *Castile* into the Fraternity of the Garter, and had his Son Prince *Henry* admitted to the Order of the Golden-Fleece; and that the Earl of *Suffolk* was brought over and committed to the Tower, the King of *Castile* departed home.

Two Calls of Serjeants at Law.

In this King's time were two Calls of Serjeants at Law; one in his eleventh year, in which were called nine Serjeants, *Mordant*, *Bingham*, *Kingesmil*, [illegible], *Twyne*, *Frowick*, *Ockebridge*, and [illegible], who had their Feast at the Bishop of *Ely*'s Palace in *Holborn*, where the King, the Queen, and all the chief Lords dined. The other Call in his twentieth year, in which were called seven Serjeants, *Robert Brudnel*, *William Tyrrell*, *Thomas Marow*, *George Edgert*, *Lewis Pollard*, *Guy Palmes*, and *William Fairfax*, who kept their Feast at the Archbishop's House in *Lambeth*.

King *Henry* having gotten as much honour as the estimation of neighbouring Princes could give him, began now to be attentive to getting of wealth, wherein he quickly found instruments fit for his purpose; but especially two, *Empson* and *Dudley*, both Lawyers, and both of them Barons of the Exchequer: *Dudley* of a goodly Family, but *Empson* the Son of a Sive-maker. These two, being put in authority, turned Law and Justice into Rapine. For first, their manner was, to cause divers Subjects to be indicted of Crimes, and then presently to commit them; and not to suffer them to their answer, but suffer them to lang in prison, and by sundry artificial devices and terror, extort from them great Fines; which they termed Compositions and Mitigations. Neither did they (towards the end) observe so much as the half face of Justice, in proceeding by Indictments; but sent forth their Precepts to attach men, and convent them before themselves and some others of their private houses; and there used to shut up summary proceedings by examination, without (*illegible*) all Jury, and to themselves, to deal both the Pleas of the Crown, and Controversies [illegible]. That did they also use to intend against the Subjects Lands with Tenures and Services by finding false Offices; refusing upon divers frivolous pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse such false Offices, as by Law they might. Nay the King's Wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their Lands, without paying [illegible] Fines, for compounding all reasonable [illegible]. When men were out-lawed in personal Actions, they would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of Law, which upon Outlawries gives forfeiture of [illegible], and imprisonment to the Outlawed person, [illegible] the King ought to have the Land [illegible] and Rents during the space of full two years, for a Pain in case of Outlawry. They would also ruine men with Informations, and enforce them to compound, before they would direct Process; and if they did not, then commit, imprison, and fine them. These and many other courses they had of preying upon the people's substance, and working upon Penal Statutes, they considered not whether the [illegible] were safe; and had ever [illegible] to have any thing found [illegible] that K. *Henry* was [illegible] and very sumptuously by the [illegible] of *Oxford*, at his Castle of *Hedingham*, and [illegible] the Earl's Servants [illegible] with Cognizances, [illegible] both sides make the King a [illegible] called the Earl to [illegible] have heard many [illegible] it's great [illegible] Gentlemen and Yeomen [illegible] Servants. At [illegible] your Grace. This is not for mine ease; they are most of them my Tenants, and are come to do me this [illegible] as this; and chiefly to see your Grace. [illegible] the King heared a little, and said, By our Lady (quoth he) I thank you for my good cheer; but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my sight: my Attorney

Empson and Dudley King Henry's instruments for raising of money, and by what unjust courses.

Chiefly upon Penal Statutes.

The Earl of Oxford entertains King Henry to his cost.

torney must speak with [illegible] out it. And it is part of the Report, that [illegible] Earl for a composition, [illegible] and to shew further [illegible] diligence, I remember (from Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord of Verulam, in his History) to have seen long since a Book of Accompts of *Empson*'s, that had the King's hand [illegible] to every leaf, by way of figures, and yet in some places pointed in the Margent with the King's own hand likewise, where was this remembrance;

Item, Received of such a one five Marks for the Pardon to be granted; and if the Pardon be not paid, the same to be repaid, except the Party be some other way satisfied.

And over against it, *Memorandum* (of the King's own hand) *Otherwise satisfied.* This (saith he) do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a nearness, yet with a kind of justness.

1508. In the three and twentieth [illegible] was execution against Sir *William Capel* the second time, for misgovernment in [illegible] The great matter was, that in [illegible] he had taken notice of false musters, and did not his diligence to [illegible] were the Offenders: [illegible] which, and [illegible] laid to his charge, he was [illegible] pay [illegible] thousand pounds, whereof [illegible] refused [illegible] upon was sent to [illegible] remained until the King's [illegible] had been lately Mayor [illegible] Sheriffs were for [illegible] followed and [illegible] upon [illegible] four [illegible] pounds [illegible] were [illegible]

King Henry at his death leaves eighteen hundred thousand pounds.

[illegible] required to [illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

Yeomen of the guard when first ordained.

THis King was the first that ordain'd a company of tall strong men (naming them Yeomen of the Guard) to be attending about the person of the King, to whom he appointed a Livery by which to be known, and a Captain by whom to be chosen. In his time the authority of the Star-chamber, which subsisted before by the Common-Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain cases by Act of Parliament. In his time were made these excellent generall Laws: One, that from thenceforth fines should be final, and conclude all strangers rights: Another for admission of poor suitors, *in forma pauperis*, without paying Fee to Councellor, Attorney, or Clerk. Another, that no Person that did assist by Arms or otherwise the King for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or Attainted either by course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void, and of none effect. Another for the Benevolence, to make the sums which any had agreed to pay, and were not brought in, to be leviable by course of Law. Another, that Murtherers should be burnt on the Brawn of the left hand, with the Letter *M*; and Thieves with the Letter *T*: so that if they offended the second time, they should have no mercy, but be put to death; and this to reach also to Clerks Convict. In his fifth year, it was ordained by Parliament, That the Mayors of *London* should have Conservation of the River of *Thames*, from the Bridge of *Staines* to the Waters of *Yendale* and *Medway*. In his Seventeenth, *John Shaw* Mayor of *London* caused his Brethren the Aldermen to ride from the *Guild-hall* to the water-side, when he went to *Westminster* to be presented in the Exchequer: he also caused the Kitchins and other houses of Office to be builded at the *Guild-hall*; where since that time the Mayor's Feast hath been kept, which before had been in the Grocers or Taylors Hall. In his eighteenth year, King *Henry* being himself a Brother of the Taylors Company, as divers Kings before had been, namely, *Richard* the third, *Edward* the fourth, *Henry* the sixth, *Henry* the fifth, *Henry* the fourth, and *Richard* the second; also of Dukes 11, Earls 28, Lords 48; he now gave to them the Name and Title of Merchant-Taylors, as a name of worship to endure for ever.

Fines to be final, ordained by this King.

The Mayor's Feast when first kept at Guild hall.

The Title of Merchant-Taylors when first given.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the tenth year of his Reign, *Jone Boughton* Widow, was burnt in *Smithfield* for holding certain opinions of *John Wickliff*. In his seventh year, King *Henry*, finding great inconvenience by the priviledge of Sanctuaries, wrote to Pope *Alexander*, desiring him by his authority to adjudge all *English* men being fled to Sanctuary for the offence of Treason, to be enemies of the Christian Faith; and to prohibit the priveledge of Sanctuary to all such as once had enjoyed it before. Which request the Pope granted, to the great contentment of the King, and quiet of the Realm. In his sixteenth year, being the year 1500, a Jubilee in *Rome* was celebrated, whereof *Alexander* the then Pope, by his Messenger *Gaspar Pons* a *Spaniard*, gave notice to the King; offering withal, that those who could not come to *Rome* should notwithstanding at a certain price have Pardons, and as full a benefit of the Jubilee, as if they came: and to the end the King should not hinder his purpose, both offered part of his gains to the King, and also promised to bestow it upon a War against the *Turk*; by which course he gathered great sums; for which he had other use than to spend it so idly, In the two and twentieth year of this King, Pope *Alexander* the sixth died of Poyson, by this accident: He went to supper in a Vineyard near the *Vatican*, where his Son *Valentinois* meaning to Poyson *Adrian* Cardinal of *Cornetta*, sent thither certain flaggons of Wine infected with Poyson, and delivered them to a Servant of his, who knew nothing of the matter; commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his appointment: It happened, the Pope coming in something before Supper, and being very dry through the immoderate heat of the season, called for drink, his own provision being not yet come: The Servant that had the poysoned Wine in keeping, thinking it to be committed to him as a special Wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his Son *Valentinois* came in, and drank also of the same, whereby they were both poysoned: but the Pope only overcome of the Poyson, died; his Son by the strength of youth bare it out, though with long languishing.

Pope *Alexander* the sixth poisoned, by what chance.

Works of Piety, and other Structures by him and others.

THis King magnificently enlarged *Greenwich*, which *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* had formerly builded, calling it *Placentia*. In his sixteenth year he new builded his Mannor of *Sheen*, and named it *Richmond*. He also new builded *Baynards* Castle in *London*. In his two and twentieth year, he finished the goodly Hospital of the *Savoy* near *Charing-cross*, to which he gave Lands for the relieving of two hundred poor people. This was first called *Savoy-place*, built by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, Father to *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the nine and twentieth year of *Henry* the third, who made the said *Peter* Earl of *Richmond*. The House belonged since to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and at this time was converted to an Hospital, retaining still the first name of the *Savoy*. In this King's time, *John Morton* being Bishop of *Ely*, bestowed great cost upon his House at *Hatfield* in *Hartfordshire*, now the House of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Salisbury*; and at *Wisbich* Castle in *Cambridgeshire*, a house belonging to that See; all the Brick building was of his charge: being afterward Bishop of *Canterbury*, he bestowed great sums in repairing and augmenting his houses at *Maidstone*, *Alington-Park*, *Charing*, *Ford*, *Lambeth*, and specially at *Knoll* in *Kent*, where he died: King *Henry* also builded three houses of *Franciscan*-Friers, which are called observants: one at *Richmond*, another at *Greenwich*, a third at *Newark*; and three others of *Franciscan*-Friers, which are called Conventuals, one at *Canterbury*;

Greenwich enlarged by King *Henry*.

Richmond new built.

The *Savoy* made an Hospital.

another at *Newcaſtle*, and a third at *Southampton*: And drawing near his end, he did theſe works of Charity: He granted a general Pardone to all men, for any offence committed againſt any of his Laws, Thieves and Murtherers only excepted: He paid alſo all Fees of all Priſoners in all Goals in and about *London*, abiding there for that cauſe only. He paid alſo the Debts of all ſuch perſons as lay in the Counters or Ludgate for forty ſhillings or under, and ſome alſo for ten pounds. In his eighteenth year, the Chappel of our Lady, above the Eaſt-ſide of the High Altar at *Weſtminſter*-Church, with a Tavern called the *White-Roſe* near adjoyning, was taken down; in which place a moſt beautiful Chappel was then preſently begun to be builded by King *Henry*; the charges whereof amounted to the ſum of fourteen thouſand pounds (as *Stow* witneſſeth.) In his ſecond year, the great Conduit in *Cheapſide* at the charges of *Thomas Ilam* Alderman of *London*, was new made; and the Croſs alſo in *Cheapſide* was new builded; towards the charges whereof, *Thomas Fiſher*, Mercer, gave five hundred Marks. In his ſeventh year, the Conduit in *Grace-ſtreet* was begun to be builded by the Executors of Sir *Thomas Hill*, Grocer, late Mayor of *London*. Alſo this year, *Hugh Clapton* Mayor of *London*, builded the great Bridge of *Stratford* upon *Avon*; as likewiſe a fair Chappel toward the South-end of that Town; and near to the ſame, a pretty houſe of Brick and Timber, where he lay and ended his life. He glazed alſo the Chancel of the Pariſh-Church in that Town; and made a way of four miles long, three miles from *Alisbury* towards *London*, and one mile beyond *Alisbury*. In his tenth year, *John Tate* Mayor of *London*, builded the Church of St. *Anthonies*, with a Free-School, and certain Alms-houſes for poor men. In his time his Mother the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, builded two Colledges in *Cambridge*, one called *Chriſt*'s Colledge, the other St. *John*'s; and endowed them with large Poſſeſſions for the maintenance of learning. *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, founded *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*; and *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Brazen-noſe* Colledge: He alſo builded at *Litchfield* an Hoſpital, for a Maſter, two Prieſts, and ten poor men; as like a Free-School, with a School-Maſter, and an Uſher. *Anne Aveling* gave an hundred Marks towards the building of the Church in *Ciceſter*. In his time alſo *John Alcock* Biſhop of *Ely*, builded *Jeſus* Colledge in *Cambridge*: and in his two and twentieth year *Tho. Kneſworth* Mayor of *London* builded the Conduit at *Biſhopſgate* at his own charge; and gave to the Fiſhmongers certain Tenements, for which they are bound to allow to four Scholars, two at *Oxford*, and two at *Cambridge*, to each of them four pounds a year: alſo to poor people and Priſoners in *Ludgate* ſomething yearly. In his twentieth year, Sir *William Capel* Mayor of *London*, cauſed all *Houndſditch* to be paved over, which till that time had lain very noyouſly to all travellers that way. In his fourteenth year all the Gardens without *Moor-gate* (which had continued time out of mind) were deſtroyed; and of them was made a plain Field for Archers to ſhoot in. In this King's time alſo, *Thomas Savage* Archbiſhop of *York*, repaired the Caſtle of *Cawood*, an the Mannor of *Scorby*, and founded the Chappel at *Macleſfield* in *Cheſhire*, where he was born. Alſo in his time *Stephen Gennings*, Mayor of *London*, founded a Free Grammar-School at *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordſhire*, where he was born; and gave Lands ſufficient for a Maſter and an Uſher, leaving the over-ſight to the Merchant-Taylors in *London*. This Town of *Wolverhampton*, commonly ſo called, is originally and rightly called *Wilfruneshampton*, upon this occaſion: The Town was anciently called *Hampton*, to which a Noble Woman named *Wilfrune*, a Widow, ſome time Wife of *Athelm* Duke of *Northampton*, obtained of King *Ethelred*, to give Lands to the Church there which ſhe had founded; and thereupon the Town took the addition of the ſaid *Wilfrune*. In this King's time alſo *John Colet* Dean of *Pauls*, founded *Pauls School* in the Church-yard there.

Wolverhampton why ſo called.

Pauls School firſt founded.

The Croſs in *Cheapſide* new builded.

The Conduit in *Grace-ſtreet* builded.

Chriſts Colledge, and S. *Johns* in *Cambridge* founded.

Corpus Chriſti Colledge and *Brazen-noſe* in *Oxford* founded.

Jeſus Colledge in *Cambridge* founded.

Houndſditch was firſt paved.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his firſt year happened the Sickneſs called the Sweating-Sickneſs; which though it continued not long, yet took away many thouſands. And in his two and twentieth year the like Sweating-Sickneſs happenned again, but, by reaſon of Remedies found in the former, took away fewer.

Two Sweating Sickneſſes.

In his ſecond year Wheat was ſold for three ſhillings the Quarter, Bay-ſalt at the like price. In his ſeventh year Wheat was ſold at *London* for twenty pence the buſhel, which was counted a great Dearth. In his tenth year Wheat was ſold at *London* for ſix-pence the buſhel, Bay-ſalt for three pence half-peny, *Nantwich* Salt for ſix-pence, white Herrings nine ſhillings the barrel, red Herrings three ſhillings the Cade, red Sprats ſix-pence the Cade, and *Gaſcoigne* Wines for ſix pounds the Tun. In his fifteenth year *Gaſcoigne* Wine was ſold at *London* for forty ſhillings the Tun, a Quarter of Wheat four ſhillings, and Bay-ſalt four pence the Buſhel.

The price of Corn and other things in his time.

The two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, 1485, the very day that King *Henry* got the Victory of King *Richard*, a great fire was in *Bread-ſtreet* in *London*, in which was burnt the Parſon of St. *Mildreds*, and one other man in the Parſonage there.

In his tenth year, in digging a new Foundation in the Church of St. *Mary-Hill* in *London*, the body of *Alice Hackney*, which had been buried in the Church a hundred ſeventy five years before, was found whole of ſkin, and the joynts of her Arms pliable; which Corps was kept above ground four days, without annoyance, and then again buried.

A dead body found whole of Skin above a hundred years after it was buried.

In his twelfth year, on *Bartholomew*-day, at the Town of St. *Neots* in *Bedfordſhire*, there fell Hail-ſtones that were meaſured eighteen Inches about.

Hail ſtones 18 Inches about.

In his thirteenth year, on the one and twentieth of *December*, ſuddenly in the night brake out a fire in the King's Lodgings, being then at his Mannor of *Sheen*, by violence whereof, a great part of the old building was burnt, with Hangings, Beds, Apparel, plate, and many Jewels. In his fifteenth year, the Town of *Braham* in

Nor-

Norfolk was burnt: alſo this year a great Plague happened, whereof many People died in many places, but eſpecially in *London*, where there died in that year thirty thouſand.

In his twentieth year, Allum which for many years had been ſold for ſix ſhillings a hundred, roſe to five Nobles a hundred, and after to four Marks.

In his two and twentieth year the City of *Norwich* was well-near conſumed with fire. Alſo in the ſame year, in *July*, a Gallery new builded at *Richmond*, wherein the King and the Prince his Son had walked not an hour before, fell ſuddenly down, yet no man hurt.

The great Tempeſt which drave King *Philip* into *England*, blew down the Golden Eagle from the Spire of St. *Pauls*, and in the fall, it fell upon a ſign of the black Eagle, which was in *Paul's* Church-yard, in the place where the School-houſe now ſtandeth; and battered it, and brake it down. This the people interpreted to be an ominous Prognoſtick upon the Imperial Houſe; as indeed it proved: for this King *Philip* being the Emperour's Son, arriving in *Spain*, ſickned ſoon after; and being but thirty years of age deceaſed: upon whoſe deceaſe, his Wife Queen *Jone* (out of her tender love to him) fell diſtracted of her Wits.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Elizabeth* eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, being of the age of nineteen years; whom two years after his Marriage he cauſed to be Crowned. She lived his Wife eighteen years, and died in Childbed in the Tower of *London*, the eleventh of *February*, the very day in which ſhe was born: and is buried at *Weſtminſter*, in the Magnificent Chappel and rich monument of Copper and Gilt, which her Husband had erected. He had Iſſue by her, three Sons and four Daughters: his eldeſt Son *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, the twentieth day of *September*, in the ſecond year of his Reign, and died at *Ludlow*, at fifteen years old and a half: and of this ſhort life ſome cauſe may be attributed to his Nativity, being born in the eighth month after conception: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Maries* in *Worceſter*, where in the South-ſide of the Quire he lies entombed in Touch or Jet, without any remembrance of him by Picture. His ſecond Son *Henry* was born at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, on the two and twentieth day of *June*, in the ſeventh year of his Father's Reign; and ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. His third Son *Edmund* was born in the tenth year of his Father's Reign, and died at five years of age, at *Biſhops Hatfield*, and lies buried at St. *Peters* in *Weſtminſter*. His eldeſt Daughter *Margaret* was born the nine and twentieth day of *November*, the fifth year of her Father's Reign: and at fourteen years of age was married to *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*; unto whom ſhe bare three Sons, *James* the fifth, *Arthur* & *Alexander*, and one Daughter; which three laſt died all of them young; and after the death of her Husband King *James* (ſlain at *Flodden-field* in fight againſt the *Engliſh*) ſhe was re-married to *Archibald Douglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, in the year 1514, to whom ſhe bare *Margaret*, eſpouſed to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, Father of the Lord *Henry*, who died at the age of 9 months, and lieth interred in the upper end of the Chancel in the Pariſh-Church of *Stepney* near *London*. Her ſecond Son was *Henry* Lord *Dernly*, reputed for Perſonage the goodlieſt Gentleman of *Europe*; who married *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, the Royal Parents of the moſt Royal Monarch *James* the firſt, King of *Great Britain*. Her third Son was *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, Father to the Lady *Arbella*. King *Henry's* ſecond Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth*, was born in the year 1492, at three years of age died, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*. His third Daughter the Lady *Mary* had been promiſed to *Charles* King of *Caſtile*; but was married to *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*; who dying three months after, ſhe was then married to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*. His fourth Daughter, the Lady *Katharine* was born in the year 1503, in the eighteenth year of her Father's Reign, and died an Infant.

Queen *Elizabeth* died the very day in which ſhe was born.

Births in the eighth month not long liv'd.

Margaret Queen of *Scots* her Iſſue.

The Lady *Arbella's* Parentage.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of Body lean and ſpare, yet of great ſtrength; of ſtature ſomewhat higher than the common ſort; his eyes gray, his hair thin; of a fair Complexion, and pleaſing countenance. Concerning his Conditions, he had in him the Vertue of a Prince, and of a private man; affable, yet reſerved. We might ſay he was Politick, if not rather that he was Wiſe: for though he uſed tricks of Cunning ſometimes, yet ſolid Circumſpection more. He loved not War, but in caſe of neceſſity; always Peace, but with conditions of Honour. Never any Prince was leſs addicted to bodily pleaſures of any kind, than he. Three pleaſures he had, but in three caſes; one for Safety, another for Honour, and the third for Wealth: in all which he attained his end. His great reſpect of the Church was ſeen by his great employment of Church-men: for through the hands of Biſhop *Morton*, Biſhop *Fox*, and his Chaplain *Urſewick*, the greateſt part of all his Negotiations paſſed. He was frugal from his youth, not covetuous, till ancient and ſickly; and therefore what defect he had in that kind, muſt be attributed to age and weakneſs. The City of *London* was his Paradiſe; for what good fortune ſoever befell him, he thought he enjoyed it not, till he acquainted them with it. His Parliament was his Oracle; for in all Matters of importance he would ask their Advice; and he put his very Prerogative ſometimes into their hands. He was no great Lover of Women; yet all his great Fortune both precedent and ſubſequent, came by Women; his own Title to the Crown was by a Woman: his Confirmation in the Crown was by a Woman; his tranſmiſſion of the Crown to his Poſterity, was by a Woman: The firſt by the Lady *Margaret* deſcended from *John* of *Gaunt*; the ſecond by the Lady *Elizabeth*, Eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth; the third by the Lady *Margaret* eldeſt Daughter of himſelf King of *England*, and Married to *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*; by means whereof, as he was

the Prince that joyned two Roſes in one, ſo he was the Founder of joyning the two Kingdoms in one. And laſtly, it may be ſaid of him as was ſaid by one, of *Auguſtus Ceſar*—— *Hic Vir, hic eſt, tibi quem promiſti ſæpius audis*: For *Cadwallader* laſt King of the *Britains*, ſeven hundred years before had propheſied of him; and of later time King *Henry* the ſixth plainly foreſhewed him.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign he began to be troubled with the Gout; but a defluxion alſo taking into his Breaſt, waſted his Lungs, ſo that thrice in a year, and ſpecially in the Spring, he had great fits and labours of the Ptiſick, which brought him to his end, at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the two and twentieth day of *April*, in the year 1508, when he had lived two and fifty years, reigned three and twenty and eight months: Being dead, and all things neceſſary for his Funeral prepared, his Corps was brought out of his privy Chamber into the great Chamber, where it reſted three days, and every day had there a Dirge and Maſs ſung by a Prelate Mitred: and from thence it was conveyed into the Hall, wherein it remained alſo three days, and had a like ſervice there; and ſo three days in the Chappel. Upon *Wedneſday* the ninth of *May*, the Corps was put into a Chariot, and over the Corps was a picture of the late King laid on Cuſhions of Gold: and the Picture was apparelled in the King's rich Robes, with a Crown on the head, and a Ball and Scepter in the hands: when the Chariot was thus ordered, the King's Chaplain and a great number of Prelates ſet forward, praying; then followed all the King's Servants in Black; then followed the Chariot, and after the Chariot nine Mourners, and on every ſide were carried Torches, to the number of ſix hundred: and in this order they came from *Richmond* to St. *Georges* field: where there met with it all the Prieſts and Religious men within the City and without: the Mayor and Aldermen, with many Commoners, all clothed in Black, met with the Corps at *London-bridge*, and ſo the Chariot was brought throughout the City, to the Cathedral of St. *Paul*; where the body was taken out, and carried into the Choire, and ſet under a goodly Hearſe of Wax; where after a ſolemn Maſs, was made a Sermon by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. The next day the Corps in like manner was removed to *Weſtminſter*; Sir *Edward Howard* bearing the King's Banner. In *Weſtminſter* was a curious Hearſe full of Lights, which were lighted at the coming of the Corps; and then was the Corps taken out of the Chariot by ſix Lords, and ſet under the Hearſe, which was double railed. When the Mourners were ſet, *Garter* King at Arms, cried, For the Soul of the Noble Prince *Henry* the Seventh, late King of this Realm. The next day were three Maſſes ſolemnly ſung by Biſhops; and after the Maſſes was offered the King's Banner and Courſer, his Coat of Arms, his Sword, his Target, and his Helm; and at the end of the Maſs, the Mourners offered up rich Palls of Cloth of Gold and Bodkin: and when the Choire ſang *Libera me*, the body was put into the Earth; then the Lord Treaſurer, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, the Treaſurer and Comptroller of the King's Houſhould, brake their Staves, and caſt them into the Grave. Then *Garter* cried with a loud Voice, *Vive le Roy Henry le huitieſme, Roy d' Angeleterre & de France, Syre d' Irlande.* And thus ended the Funeral.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF Men of Valour and Arms, they are to be ſeen in the Hiſtory of this King's Reign. For men of Letters in his time, of Forreigners were *Sanctus Pagninus*, a great Hebrician; *Leonicenus*, *Guttamaria*, *Cabellus* and *Opeatus*, Phyſicians; *Auguſtinus Niphus*, *Jacobus Faber Stapulenſis* and *Pighius*, Philoſophers; *Petrus Bembus*, and the famous Clerk *Reuchlin*, who reſtored again the Knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue. Of our own Country there lived in his time, *George Ripley* a Carmelite Frier of *Boſton*, who wrote divers Treatiſes in the Mathematicks; and after his death was accounted a Negromancer. *John Erghom* born in *York*, a Black-Frier, ſtudious in Prophecies, as by the Title of the Works he wrote, may appear. *Thomas Mallorie* a Welſhman, who wrote of King *Arthur*, and of the Round-Table. *John Rouſe* born in *Warwickſhire*, a diligent Searcher of Antiquities, and wrote divers Treatiſes of Hiſtorical Argument: *Thomas Scroop* ſirnamed *Bradley*, of the noble Family of the *Scroops*, entered into divers Orders of Religion, and after withdrew himſelf to his Houſe, where for twenty years he lived the life of an *Anchorite*; and after, coming abroad again, was made a Biſhop in *Ireland*, and went to *Rhodes* in Ambaſſage; from whence being returned, he went bare-footed up and down in *Norfolk*; teaching the ten Commandments, and lived till near a hundred years old. *John Tonneys*, an Auguſtine Frier in *Norwich*, who wrote certain Rules of Grammar, and other things, printed by *Richard Pynſon*. *Robert Fabian* a Sheriff of *London*, and an Hiſtoriographer. *Edmund Dudley*, the ſame man whom King *Henry* uſed to take the forfeitures of Penal Statutes; who wrote a Book entituled, *Arbor Reipublicæ*, *John Bockingham* an exellent School-man; and *William Blackney* Carmelite Frier, a Doctor of Divnity, and a Necromancer.

Robert Fabian lived at this time.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's Time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Hugh Brice* was Mayor.
John Tate, *John Swan*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Sir *Henry Collet* was Mayor.
John Percival, *Hugh Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
William Horn was Mayor.
John Fenkel, *William Remington*, Sheriffs.

In

In his fourth year,
Robert Tate was Mayor.
William Isaac, *Ralph Tinley*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
William White was Mayor.
William Capel, *John Brook*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Matthew was Mayor.
Henry Cote, or *Coot*, *Robert Revel*, and he dying
Hugh Pemberton, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Hugh Clopton was Mayor.
Thomas Wood, *William Brown*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *William Martin* was Mayor.
William Purchase, *William Welbeck*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Ralph Astry was Mayor.
Robert Fabian, *John Winger*, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth year,
Richard Chawrie was Mayor.
Nicholas Alwin, *John Warner*, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,
Sir *Henry Colet* was Mayor.
Thomas Knesworth, *Henry Sommer*, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,
John Tate was Mayor.
John Shad, *Richard Hedon*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,
William Purchase was Mayor.
Barth. Rede, *Thomas Wandew*, or *Windout*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,
Sir *John Percival* was Mayor.
Thomas Bradbury, *Stephen Gennings*, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,
Nicholas Aldayne was Mayor.
James Nilford, *Thomas* or *Richard Brond*, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,
William Remington was Mayor.
John Hawi, *William Steed*, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year.
Sir *John Shaw* was Mayor.
Lawrence Aylmer, *Henry Hede*, Sheriffs.

THE

The REIGN of KING HENRY The EIGHTH.

An. Dom. 1509.

KING *Henry* the Seventh being deceaſed, his only Son Prince *Henry*, Heir by his Father of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and by his Mother of the Houſe of *York*; by unqueſtionable right ſucceeded in the Crown at the age of eighteen years, on the two and twentieth of *April*, in the year 1509; who having been trained up in the ſtudy of good Letters all his Fathers time, he governed at firſt as a man newly come from Contemplation to Action, as it were by the Book; in ſo regular and fair a manner, that as of *Nero*'s Government there was ſaid to be *Quiquennium Neronis*; ſo of this King's there might as juſtly be ſaid, *Decennium Henrici*; and perhaps double ſo long a time, comparable with ſo much time of any King's Reign that had been before him. How he came to alter, and to alter to ſuch a degree of change as he did, we ſhall then have a fit place to ſhew when we come to the Time of his alteration. King *Henry* having learned by Books, that the weight of a Kingdom is too heavy to lie upon one man's ſhoulders, if it be not ſupported by able Councellors; made it his firſt care to make choice of an able Council; to which he called *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*; *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and Treaſurer of *England*, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewſbury*, and Lord Steward of his Houſhold, *Charles Somerſet* Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Tomas Lovel*, Sir *Henry Wyat*, Doctor *Thomas Ruthal*, and Sir *Edward Poynings*: by advice of theſe Counſellors, his firſt Act after the care of his Father's Funeral, was the care to perform his Father's Will, in marrying the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; to which perhaps, but in reſpect of filial piety, he had not the greateſt devotion: and for relinquiſhing whereof, he might (no doubt) more eaſily have obtained a Diſpenſation from the Pope, than his Father had done for getting it to be allowed: but obſequiouſneſs to his Father's deſire, and reſpect to his Council's advice, ſo far prevailed with him, that he would not be Crowned till that were performed, that one Coronation might ſerve them both; and ſo on the third day of *June* following, he married the ſaid Lady at the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*'s Houſe in *Fleet-ſtreet*; where of many great ſolemnities, I will remember but this one; that though the Bride were a Widow, yet to ſhew ſhe was a Virgin-widow, ſhe was attired all in white, and had the hair of her head hanging down behind at the full length; and then (having made in the *Tower*, four and twenty Knights of the *Bath*) two days after, being *Midſummer-day*, he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, together with his Queen, by the hands of *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all circumſtances of State in ſuch caſes uſual; and then all the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal, did him Homage; and the people being asked whether they would receive him for their King? They all with one voice cried, Yea, Yea.

His choice of good Counſellors.

He marries the Lady *Katharine* the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*.

He and his Queen Crowned.

This done, his next Act was another part of performing his Father's Will, which was to proclaim pardon for all Offences (Treaſon, Murder, and Felony only excepted) and to have reſtitution made of all goods unjuſtly taken from any; and becauſe the Inſtruments of ſuch injuſtice are always moſt odious; and nothing gives the people ſo much contentment, as to ſee their Perſecutors puniſhed: he therefore cauſed *Empſon* and *Dudley*, the two chief Actors of the late unjuſt proceedings, to be coommitted to the *Tower*, and divers of their inferiour Agents, called Promoters, as *Canbey*, *Page*, *Smith*, *Derby*, *Wight*, *Simpſon* and *Stockton*, to be ſet on the Pillory in *Cornhill*, with Papers on their heads, and then to ride through the City with their faces to the Horſe tails; with the ſhame whereof in ſeven days after they all died in *Newgate*. Shortly after, a Parliament was called, whereof Sir *Thomas Ingleby* was choſen Speaker; and therein *Empſon* and *Dudley* were attainted of High Treaſon, and after arraigned. *Edmund Dudley* in the *Guildhall*, on the ſeventeenth of *July*, and Sir *Richard Empſon* at *Northampton* in *October* following; and on the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* the year following, they were both of them beheaded on the *Tower-hill*, and their bodies and heads buried, the one at *White-Fryers*, the other at the *Black*.

Empſon and *Dudley* committed to the Tower.

1510.

Both of them beheaded.

On *Midſummer*-Eve at night, King *Henry* came privily into *Cheapſide*, cloathed in one of the Coats of his Guard, to behold the ſame: and this firſt year King *Henry* ſpent in Jouſts and Masks, which were almoſt perpetual, peformed with great Magnificence always, and ſometimes with great acts of Valour, on the King's part ſpecially.

In *February* the ſame year, Ambaſſadors came from

from the King's Father-in-law, the King of *Aragon*, requiring aid againſt the *Moors*, in which ſervice the Lord *Thomas Darcey*, a Knight of the Garter, making ſuit to be employed, he was ſent thither, and with him the Lord *Anthony Gray*, Brother to the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, *Henry Guilford*, *Wolſtan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, Eſquires of the King's Houſe, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Roger Haſtings*, Sir *Ralph Elderton*, and others; who, on the *Monday* in the Rogation-week, departed out of *Plymouth*-Haven with four Ships Royal; and on the firſt of *June* arrived at the Port of *Cadis* in South-*Spain*; of whoſe coming the King of *Aragon* hearing, ſent to bid them welcome; but advertiſing them withal, that he had now by reaſon of new troubles with *France*, taken truce with the *Moors*, and therefore they might return again to their own Countrey; to whom yet he allowed wages for all his Souldiers. Whereupon the Lord *Darcy* and all his men went aboard their Ships; but *Henry Guilford*, *Wolſtan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, deſirous to ſee the Court of *Spain*, went thither, and were honourably entertained. *Henry Guilford*, and *Wolſtan Brown* were made Knights by the King; who gave to Sir *Henry Guilford* a *Canton* of *Granado*; and to Sir *Wolſtan Brown*, an *Eagle* of *Sicily* on a *Chief*, to the augmentation of their Arms: *William Sidney* ſo excuſed himſelf, that he was not made Knight. After this they returned to their Ships, and their Ships into *England*.

Sir *Henry Guilford* and Sir *Wolſtan Brown* honors done them in *Spain*.

During the time that the Lord *Darcy* was in *Spain*, the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, Daughter unto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and Governeſs of *Flanders*, and other the Low-Countreys, pertaining to *Charles* the young Prince of *Caſtile*, ſent to King *Henry* for fifteen hundred Archers to aid her againſt the Duke of *Gelders*, which the King granted; and thereupon Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the King's Houſe, is appointed to go, accompanied with his Son-in-Law the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Matthew Brown*, Sir *John Digby*, *John Wiſeman*, *Richard Wingfield*, and others to the number of fifteen hundred, took ſhipping at *Sandwich*, and paſſing over to the ſaid Lady-Regent, did her there great ſervice; for which *John Norton*, *John Fogge*, *John Scot*, and *Thomas Linde* were Knighted; and then with many thanks and rewards returned, not having loſt in all the Journey, by War or Sickneſs, above an hundred men.

Sir *Edward Poynings* ſent to aid the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*.

In the third year of King *Henry*'s Reign, one *Andrew Barton* a *Scottiſh Pyrate*, was grown ſo bold, that he robbed *Engliſhmen* no leſs than other Nations, till the King ſent his Admiral Sir *Edward Howard*, to repreſs him: who in a fight ſo wounded the ſaid *Barton* that he died; and then taking two of his Ships, brought the men Priſoners to *London*: and though their offence deſerved no leſs than death, yet the King was ſo merciful as to pardon them all, provided they departed the Realm within twenty days. The King of *Scots* hearing of the death of *Barton*, and taking of his Ships, ſent to King *Henry*, requiring reſtitution: but King *Henry* anſwered his Herauld, that he rather looked for thanks for ſparing their lives, who ſo juſtly had deſerved death.

Sir *Edward Howard* Admiral repreſſeth *Andrew Barton* a *Scottiſh* Pyrate.

In the third year alſo of King *Henry*'s Reign, the *French* King made ſharp War againſt Pope *Julius* the ſecond: whereupon King *Henry* wrote to the *French* King, requiring him to deſiſt from his War againſt the Pope, being his Friend and Confederate. But when the King of *France* little regarded his requeſt, he then ſent him word to deliver his Inheritance of the Dutchy of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, and the Countreys of *Anjou* and *Mayne*; as alſo his Crown of *France*, or elſe he would recover it by the Sword. But when the King of *France* was not moved with this Threatning neither; King *Henry* then joyning in League with the Emperour *Maximilian*, with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and with divers other Princes, reſolved by advice of his Council to make War on the King of *France*; and to that end made preparation both by Sea and Land.

An. Reg. 1512.

King *Henry* makes preparation for War with *France*.

This year the King kept his Chriſtmas at *Greenwich* in a moſt Magnificent manner. On New-years-day was preſented one of his Jovial Devices, which, only for a Pattern what his ſhews at other times were, I think fit to ſet down at large. In the Hall was made a Caſtle, garniſhed with Artillery and Weapons, in a moſt Warlike faſhion; and on the Front of the Caſtle was written *la Forteſſe Dangereuſe*: within the Caſtle were ſix Ladies cloathed in Ruſſet-Satten, laid all over with leaves of Gold: on their heads Coyfs and Caps of Gold. After this Caſtle had been carried about the Hall, and the Queen had beheld it, in came the King with five others, apparelled in Coats, one half of Ruſſet-Satten, with Spangles of fine Gold; the other half of rich Cloth of Gold: on their heads Caps of Ruſſet-Satten, embroidered with works of fine Gold. Theſe ſix aſſaulted the Caſtle, whom the Ladies ſeeing ſo luſty and couragious, they were contented to ſolace with them; and upon further communication, to yield the Caſtle; and ſo they came down and Danced a long Space: After that, the Ladies led the Knights into the Caſtle, and then the Caſtle ſuddenly vaniſhed out of their ſights. On the Twelfth day at night, the King with eleven more were diſguiſed, after the manner of *Italy*, called a Maſk; a thing not ſeen before in *England*. They were apparelled in Garments long and broad, wrought all with Gold, with viſors and Caps of Gold. And after the Banquet done theſe Maskers came in, with ſix Gentlemen diſguiſed in Silk, bearing Staff-Torches, and deſired the Ladies to Dance; and after they had Danced and Communed together, took their leave and departed.

One of King *Henry*'s Jovial Devices.

The five and twentieth of *January* began the Parliament, of which was Speaker Sir *Robert Sheffield* Knight, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhewed the wrong which the King of *France* did to the King of *England*, in withholding his Inheritance from him; and thereupon the Parliament concluded, that war ſhould be made on the *French* King and his Dominions.

The War with *France* concluded by Parliament.

At this time King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, having War with the *French* King, wrote to his Son-in-Law King *Henry*, that if he would ſend over an Army into *Biſcay*, and invade *France* on that ſide; he would aid them with Ordnance, Horſes, and

Upon the King of *Spain*'s promise of aid, King *Henry* sends a great Army to him, but is deluded.

and all other things necessary: whereupon *Thomas Gray*, Marquess *Dorset*, was appointed to go, and with him the Lord *Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brook*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lords *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard Gray*, all Brothers to the Marquess; Sir *Griffith ap Rice*, Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Sir *William Sands*, the Baron of *Burford*, and Sir *Richard Cornwal* his Brother; *William Hussey*, *John Melton*, *William Kingstone*, Esquires, and Sir *Henry Willoughby*, with divers others, to the number of ten thousand; who taking ship at *Southampton* on the sixteenth of *May*, the third of *June* they landed on the Coast of *Biskey*; whither, within three days after their arrival, came from the King a Marquess and an Earl to welcome them; but of such necessaries as were promised, there came none; so as the *English* being in some want of victuals, the King of *Navarre* offered to supply them, which they accepted, and promised thereupon not to molest his Territories. After the Army had lain thirty days, looking for aid and provision from the King of *Spain*, at last a Bishop came from the King, desiring them to have patience a while, and very shortly he would give them full contentment. In the mean time the *English*-men, forced to feed upon much Garlick, and to drink of hot Wines, fell into such sickness, that many of them died, at least eighteen hundred persons; which the Lord Marquess seeing, he sent to the King to know his pleasure; who sent him answer, that very shortly the Duke of *Alva* should come with a great power, and joyn with him: and indeed the Duke of *Alva* came forward with a great Army, as if he meant to joyn with him, as was promised; but being come within a days journey, he suddenly turned towards the Realm of *Navarre*; and entring the same, chased out the King, and conquered the Kingdom to the King of *Spain*'s use. This *Spanish* policy pleased not the *English*, who finding nothing but words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary of lying so long idle, they fell upon some small Towns in the borders of *Guyen*; but for want of Horses, as well for service as draught, were unable to perform any great matter: at which time, being now *October*, the Lord Marquess fell sick, and the Lord *Howard* supplied his place of General. To whom the King of *Spain* once again sent, excusing his present coming, and requiring him, seeing the time of year was now past, that he would be pleased to break up his Army, and disperse his Companies into Towns thereabouts till the next Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his promises. Hereupon the Lord *Howard* and his Company went to *Rendre*, the Lord *Willoughby* to *Gorschange*, and Sir *William Sands*, with many other Captains, to *Fontarcby*. King *Henry* in the mean time hearing what the King of *Spain*'s intention was, sent his Herauld *Windsor* with Letters to the Army, willing them to tarry there, for that very shortly he meant to send them a new supply of Forces, under the conduct of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain; but this message so incensed the Soldiers, that in a great fury they had slain the Lord *Howard*, if he had not yielded presently to return home; who thereupon was forced to hire Ships, and in the beginning of *December* they landed in *England*, being taught by this experience what trust is to be given to *Spanish* promises.

About the same time that the Marquess went into *Spain*, Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, with twenty great ships, made forth towards *Britain*: where setting his men on land, he burned and wasted divers Towns and Villages; and being threatned by the Lords of *Britain* to be encountred, to encourage his Gentlemen, he made divers of them Knights; as Sir *Edward Brook*, Brother to the Lord *Cobham*; Sir *Griffith Down*, Sir *Thomas Windham*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *John Burdet*, Sir *William Pirton*, Sir *Henry Sherburn*, and Sir *William Bull*. The *Britains* were ten thousand, the *English* but five and twenty hundred; yet the *Britains* not contented with this advantage of number, would needs use policy besides: for, by the advice of an old experienced Captain, their General commanded his men, that as soon as the Battels were joyned, they should retire a little, meaning thereby to draw the *English* into some disadvantage: but the Common Souldiers not knowing their Generals purpose, and supposing he had seen some present danger, instead of retiring, took their heels and fled: so giving the *English* by their *British* policy, if not a Victory, at least a safety to return to their Ships. After which the *Britains* sued for Truce, and could not obtain it; for the *English* Admiral pursued his foraging the Country, till fearing there were many *French* Ships abroad at Sea, he came and lay before the Isle of *Wight*. King *Henry* in the mean time followed his pleasures, and in *May* kept a solemn Joust at *Greenwich*, where he and Sir *Charles Brandon* took up all comers; and the King shewed himself no less a King at Arms than in Effect.

An. Reg. 5. 1514.

Policy to self hurt.

After this, King *Henry* having prepared men and Ships ready to go to Sea, under the Government of Sir *Anthony Ousbreak*, Sir *Edmund Ichingham*, *William Sidney*, and divers other Gentlemen, appointed them to take the Sea, and to come before the Isle of *Wight*, there to joyn with the Admiral; which all together made a Fleet of five and twenty fair Ships; and to *Portsmouth* he went himself to see them; where he appointed Captains, for one of his chiefest Ships called the Regent, Sir *Thomas Knevet* Master of his Horse, and Sir *John Carew* of *Devonshire*; and to another principal Ship called the Soveraign, he appointed for Captains Sir *Charles Brandon*, and Sir *Henry Guilford*; and then making them a Banquet, sent them going. The *French* King likewise had prepared a Navy of Nine and thirty Ships in the Haven of *Brest*, whereof the chief was a great *Carrick*, called the *Cordelyer*, pertaining to the Queen his Wife. These two Fleets met at the Bay of *Britain*, and there entred a terrible fight; the Lord Admiral made with the great Ship of *Deep* and chased her; Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Henry Guilford* being in the Soveraign, made with the great *Carrick* of *Brest*, and laid them to them to her; but, whether by negligence of the Master, or by reason of the smoak from the Ordnance, the Soveraign was cast at the stern of the *Carrick*; whereat the *French* men shouted

The two Fleets of the *French* and *English* have a terrible Fight.

shouted for Joy; which Sir *Thomas Knevet* seeing, suddenly he caused the Regent in which he was, to make to the Carrick, and to grapple with her a long board; and when they of the Carrick perceived they could not get asunder; they let slip an Anchor, and so with the stream the Ships turned, and the Carrick was on the Weather-side, and the Regent on the Lee-side; at which time a cruel fight passed between these two Ships: but in conclusion the *English*-men entred the Carrick, which when a Gunner saw he desperately set on fire the Gunpowder (as some say) though others affirmed, that Sir *Anthony Anthread* following the Regent at the Stern, bowged her on divers places, and set her powder on fire; but howsoever it chanced, the Carrick and the Regent both were consumed by fire. In the Carrick was Sir *Piers Morgan*, and with him nine hundred men: In the Regent were Sir *Thomas Knevet* and Sir *John Carew*, and with him seven hundred men, all drowned and burnt. King *Henry* to repair the loss of the Regent, caused a great Ship to be made, such a one as had never been seen in *England*, and named it *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

Sir Thomas Knevet in the King's Ship called the *Regent* drowned.

King Henry makes the great Ship called *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

Though King *Henry* had hitherto followed his Pleasures, as well agreeing with his youth and constitution; yet he neglected not in the mean time severer studies, for he frequented daily his Council-Table, and no matter of importance was resolved on, till he had heard it first maturely discussed: as was now a War with *France*, which he would not enter into upon his own head, nor yet upon advise of his private Council, till he had it debated and concluded in Parliament; whereupon he called his High Court of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, That himself in Person with a Royal Army, should invade *France*, and towards the charges thereof an extraordinary Subsidy was willingly granted.

It is concluded in Parliament that King Henry in Person should invade France.

On *May* Even this year, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk* was beheaded on the *Tower-hill*: This was that Earl of *Suffolk*, whom King *Philip* Duke of *Austria* had delivered up into the hands of King *Henry* the Seventh, upon his promise that he would not put him to death; which indeed he performed; but his Son King *Henry* the Eighth was not bound by that promise, and by him he was, and shortly after, to bring another Lord in his place, Sir *Charles Brandon* was created Viscount *Lisle*.

Edmund de la Pool Earl of *Suffolk* put to death.

Sir Charles Brandon is created Viscount *Lisle*.

For all the great preparation for *France*, King *Henry* forbore not his course of Revelling, but kept his Christmas at *Greenwich*, with divers curious devices, in most magnificent manner. In *March* following, the King's Navy Royal, to the number of two and forty Ships was set forth under the conduct of Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral, accompanied with Sir *Walter Devereux*, Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Woolstan Brown*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *Anthony Poinings*, Sir *John Wallope*, Sir *Thomas Windham*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *William Sidney* Esquires, and divers other Gentlemen, who sailing to *Britain*, came into *Bertram*-Bay, and there lay at Anchor in sight of the *French* Navy, whereof one *Prior John* was Admiral, who keeping himself close in the Haven of *Brest*; the *English* Admiral intended to assail him in the Haven; but because his Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caused certain Boats to be manned forth, thinking thereby to toul out the *French*; but when this neither would draw them to come abroad, he then called a Council, where it was determined, that first they should assail *Prior John* and his Gallies, lying in *Blankesable* Bay, and after set upon the rest of the *French* Fleet in the Haven of *Brest*, and it was further appointed that the Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, and others should go on Land, with a convenient number, to assault the Bulwarks, which the *French* had there made; while the Admiral with Row-Barges, and little Gallies entred into the Bay, that so the *French* men might at once be assailed both by Sea and Land. But though this were determined by a Council of War, yet the Lord Admiral had a trick by himself, for by the advice of a *Spanish* Knight called Sir *Alphonso Charunt*, affirming that he might enter the Bay with little Danger; he called to him *William Fitz-Williams*, *William Cook*, *John Colley*, and Sir *Wolstan Brown*, as his most trusty friends, making them privy to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterprise with their assistants only; and so confident he was of success, that he wrote to the King to come thither in person, to have the honour of the enterprise himself; but it seems the King had better Fates, at least went not; and thereupon on Saint *Mark*'s day the Admiral put himself in a small Row-Barge; and appointed three other small Row-Ships, and his own Ship-Boat to attend him, therewith on a sudden rowed into the Bay, where *Prior John* had moored up his Gallies just to the ground; which Gallies, with the Bulwarks on the Land, shot most cruelly, yet the Admiral went on, and coming to the Gallies, drove out the *French* men: The Bay was shallow, and the other Ships by reason of the Tide was spent, could not enter; which the *French* men perceiving, they entered the Gallies again with Morris-Pikes, and began a new fight; whereupon the Admiral attempting to return back into his Row-Barge, which by violence of the Tide, was driven down the stream, with a Pike was thrown over-board and drowned; the just issue of his head-strong enterprise; the fore-named *Alphonso* was also there slain: Upon which sorrowfull accident, the Lord *Ferrers* with the rest returned into *England*. After whose departure *Prior John* came forth with his Gallies; and coasting over the Borders of *Sussex*, burnt certain poor Cottages; but the King made suddenly a new Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldest Brother to him that was drowned, Son and Heir of the Earl of *Surrey*: who so scowred the Seas, that the *French* were no more to be seen on any Coast of *England*.

Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral following his own head-strong device, is drowned.

King *Henry* had hitherto performed Acts of Arms, though in Jest, yet with great magnificence; he will not perform them with less, being now in earnest, and specially to deal with so potent an Adversary: And therefore when it was concluded by Parliament, that he should make a a War in *France* himself in Person; he sent before to prepare the way for him, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* high Steward of his

Houſhold, accompanied with the Lord *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Dowckgroy* Prior of St. *John's*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Cornwal* and others, to the number of eight thouſand, who arrived at *Callice* about the middle of *May*; after him in the end of *May*, followed Sir *Charles Somerſet*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord *Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Gray* Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Stafford* Earl of *Wilſhire*, the Lord *Dudley*, the Lord *Delaware*, Sir *Edward Huſſey*, Sir *Edward Dimmock*, Sir *David Owen*, with others to the number of ſix thouſand: Theſe Generals joyning together, iſſued out of *Callice*, and on the two and twentieth day of *June*, ſate down before the ſtrong Town of *Terwin*, which City was ſtrongly fortified; and in it was Governour the Lord *Poultreny*, who had with him ſix hundred Horſemen, and five and twenty hundred *Almains*, beſides the Inhabitants. Here at the very firſt happened two diſaſters to the *Engliſh*, one, that the Baron *Carew* was ſlain with a Shot from the Town; the other, that Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, and Sir *Edward Belknappe* coming from *Guiſnes* with four and twenty Carts of Proviſion, were ſet upon by the Duke of *Vendoſme*, Lieutenant of *Picardy*, and many of the *Engliſh* ſlain, and the Proviſion taken. In this ſtate was the *Engliſh* Camp at *Terwin*, when King *Henry* the laſt day of *June*, came himſelf to *Callice*, and on the one and twentieth of *July* took the Field, having in his Army of fighting men not above nine thouſand, but with Pioneers and others that attended the Carriages, eleven thouſand and three hundred men: His forward was led by *Charles Brandon* Viſcount *Liſle*, his main Battel by himſelf, and Sir *Henry Guilford* carried his Standard; and in this order he marched forward to the ſiege of *Terwin*, entring upon the *French* ground the five and twentieth of *July*. On the morrow after, by negligence of the Carters, that miſtook the way, a great Gun called the *John Evangeliſt*, was overthrown in a deep pond of water, and could not at that time be recovered; but a few days after, the Maſter Carpenter taking with him a hundred Labourers, went and weighed it up; but having carted it ready to bring away, was ſet upon by eight hundred *French*; and the moſt of his company ſlain: The Gun was taken by the *French*, and carried to *Bulloign*. In the *French* Army were to the number of eleven thouſand Foot-men, and four thouſand Horſe; whereof were Captains, the Lord *de la Palyce*, the Lord *de Priennes*, the Duke *de Longupoyle*, the Earl of Saint *Paul*, and the Lord of *Floringes*, the Lord of *Clarmont*, and *Richard de la Pool*, an *Engliſh* man, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*. The Armies were come within two miles one of another, and ſome light skirmiſhes paſſed between them, ſpecially one; on a day called *The dry Wedneſday*, for the day was wonderful hot, and the King with his Army ſtood in order of Battel, from ſix a clock in the morning, till three in the afternoon: after this, the King removed towards *Terwin*; and as the Army marched, another of the King's Bombards of Iron, called the Red Gun, was overthrown in a Lane, and there left, which the *French* underſtanding went with a great Power to fetch it away, as they had done the other; but the Lord *Berners*, Captain of the *Engliſh* Pioneers, prevented them; and though ſet upon by the *French* to the number of nine or ten thouſand, yet by the valour of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the bold adventures of Sir *William Tyler*, and Sir *John Sharp*, they recovered it, and brought it ſafe to the Camp. On the fourth of *Auguſt* King *Henry* came before the City of *Terwin*, where he ſtrongly fortified himſelf with Ordnance, and other warlike defences. In which mean time, the Captain of *Bulloign*, knowing that many of the Garriſon of *Callice* were gone with the King, thought to take advantage of their abſence, and do ſome great Exploit upon *Callice*; and thereupon with a thouſand men, came to *Newnham* Bridge, and killing the Watchmen, took it; but afterward ſome of his Company going to fetch Booties, and coming ſo near the Wall of *Callice*, that they were deſcried; about ſixſcore Coopers and other Artificers iſſued forth, and driving them back, recovered again *Newnham* Bridge, and took divers of them priſoners; eſpecially when the Gate of *Callice* called *Bulloigne* Gate, was opened, and that *Colepeper* the under-Marſhal, with two hundred Archers iſſued forth, and joyned with them; the *French* priſoners were brought to *Callice*, and there ſold in open Market: amongſt others, a Cooper of the Town of *Callice*, bought a Priſoner that dwelt in *Bulloigne*, and had of the Priſoner for his ranſom, a hundred Crowns; when the money was paid, the *French*-man prayed the Cooper to ſee him ſafe delivered, and to conduct him out of danger; the Cooper was content, and went himſelf alone with the *French*-man, till he came beyond the Cawſey, and there would have departed; but the *French* man perceiving that the Cooper was bold, and that no reſcue was nigh, by force took the Cooper priſoner, and carried him to *Bulloigne*, making him pay two hundred Crowns, before he was delivered.

An Army of King *Henry's* ſits down before *Terwin*.

The King comes thither himſelf, and his his Army marſhalled.

The number of the *French* Army.

Callice defended by Coopers and other Artificers.

A fooliſh Souldier well ſerved.

Whilſt King *Henry* lay thus at the ſiege of *Terwin*, on the eleventh of *Auguſt* the Emperour *Maximilian* was come to *Ayre*; which King *Henry* underſtanding, went and met him between *Ayre* and the Camp, where with great complements, they ſaluted each other; but their complements were broken off by the extream foul weather which happened that day: the morrow after, the Emperour *Maximilian* came from *Ayre* to the King's Camp, wearing a Croſs of Saint *George*, as the King's Souldier; and receiving wages of him for ſervice, an hundred Crowns aday: An honour never done to any King of *England* before, and yet was no diſparagement to the Emperor; for he was royally received, and lodged in a Tent of Cloth of Gold; that as no Emperour before had ever been a Souldier to a King, ſo no Souldier before was ever lodged in ſuch a Tent. At this time the City of *Terwin*, being in ſome diſtreſs for want of Victuals; the *French* King appointed all his Horſemen to the number of eight thouſand,

The Emperor *Maximilian* takes pay of King *Henry* as his Souldier.

sand, to see victuals by any means convoyed into it; the charge of which Convoy was committed to Monsieur *De Priennes*: But King *Henry*, by advice of the Emperour *Maximilian* had made Bridges to pass his men over the River to the other side of the Town, where was easiest access; in such sort, that when the *French* Convoy came with their Victuals, and thought to have entred the Town, they found an *English* Army there ready to resist them; whereupon a fierce Battel was fought between them: but in conclusion the *French* were put to flight, and fled so fast, that from thence it was called the Battel of Spurs, for that they used more their Spurs in running away, than their Launces in fighting. In this Battel, the Duke of *Longueyle*, the Lord of *Cleremont*, Captain *Bayard*, and others, to the number of twelve-score were taken prisoners, and all brought to the King's presence; with six Standards that were likewise taken. After the Battel, the King made Sir *John Peshye* Banneret, and *John Carre* Knight, who had both of them done great Service in this Encounter. King *Henry* having obtained this Victory against the *French* Horsemen, and hindred the Town of *Terwin* from relief of Victuals, and withall plying his Battery more fiercely than before; made the Townsmen soon fall to desire composition, and upon Condition, that the Souldiers may depart with Horse and Armour, they yielded up the Town into the King's hands. This was done on the eighteenth of *August*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* entred the Town the same night, and set up the Banner of Saint *George* in the highest place of it, in sign of Victory, and swore all the Townsmen to be true Subjects to the King of *England*. The four and twentieth of *August*, the King himself entred the Town, and dined in the Bishop's Palace, where it was resolved, that the Walls and Fortifications of *Terwin* should be rased, and the Town burnt all but the Cathedral Church and the Palace; all the Ordnance was sent to *Ayre*, to be kept there to the King's use.

The *English* defeat the *French* in a Battel called the Battel of Spurs.

Terwin is delivered up to King *Henry*.

After this it was concluded, that the King should lay siege to the City of *Tourney*, whereupon he set forward in three Battels; the Earl of *Shrewsbury* led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperor the Battel; and the Lord Chamberlain the Rereward. In this order the King's Army marched forwards towards *Tourney*; by the Way, he went and visited the young Prince of *Castile*, and the Lady *Margaret*, Governess of the Prince, in the Town of *Lisle*, where withall Magnificence, or rather indeed Reverence, he was entertained; and after he had stayed there three days, he took his leave, and being gone a mile and somewhat more out of the Town, he asked where his Camp lay, and no man there could tell the way, and guide they had none; the night was so dark and misty; by chance at last they met with a Victualler coming from the Camp, who was their guide, and conducted them to it. By which we may see, to what distress a great Prince might be brought by a little oversight.

King *Henry* lays siege to *Tourney*.

On the one and twentieth day of *September*, the King removed his Camp towards *Tourney*, and being come within three miles of the Town, he sent *Garter* King of Arms to summon the Town; but they, though they had but few men of War amongst them, yet stood upon their Guard; whereupon the King begirt it on all sides, and made such fierce batteries upon it, that though it were written on the Gates of the Town, graven in stone, *Jamais ou ne as perdu ton Pucellage*; thou has never lost thy Maidenhead, yet now they were glad to lose it: And in conclusion they sent a Trumpet to require a Parley, and then sued for mercy and yielded it up, and paid ten thousand pounds sterling besides for Redemption of their liberties. And then Master *Thomas Woolsey*, the King's Almoner, calling before him all the Citizens young and old, swore them to the King of *England*; the number of whom was fourscore thousand. This done, the King entred into *Tourney*; and calling into his presence *Edward Guilford*, *William Fitz-William*, *John Dansie*, *William Tyler*, *John Sharp*, *William Hussey*, *John Savage*, *Christopher Garnish*, and some other valiant Gentlemen; he gave to them the Order of Knighthood. And then remembring the great entertainment the Prince of *Castile* and the Lady *Margaret* had given him at *Lisle*, he would not be behind them in such Courtesie; and thereupon invited them solemnly to his City of *Tourney*, whom at their coming he brought into the Town in great triumph: during their abode in *Tourney*, amongst other complements of entertainment, there was had a Justs, where the King and the Lord *Lisle*, answered all comers: After the Justs, was a sumptuous Banquet; after the Banquet, the Ladies danced, and then came in the King, and eleven other in a Mask, and richly apparelled with Bonners of Gold. And when they had passed the time at their Pleasures, the Garments of the Maskers were cast off amongst the Ladies, take them that could. This was King *Henry*'s disposition, that he could not forbear Revelling in the midst of his Arms, and Ladies must be entertained as well as Souldiers. And here *Maximilian* the Emperor finding the *French* Forces to be but weak, perswades King *Henry* to proceed on and pursue his Victories: but he being young and of a quiet disposition, and considering with himself that he had not entred the War for any cause of his own, but to revenge the injuries done to the Pope: And thinking by this already done the *French* sufficiently lessoned to acknowledge their error, and the rather for that Winter was now drawing on; he resolved to put this end to the War: And so taking his leave of the Emperor; and leaving Sir *Edward Poyning*, Governour of *Tourney*, he returned to *Callice* and from thence into *England*, then rode in Post to the Queen at *Richmond*.

Tourney is delivered unto King *Henry*.

King *Henry* makes a solemn Justs in *Tourney*.

Whilst King *Henry* was thus busied in his War with *France*, the King of *Scots*, though his Brother-in-law, yet instigated by the *French* King, and taking advantage of King *Henry*'s absence, assembled his People to invade *England*; but before his whole Power could come together, the Lord *Hume* his Chamberlain with seven or eight thousand men entred the Borders; but as he was returning with a great booty of

The King of *Scots* invades the *English* borders, but is repelled.

Cattel, in a field over-grown with Broom, called *Mil-field*, he was encountered by Sir *Edward Bulmer*, having with him not above a thousand men; who lying in that field in Ambush, broke out upon him, and put him to flight, with the slaughter of five or six hundred of his company, and four hundred taken Prisoners; the Lord *Humes* himself escaped by flight, but his Banner was taken: And this by the *Scots* was called, *The ill Rode*. In the mean time the whole power of *Scotland* was assembled, no fewer than one hundred thousand men; though *Buchanan* in favour of his Countrey, saith, not the fifth part of that number: and with these King *James* approaching the borders, and coming to *Norham*-Castle, laid siege unto it; which for want of Powder, was soon delivered up unto him. But by this time the Earl of *Surrey*, Lieutenant of the North-parts, had assembled an Army of six and twenty thousand men; to whom also soon after his Son the Lord Admiral, with one thousand expert Souldiers, came and joyned: And now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their station; and then was informed, that King *James* being removed six miles from *Norham*, lay embattelling upon a great Mountain called *Floddon*, where it was impossible to come near him but with great disadvantage; for at the foot of the Hill, on the left hand, was a great Marish-ground full of reeds and water, on the right hand was a River called *Till*, so swift and deep, that it was not passable, on the backside were such craggy Rocks and thick Woods, that there was no assailing him on that part; the fore-part of his Camp, he had fenced with his great Ordnance. Being in such a hold, the Earl of *Surrey* found there was no possibility of a Battel, unless he could draw him from the Hill: whereupon he called a Council, by which it was determined to send *Rouge-Cross* Pursuivant at Arms, with a Trumpet to the King of *Scots*, to let him know that he was ready on Friday following to give him Battel, if he would abide it: Whereunto the King of *Scots* by his Pursuivant *Ilay* made answer, that at the day prefixed he should find him ready for Battel as he desired; that he would willingly have come to such a Match if he had been at *Edenburgh*; but though he made this answer, yet he would not leave the strong hold he was in, but kept himself still upon the Hill; at last, *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, having viewed the Countrey round about, declared to his Father, that if he would fetch but a small compass, and come with his Army on the back of his Enemies, he should enforce the *Scottish* King to come down out of his strength, or else stop him from receiving of Victuals or any other thing out of *Scotland*. This counsel of the Lord *Howard*, his Father followed; and King *James* perceiving what their meaning was, thought it stood not with his honour to be so shut out of his own Realm; and thereupon immediately raised his Camp, and got to another Hill, but not so steep as the other: which the Earl of *Surrey* perceiving, he determined to mount it, and to fight with the *Scots*, before they should have leisure to fortifie their Camp: And herewith making a short speech for encouragement of his Souldiers, he divided his Army into Battels; the Vantguard was led by the Lord *Howard*, to whom was joyned as a wing, Sir *Edward Howard*; the middle-ward was led by the Earl himself; and the Rere-ward was led by Sir *Edward Stanley*; the Lord *Dacres* with a number of Horsemen, were set apart by himself, to succour where need should be; the Ordnance was placed in the Front, and in other places, as was thought most convenient: And in this order they march forwards towards the *Scots*. On the other side King *James* reckoning upon the benefit of the Hill, thought the *English* half mad, to venture a Battel upon such disadvantage; and thereupon making a speech to encourage his Souldiers, who were of themselves so forward, that they needed no encouraging, he divided the Battels in this manner: The main Battel he led himself, to which he appointed two Wings; the right led by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford*, and *Montross*: the left by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*; together with the Lord *Humes* L. Chamberlain: And so confident they were of Victory, that the King first, and after all the Lords and meaner men, put away their Horses, as thinking they should not need them; which confidence was afterward their undoing: For when the Battel being joyned, Sir *Edward Howard* in getting up the Hill, was affronted by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, that he was left almost alone, and in manifest peril to be slain; in comes the Lord *Dacres* with his Horsemen, and trod under foot the *Scottish* Battel of Speers on foot, which he could not have done, if they had kept their Horses. And this part of the *Scottish* Army being led by the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montross*, they were both of them slain, and the whole Battel put to flight. In another part also Sir *Edward Stanley*, did the like upon the Battel led by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, putting it to flight with the slaughter also of these two Earls. King *James* notwithstanding, maintained a fight still with great resolution, till Sir *Adam Forman* his Standard-bearer was beaten down; and then not fainting, though despairing of success, he rushed into the thickest of his enemies, amongst whom he was beaten down and slain; and to make his death the more honourable, there died with him three Bishops (whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, the King's base Son) two Abbots, twelve Earls, and seventeen Lords, of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken Prisoners (as *Paulus Jovius* saith) amongst whom was Sir *William Scot* Chancellour to the said King, and Sir *George Forman* his Serjeant-Porter; the Lord *Humes* and the Lord *Huntley* got Horses and escaped. Neither was the Battel without blood to the *English*; for there was slain at least a thousand, and (that which in a Defeat was strange) many also taken Prisoners; for many in pursuing the *Scots* went rashly so far, that they knew not which way to return; and by Bands of *Scots* that had not fought that day, were set upon and taken. When the field was done, the Lord General called to him certain Lords

The Battel called *Floddon*-Field.

How the *English* army was marshalled.

How the *Scottish* army was marshalled.

The King of *Scots* slain.

Lords and Gentlemen, and made them Knights, as Sir *Edward Howard* his Son, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *William Percy*, Sir *Edward George*, and others. This Battel was fought on Friday the ninth of *Sept.* in the year 1513. called by some *Bramston*, by some *Floddon* field. King *James* here slain was the same that had married the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh, and Sister to the present King *Henry*, and might have enjoyed many happy days, if he had kept himself firm to his alliance; but being carried away with the inveterate spleen between the two Nations, and propension to *France*, he ended his life, though honourably, yet miserably under many wounds. It is a very memorable, but scarce credible thing, which (from the mouth of a very credible person who saw it) *George Buchanan* relates concerning this King; that intending to make a War with *England*, a certain old man of venerable aspect, and clad in a long blue Garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the Chair where the King sate, said, I am sent to thee O King, to give thee warning, that thou proceed not in the War thou art about: for if thou do, it will be thy ruin: and having so said, he pressed through the company, and vanished out of sight; for by no inquiry it could be known what became of him. But the King was too resolute to be frighted with Phantasms, and no warning could divert his Destiny, which had not been Destiny if it could have been diverted. The day after the Battel, his Body, though disfigured with wounds, was known by the Lord *Dacres* and others to be his, and thereupon bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in lead, was brought to the Monastery of *Sheen* in *Surrey*, and there interred; but at the dissolution of that house was taken up and thrown into a waste room amongst timber and stone; which *John Stow* saith he saw, and further reporteth, that the servants of *Lancelot Young*, Glazier to Queen *Elizabeth*, being at *Sheen*, in new Glazing the Windows, either upon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest; but smelling the sweet perfumes of the Balms, gave it to their Master; who opening the lead, found therein the head of a man, retaining favour, though the moisture were clean dried up, whose hair both of head and beard was red; which afterward he caused to be buried at St. *Michael's* Church in *Wood-street*, where he dwelled. But notwithstanding this relation of *Stow*, *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross* affirmeth, that it was held for certain, the Body thus found, was the Body of the Lord *Bauchard* slain in that Battel; *Buchanan* saith, of *Alexander Elfinston*, who in countenance and stature was like the King; and that King *James* was seen alive the same night at *Kelso*, whence he passed to *Jerusalem*, and there spent the rest of his days in holy contemplation: but howsoever it was, he was never seen any more in *Scotland*.

The same that had married the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh.

A Vision that appeared to King *James*, deborting him from the Battel.

King *Henry* being now returned from *Tournay* into *England*, and finding the great services done in his absence against the *Scots*; on the day of the Purification of our Lady, at *Lambeth* he created the Earl of *Surrey* Duke of *Norfolk*, with an augmentation of the Arms of *Scotland*; Sir *Charles Brandon* Viscount *Lisle*, he created Duke of *Suffolk*; the Lord *Howard* high Admiral, he made Earl of *Surrey*; Sir *Charles Somerset* Lord *Herbert* his chief Chamberlain, Earl of *Worcester*; and shortly after Sir *Edward Stanley* he made Lord *Monteagle*; and in *March* following, Master *Thomas Woolsey* his Almoner, was made Bishop of *Lincoln*. Here before we go further, it will be fit to say something of this man, that he be not a rub afterward in the way of the Story: He was born at *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, the Son of a Butcher, sent to *Oxford* by reason of his pregnancy of wit, so soon, that taking there the first degree of Art, he was called the Boy Batchelour; proceeding in learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen*-Colledge in *Oxford*, and afterward Schoolmaster of the School there, at which time the Marquess *Dorset* committed three of his Sons to be instructed by him; and having a Benefice fallen in his gift, sent for him one Christmas, and bestowed it upon him; whereof *Woolsey* going to take possession, at his being there, for what misdemeanour is not delivered, he was by Sir *Amyas Paulet* set by the heels, which afterwards he remembred to Sir *James* his no small trouble, for he made him attend his pleasure five or six years; all which time he lay in the *Middle-Temple*, where he re-edified the Gate-house next the street very sumptuously, setting the Cardinal's Arms upon it, to appease him. After this disgrace he went over-Sea, where he fell in acquaintance with Sir *John Naphant* Treasurer of *Callice*, and by him was preferred to be King *Henry* the Seventh's Chaplain: And now being by this means in the King's eye, he so diligently carried himself, that he soon got into the King's heart. One time it happened, the King had occasion to send a Messenger to the Emperor *Maximilian*, about a business that required haste; for which employment no man was thought more fit than *Woolsey*; whereupon, when the King called him, gave him his Errand, and bade him make all speed he could: *Woolsey* departed from the King at *Richmond* about noon, and by the next morning was got to *Dover*, and from thence by noon that day was come to *Callice*, and by night was with the Emperor; to whom declaring his Message, and having a present dispatch, he rode that night back to *Callice*, and the night following, came to the Court at *Richmond*. The next morning he presented himself before the King, who blamed him for not being yet gone, the matter requiring haste; to whom *Woolsey* answered, that he had been with the Emperor, and had dispatched the business, and for proof shewed the Emperor's lines: the King wondered much at his speed, but then asked him if he met not with his Pursuivant, whom he sent after to advertise him of a special matter he had forgotten: whereto *Woolsey* answered, May it please your Grace, I met him yesterday upon the way, but that business I had dispatched before, taking the boldness so to do without commission, as knowing it to be of special consequence; for which boldness I humbly intreat your Graces Pardon. The King not only pardoned him, but bestowed presently upon him the Deanery of *Lincoln*, and soon after made

Thomas Woolsey his parentage, education, and rising.

Dukes and Earls created.

made him his Almoner. In this ſtate King *Henry* the Eighth found him, with whom alſo he grew into ſuch favour, that he made him of his Counſil; and having won *Tourney*, made him Biſhop of that City; and returning into *England*, the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* falling void by the death of Doctor *Smith*, made him Biſhop of that Dioceſs. And thus far the Story hath now brought him; but ſoon after he was raiſed higher, for Doctor *Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *York* dying, he was tranſlated from *Lincoln* to that See; and that he might not be inferior to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he procured of the Pope to be made Cardinal, and Legat a *Latere*; and after by the King was made Lord Chancellor of *England*: and being come to his height of Dignity, he ſo carried himſelf in Expences of Houſhold, in number of Retinue, and in all circumſtances of State, that no Subject before or ſince hath in any degree come near him: and if we may ſay it, he was the firſt debaucher of King *Henry*; for to the end he might have the managing of all matters himſelf, he perſwaded the King that he ſhould not need trouble himſelf with frequenting the Council-Table as he did, but take his pleaſure, and leave thoſe things to his Council, whereof himſelf would always give him true information. This was plauſible Counſel, and no marvel if it were embraced of a young King, coming from the mouth of ſo great a Prelate.

In this fifth year of the King, the Citizens of *London* finding themſelves grieved with the Incloſures of the common fields about *Iſlington*, *Hogſdon*, and *Shorditch*, and other places adjoyning, went one morning, and threw down all the Hedges, and filled up all the Ditches, whereat though the King's Council were at firſt offended, yet the Mayor and City ſhewed them ſuch reaſons, that they reſted ſatisfied, and the Fields were never ſince hedged.

The fields about Iſlington, Hogſdon, and Shorditch, laid open.

On the nineteenth of *May* this year, Pope *Julius* the Second ſent to King *Henry* a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword, and being angry with the King of *France*, transferred, by Authority of the *Lateran* Councel, the Title of *Chriſtianiſſimo* from him upon King *Henry*, which with great ſolemnity was publiſhed the Sunday following, in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*; but this ſolemnity muſt not paſs without Revelling, Maſques, and Juſts, wherein the King and the Duke of *Suffolk* were Defendants againſt all comers; who having the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Lord of *Clermont* to be ſpectators, ſpread the fame of their Chivalry into Foreign Nations.

The Pope gives King Henry the Title of Chriſtianiſſimo.

And now the great love, that had been long between King *Henry* and the *Flemings*, began to abate upon this occaſion; King *Henry* the Seventh had concluded a match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*: but by reaſon of her young years, and for want of aſſurance of Joynture, the match was deferred during his time, but now King *Henry* the Eighth ſeeing his Siſter of convenient years, began to call upon it, and ſignifie ſo much to the Council of *Flanders*; but they, whether having other ends, or out of *Spaniſh* delays, put him off with excuſes, and at laſt ſent him word plainly, they could do nothing in it that year. The King of *France* had ſoon intelligence how much King *Henry* diſtaſted theſe *Spaniſh* dealings, and meant to make ſome good uſe of it, for the ends he began to propoſe to himſelf; which were to get the Lady *Mary* for himſelf, and thereby procure Peace with *England*, being now old, and weary of the War. And for this purpoſe he got the new Pope *Leo* the Tenth to be his Mediator, and both of them ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Henry*, the Pope to perſwade him to have Peace with *France*, the *French* King to treat about a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, upon whoſe Ambaſſages, King *Henry* partly to ſatisfie the Pope, and partly to advance his Siſter, did not unwillingly hearken to the motions; but while this was in working, *Prior John* (who knew nothing of theſe intentions) began again to play his pranks; and coming with his Gallies on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, burnt *Brighthemſtead*, and took away the Goods he found in the Village, whereupon the Lord Admiral ſent Sir *John Wallop* to Sea, with divers Ships and eight hundred men, who for one Village burnt by *Prior John* burnt in *England* above one and twenty Villages and Towns in *France*, to the great honour of himſelf, and his Country.

And now King *Henry* by advice of his Council, and ſpecially of *Wolſey* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, concluded both the Peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Siſter the Lady *Mary*, with the *French* King; but yet it ſtuck a while upon ſome differences, King *Henry* demanding *Bulloign*, and the King of *France*, *Tourney*: in concluſion theſe demands were waved, and the principal conditions were, firſt, concerning the Ladies Joynture, that ſhe ſhould have two and thirty thouſand Crowns of yearly revenues if ſhe ſurvived the King; and then concerning this Peace, that the *French* King ſhould pay yearly to King *Henry*, for five years, one hundred thouſand Crowns, and the Peace to continue between them during their lives, and a year after, and bound reciprocally to aſſiſt each other with Ten thouſand foot, if the War were by Land, with ſix thouſand, if by Sea. All things thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* was brought to *Dover* by King *Henry* and his Queen: and on the ſecond of *October* taking ſhipping, was conducted by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Berners*, the Lord *Monteagle* Sir *Maurice Berkley*, Sir *John Peechy*, Sir *William Sands*, Sir *Thomas Bulleyne*, Sir *John Carre* and many other Knights and Ladies; but being not paſt half way over the Sea, their Ships by Tempeſt were diſperſed, and the Lady with ſome jeopardy landed at *Bullen*, where Sir *Chriſtopher Garniſh* was fain to ſtand in the water, and take her in his arms, and ſo let her on ſhore; and there the Duke of *Vendoſme*, with a Cardinal, and many other great States received her. From *Bullen* the eighth of *October* ſhe came to *Abbeville*, where the Dauphin received her: on the morrow being Saint *Dennis* day, ſhe came to Saint *Dennis*, where the marriage between the King of *France* and her was ſolemnized (though ſome write it had been ſolemnized before at *Abbeville*.) The fifth of *November* ſhe was Crowned Queen of *France*, at which time the Dauphin held the Crown

A Peace is concluded with France; and the King of France marries the Lady Mary King Henry's younger Siſter.

1515.

She is Crowned Queen of France.

Crown over her head, as being too massie for her to wear; and the day following she was received into *Paris* in most magnificent manner. In honour of whose Marriage and Coronation, the *Dauphin* proclaimed a solemn Justs to be proclaimed, which should be kept in *Paris* the seventh of *November*. Upon report of this Proclamation in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and his four Brothers, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Giles Capel*, *Thomas Cheiney*, and others, obtained leave of the King to be at the Challenge, where they all behaved themselves with great valour, but specially the Duke of *Suffolk*, whose glory the *Dauphin* so much envied, that he got a *Dutch* man, the tallest and strongest man in all the Court of *France*, secretly as another person to encounter him, with a purpose to have the Duke foiled; but indeed it turned to his greater honour; for he foiled the *Dutch* man in such sort, that when they came to the Barriers, the Duke by main strength took him about the neck, and so pommelled him about the head, that he made the blood issue out at his nose: many other Princes and Lords did bravely, and after three days the Justs ended.

A Justs proclaimed in *Paris* by the *Dauphin*.

Charles Duke of Suffolk.

King *Henry* was not long behind to solemnize it in *England* also; for at *Greenwich* the Christmas following, on New-years night, and Twelfth-night, he presented such strange and magnificent devices, as had seldom been seen; and the third of *February* following, he held a solemn Justs, where he and the Marquess *Dorset* answered all comers, at which time the King brake three and twenty Spears, and threw to the ground one that encountred him both man and horse.

At this time preparation was making for King *Henry* in person to go to *Callice*, there to meet with the *French* King and Queen, but death hindered the design; for before the next Spring the first of *January* the *French* King died at the City of *Paris*, fourscore and two days after his marriage; teaching others by his example, what it is for an old man to marry a young Lady. King *Henry* hearing of the *French* King's death, sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Richard Wingefield*, and Doctor *West*, to bring over the Queen Dowager, according to the Covenants of the Marriage. Whereupon the Queen was delivered to the Duke by Indenture, who obtaining her good will to be her Husband, (which was no hard matter, that had been her first Love) wrote to the King her Brother for his consent; whereat the King seemed to stick a while, but at last consented; so as he brought her into *England* unmarried, and then married at his return; but the Duke for more surety married her secretly in *Paris*, and after having received her Dower, Apparel, and Jewels, came with her to *Callice*, and there openly married her with great solemnity. At their coming into *England* King *Henry* to shew his contentment with the marriage, in the company of the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Essex*, all richly apparelled, held a new kind of Justs, and running courses on Horseback in manner Volant, as fast as one could follow another, to the great delight of the beholders.

The King of *France* 8 days after his marriage dies.

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The Duke of *Suffolk* sent to fetch over the Queen Dowager of *France*, marries her.

A new kind of Justs used by King *Henry*.

This year the King being at his Manour of *Oking*; *Woolsey* Archbishop of *York* came and shewed him Letters that he was elected Cardinal; for which Dignity he disabled himself, till the King willed him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinal, but his Hat and Bull were not yet come: after which Doctor *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, finding *Woolsey*, being no Cardinal, to meddle more in his office of Chancellorship, than he could well suffer, resigned up the Seal, which the King presently gave to *Woolsey*. About this time, Cardinal *Campejus* was sent by Pope *Leo* to King *Henry*, to sollicite him to a War against the *Turk*, with whom Cardinal *Woolsey* was joyned in Commission: who bearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow-Cardinal, sent store of red Cloth to *Callice* to make them fit followers of so great a Lord: and when *Campejus* was landed at *Dover*, Cardinal *Woolsey* caused the Gentry of *Kent* to wait upon him to *Blackheath*; where he was met and received by the Duke of *Norfolk* and many Prelates, and there in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, shifted himself into his Cardinal Robes. Eight Mules he had laden with necessaries; but *Woolsey* not thinking them enough for his honour, sent him twelve more. But now see the shame of pride; for in *Cheapside* his Mules by some misthance overthrew their Carriages and Coffers on the ground, whose lids flying open, shewed the world what treasure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shoes, broken meat, Marrow-bones, and Crusts of Bread; exposing him to the laughter of all the people: yet the Cardinal went jogging on afore with his Crosses, guilt Axe and Mace, unto *Paul's* Church; and by the way had an Oration made him by Sir *Thomas More*, in the name of the City, and then waited on with many Bishops, was conducted to *Bath* place, where he was lodged: for his own particular, he got well by the Journey, for the King gave him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*: but the errand he came about, which was to have aid by money for a War against the *Turk*, he could not obtain, for it was well known to be but a device to get money, without any intention of what was pretended.

Woolsey is made a Cardinal and Lord Chancellour.

In his seventh year, King *Henry* kept his Christmas at his Manour of *Eltham*, where on Twelfth-night, according to his custom, was a stately mask of Knights and Ladies, with solemn Dancing, and a most magnificent Banquet.

An. Reg. 7.

It was now the eighth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when the new League between him and the *French* King was proclaimed in the City of *London*: and this year *Margaret* Queen of *Scots*, eldest Sister to King *Henry*, having before married *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*; by reason of dissension amongst the Lords of *Scotland*, was glad with her Husband to fly into *England*, and to seek succour at her Brother's hands; who assigned to her the Castle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* to reside in, where she was delivered of a Daughter named *Margaret*. From thence the King sent for her and her Husband to come to his Court, and thereupon

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Margaret Queen of *Scots*, King *Henry*'s Sister, comes into *England*.

upon the third of *May*, Queen *Margaret* riding on a white Palfrey (which the Queen of *England* had ſent her) behind Sir *Thomas Parre*, came through *London* to *Baynard's* Caſtle, and from thence went to *Greenwich*: but her Huſband the Earl of *Angus*, was ſecretly before departed into *Scotland*; which when King *Henry* heard, he only ſaid it was done like a *Scot*. And now in honour of his Siſter's coming, King *Henry* the nine and twentieth of *May*, appointed two ſolemn days of Juſts; where the King, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Nicholas Carew* Eſquire, took upon them to anſwer all comers; amongſt others, the King and Sir *William Kinſton* ran together, which Sir *William*, though a ſtrong and valorous Knight, yet the King overthrew him to the ground: All the reſt was performed with no leſs valour than magnificence. This year died the King of *Aragon*, Father to the Queen of *England*; for whom was kept a ſolemn Obſequy in the Cathedral Church of *Paul's*; and Queen *Margaret*, after ſhe had been a year in *England*, returned into *Scotland*.

Twelve hundred Carpenters and Maſons ſent to build a Caſtle at *Tourney*.

In this year were ſent twelve hundred Carpenters and Maſons, with three hundred Labourers, to the City of *Tourney* in *France*, to build a Caſtle there, to keep the City in awe. And now the Cardinal being weary of hearing ſo many Cauſes himſelf, as were daily brought before him; ordained by the King's Commiſſion (after the pattern of *Moſes*) divers under-Courts to hear Complaints of Suitors: Whereof one was kept in *Whitehall*, another before the King's Almoner, Doctor *Stokeſley*, a third in the Lord Treaſurer's lodging near the Star-Chamber, and the fourth at the Rolls in the afternoon: Theſe Courts for a time were much frequented; but at laſt the people perceiving that much delay was uſed in them, and that ſentence given by them bound no man by Law, they thereupon grew weary of them, and reſorted to the common Law. By occaſion of this Government of the Cardinal, who under colour of Juſtice, did what he pleaſed: Many great men withdrew themſelves from the Court, as firſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who went and lived in their Dioceſſes; then the Duke of *Norfolk*, and at length the Duke of *Suffolk*, being run deep into the King's debt, by reaſon of his many employments into *France*, and his great Houſe-keeping ſince his marriage with the King's Siſter, hoping the King would have forgiven it, and would no doubt have done it, but that the Cardinal oppoſed it, to the end the Duke ſhould be the more at his Command.

Cardinal *Wooſey* erects divers new Courts.

In *October* this year, *Matthew* Biſhop of *Sion*, commonly called the Cardinal of the *Swizzers*, came into *England* from the Emperour *Maximilian*; by whoſe ſolliciting, and Cardinal *Wooſey's* perſwaſion, the King lent the Emperor a great ſum of money; for *Wooſey* being angry with the King of *France* for detaining the Revenues of his Biſhoprick of *Tourney*, perſwaded King *Henry*, that the beſt way to abate the *French* King's power, was to furniſh the Emperor with money, the better to maintain War againſt him: and what *Wooſey* ſaid, was in thoſe days to King *Henry* an Oracle.

This year the King kept his Chriſtmas at his Manour of *Greenwich*, where on Twelfth-night according to his cuſtom, rare devices with great magnificence were preſented; after which time the King exerciſed himſelf much in Hawking, which was like to have proved no good ſport to him; for one time following his Hawk, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, the Pole brake, ſo that if one *Edmund Mody* a footman had not leapt into the Water, and lift up his head which was faſt in the clay, he had been drowned.

King *Henry* in great danger by a fall in Hawking.

In this year alſo there happened in the City of *London*, an Inſurrection againſt Strangers, ſpecially of Artificers, complaining that ſtrangers were permitted to reſort hither with their Wares, and to exerciſe handy-crafts, to the great hindrance and impoveriſhing the King's own Subjects, and not only ſo, but that they were born out in many great Inſolencies and Wrongs they offered to the *Engliſh*, as one time it happened, a Carpenter in *London*, called *Williamſon*, had bought two Pigeons in *Cheapſide*, and was about to pay for them, when a *French* man took them out of his hand, ſaying, They were no meat for a Carpenter: Well (ſaid *Williamſon*) I have bought them, and I will have them; Nay (ſaid the *French* man) I will have them for my Lord Ambaſſadour; hereupon they grew to words, and complaint was made to the *French* Ambaſſador, who ſo aggravated the matter to the Mayor, that the Carpenter was ſent to priſon, and when Sir *John Baker* ſued to the Ambaſſador for him, he anſwered, By the Body of God, the *Engliſh* Knave was worthy to loſe his life for denying any thing to a *French* man; and other anſwer he could have none. Many like and worſe inſolencies were offered by Strangers, which one *John Lincoln* a Broker drew into a Bill, and prevailed with Doctor *Beale*, Preacher on Eaſter Tueſday at the *Spittle*, to read it openly in the Pulpit, which ſo ſtirred up many, that ſtrangers could hardly paſs the Streets, but were ſtrucken, and ſometimes beaten down. At laſt, one evening many Prentices, and others aſſembling, rifled ſome ſtrangers Houſes, and much miſchief was like to be done: But by the care of the Mayor and Aldermen, and by the induſtry of *Robert Brook* Recorder, and Sir *Thomas More* that had been under-Sheriff of *London*, they were gotten to be quiet, and many of the diſturbers were ſent to Priſon, whereof *Lincoln* and twelve other were hanged, four hundred more in their Shirts, bound in ropes, and halters about their necks, (and thereupon called the black Waggon) were brought to *Weſtminſter*, where the King himſelf ſate that day; and when the Cardinal had charged them with the greatneſs of their offence; they all cryed, Mercy, Mercy: and then the King by the mouth of the Cardinal, pardoned them all; which clemency purchaſed the King no ſmall love amongſt the people.

An Inſurrection in *London* againſt Strangers, appeaſed by Artificers.

How pacified.

In his ninth year, in *June*, King *Henry* had many Ambaſſadors at his Court; for whoſe entertainment he prepared a coſtly Juſts; himſelf and twelve more againſt the Duke of *Suffolk* and other twelve. The King had on his head a Ladies ſleeve full of Diamonds, and perhaps

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perhaps ſome thing elſe of the Ladies in his heart, which made him perform his courſes with the Applauſe of all beholders. This year, by reaſon of a ſweating Sickneſs *Michaelmas* Term was adjourned: and the year following, *Trinity* Term was held one day at *Oxford*, and then adjourned again to *Weſtminſter*.

About this time Cardinal *Woolſey* obtained of Pope *Leo* authority to diſpenſe with all offences againſt the Spiritual Laws; by virtue whereof he ſet up a Court, and called it, *The Court of the Legat*, in the which he proved Teſtaments, and heard Cauſes; to the great hindrance of all the Biſhops of the Realm; and to the debauching of Prieſts and Religious perſons, who relying upon his greatneſs, took ſuch a liberty of licentiouſneſs to themſelves, that none were more diſorderly than thoſe that were in Orders: and ſuppoſing perhaps, they might lawfully commit ſuch Sins themſelves, as they forgave to others. And indeed the Cardinal's carriage exceeded all bounds of moderation; for when he ſaid Maſs, he made Dukes and Earls to ſerve him of Wine, with a ſay taken, and to hold the Baſon at the Lavatory: And when the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, writing a Letter to him, ſubſcribed, Your Brother *William* of *Canterbury*, he took it in great dudgeon to be termed his Brother.

Cardinal *Woolſey* makes Dukes and Earls to ſerve him of Wine, and to hold the Baſon at the Lavatory.

An. Reg. 10. 1519

It was now the tenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when the King of *France*, longing much to have *Tourney* reſtored to him, by great gifts and greater promiſes won the Cardinal *Woolſey*, to move the King in it; who upon his perſwaſions, was contented to be treated withall about it; To which the King of *France* ſent the Lord *Boniquet* High Admiral of *France*, and the Biſhop of *Paris*, who in their Attendance, having above fourſcore Gentlemen, and with their Servants and all, above twelve hundred, arrived in *England*, and on Monday the ſeven and twentieth of *September*, were met at *Black heath* by the Earl of *Surrey*, High Admiral of *England*, attended likewiſe with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to *London*, where they were lodged at Merchant-Taylors Hall: The laſt of *September*, the Ambaſſadors went to the King at *Greenwich*, where after long Communication, an agreement was at laſt concluded under pretence of a Marriage to be had between the Dauphin of *France*, and the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of *England*; that in name of her Marriage money, *Tourney* ſhould be delivered to the *French* King, he paying to the King of *England*, for the Caſtle he had made in that City, ſix hundred thouſand Crowns in twelve years, but fifty thouſand Crowns yearly: and if the Marriage ſhould chance not to take effect, then that *Tourney* ſhould be again reſtored to the King of *England*; for performance of which Articles, Hoſtages ſhould be delivered. Namely Mounſieur *de Memorancie*, Mounſieur *de Monpeſac*, Mounſieur *de Moy*, and Mounſieur *Morret*; and moreover, the *French* King ſhould pay to the Cardinal of *England* a thouſand Marks yearly, in recompence of his Revenues, received before of his Biſhoprick of *Tourney*: all things thus concluded, the Cardinal made to the Ambaſſador a ſolemn Banquet, and after preſented them with a ſtately Mummery. The eighth of *October*, the King feaſted them at *Greenwich*, and at night preſented a ſtately Mask of Knights and Ladies, with rare devices and great magnificence: The next day, Sir *Thomas Exmew* Mayor of *London* feaſted them at Goldſmiths-Hall, and then delivering their four Hoſtages, they took their leave. At whoſe departure the King gave to the Admiral of *France*, a garniſh of Gilt Veſſel, a pair of covered Baſons gilt, twelve great gilt Bowls, four pair of great gilt Pots, a ſtanding Cup of Gold, garniſh'd with great Pearls; and to ſome other he gave Plate, to ſome other Chains of Gold, to ſome rich Apparel: to the great commendation of his liberality. Shortly after their departure, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord Chamberlain, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord of St. *Johns*, Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, Sir *John Pechy*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen*, as Ambaſſadors from the King of *England*, accompanied with Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the number of above four hundred, paſſed over to *Callice*, and from thence went to *Paris*; where, after Royal entertainment by the King, with divers Masks and ſtately ſhews, they took their leaves and rode to *Tourney* to ſee the City delivered to the *French*men, on the eighth of *February*, to the great grief of the *Engliſh* Garriſon. After the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were returned, King *Henry* to cheer up the four *French* Hoſtages left here for performance of Covenants, on the ſeventh of *May*, preſented a ſolemn and ſtately Mask, wherein himſelf, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and *French* Queen were Actors: And on the eighth of *March* following, was a ſolemn Juſts holden, and with great magnificence performed.

A Treaty between the Kings of *France* and *England* to have *Tourney* delivered back, and upon what conditions.

An. Reg. 11, 1520

In the eleventh year of King *Henry*'s Reign died the Emperor *Maximilian*, for whom the King cauſed a ſolemn obſequy to be kept in *Pauls* Church. After whoſe death the *French* King and the King of *Spain* endeavoured by ſundry Plots each of them to get the Empire; but in concluſion, *Charles* King of *Caſtyle* (afterwards called *Charles* the Fifth) was elected Emperor; for Joy whereof a ſolemn Maſs was ſung at *Pauls*, the ſeventh of *July*, at which were preſent the Cardinal *Campejus*, the Cardinal of *York*, the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, with the Ambaſſadors of *Spain*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Scotland*: And this year the King kept Saint *George*'s Feaſt at *Windſor* with great ſolemnity.

The Emperor *Maximilian* dieth, *Charles* King of *Caſtile* is elected in his place called *Charles* the Fifth.

At this time divers young Gentlemen that had been in *France*, after the manner of that Countrey, carried themſelves ſo familiarly with the King, that the Lords of his Council thought it a diſparagement to him; and thereupon with his leave firſt obtained, they baniſhed them the Court: And in their Places brought in more ſtayed and graver men: Namely Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Jennyngham* Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *William Kingſton*.

Young Gentlemen after the *French* faſhion being over familiar with the King are baniſhed the Court.

In the Summer of this year, the Queen, lying at her Mannor of *Havering* in *Eſſex* deſired the King to bring thither the four Hoſtages of *France*, to whom ſhe made a Royal Banquet, and in *September* following, the King lying at his Mannor of *New-hall* in *Eſſex*, otherwiſe called

Beaulieu, where he had newly built a ſtately Manſion, invited the Queen and the *French* Hoſtages thither, where after a ſumptuous Banquet, he preſented them with an extraordinary Mask; for the Maskers were the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Lord *Aburgaveny*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *William Kingſton*, the youngeſt of whom was fifty years old at leaſt, that the Ladies might ſee what force they had to make age young again.

A Mask of all Lords,

At this time the *French* King was very deſirous to ſee the King of *England*, with whom he had entered into ſuch a League of Alliance, and to that end made means to the Cardinal, that there might be an interview between them at ſome convenient place: To which the Cardinal, not ſo much to ſatisfie the *French* King, as to ſhew his own greatneſs in *France*, eaſily condeſcended; and thereupon perſwaded King *Henry*, how neceſſary it was, that ſuch an enterview ſhould be: And then were ſent to *Guyſnes* under the rule of Sir *Edward Belknappe*, ſome ſay three thouſand, but *Godwin* ſaith eleven hundred; whereof three hundred Maſons, ſix hundred Capenters, two hundred Painters, Glaſiers, and other Artificers, who ſpent two months erecting the Building builded on the Plain before the Caſtle of *Guyſnes*, a moſt ſtately Palace of Timber, curiouſly garniſhed without and within: Whither both the Kings in *June* next following, agreeing to come, and to Anſwer all comers at the Tilt, Tournies, and Barriers; whereof Proclamation was made in the Court of *England* by *Orleance* King of Arms of *France*, and in the Court of *France* by *Clarentius* King of Arms in *England*: Whilſt theſe things were preparing on *Candlemas* Even, as the King and Queen were come from Even-ſong, at their Mannor of *Greenwich*; ſuddenly there blew a Trumpet, and then entred into the Queen's Chamber four Gentlemen, who brought with them a Waggon, in which ſate a Lady richly apparelled; which Lady acquainted the King that the four Gentlemen, there preſent, were come for the Love of their Ladies, to anſwer all comers at the Tilts, on a day by the King to be appointed; which day was thereupon appointed on *Shrove-Tueſday* next enſuing, where they all behaved themſelves with great Valour, to the great delight of the King and Queen.

An enterview agreed upon between the two Kings of *France* and *England*.

By this time King *Henry* was ready for his Journey into *France*, and ſo removing from his Mannor of *Greenwich*, on Friday the five and twentieth of *May*, he with his Queen arrived at *Canterbury*, where he meant to keep his Whitſuntide. At which time the Emperour *Charles*, returning out of *Spain*, arrived on the Coaſt of *Kent*, where by the Vice-Admiral of *England*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, he was conducted to land, and there met and received by the Lord Cardinal in great State. After which the King himſef rode to *Dover*, to welcom him; and on Whitſunday early in the morning conducted him to *Canterbury*, where they ſpent all the Whitſuntide in great joy and ſolace. The chief cauſe that moved the Emperor at this time to come on land, was to have diſſwaded the King from any enteryiew with the *French King*, but when he ſaw him ſo forward in that Journey, he then only endeavoured to perſwade him, that he ſhould put no Truth in the *French* King's words, and with great gifts and promiſes, prevailed with the Cardinal to joyn with him in this perſawſion. The laſt of *May* the Emperour took his leave, and the ſame day the King made ſail from *Dover* and landed at *Callice*, together with the Queen and many Lords and Ladies. The fourth of *June* the King and Queen removed from *Callice* to his princely Lodging beſide the Town of *Guyſnes*, the moſt royal Building that ever was ſeen, likewiſe *Francis the French* King had his lodging prepared cloſe to the Town of *Ard*, in a ſtrange but moſt magnificent faſhion. Both Kings had given power and authority to the Cardinal to affirm, and confirm, bind or unbind, whatſoever ſhould be in difference between them; no leſs an Honour to the Cardinal than a confidence in the King. On Thurſday the ſeventh of *June*, the Kings met in the Vale of *Andren* ſo magnificently attired, both themſelves and all their followers, that from thence it was called the Camp of Cloth of Gold. Here they ſpent that day in loving Complements, and at night departed, the one to *Guyſnes*, the other to *Ard*. On Saturday the ninth of *June*, were ſet up in a place within the *Engliſh* pale two Trees of honour, with ſtately rooms and ſtages for the Queens, and thither the two Kings came, moſt Royally accompanied; where in moſt magnificent manner they performed acts of valour, both on foot and horſeback; and after them all the great Lords both of *France* and *England* did the like: This Solemnity of Juſts and Masks was continued to the four and twentieth day of *June*, at which time the Kings and Queens took leave of each other: The *French* King and Queen removed to *Ard*, the King and Queen of *England* to *Callice*, where he remained till the tenth of *July*, and then riding toward *Graveling*, was by the way met by the Emperor, and by him conducted thither, and there in moſt royal manner entertained; whereof when the *French* King heard, he began from that day forward to have King *Henry* in a kind of Jealouſie, as though to love him and the Emperor both were inconſiſtent, and could not ſtand together. On Wedneſday the eleventh of *July*, the Emperor, and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, came with the King of *England* to the Town of *Callice*, and there continued with Feaſting, Dancing, and Masking, till the fourteenth of *July*. In which time, all the Articles of the League of *Tripartito*, between the Emperor and the King's of *England* and *France* were reviewed; to which the King of *France* had ſo fully condeſcended, that he had ſent Mounſieur *de Roche* to the Emperor with Letters of credence; that in the word of a Prince he would inviolably obſerve and keep them all: all which notwithſtanding, he diſpenſed, with his Conſcience afterward, in breaking them all. On Saturday *July* 14. the Emperour took his leave and went to *Graveling*; the King with his Queen returned into *England*.

The two Kings meet in ſo magnificent a manner, that the place was called the Camp of Cloth of Gold.

The King of *France* is jealous of King *Henry*'s kindneſs to the Emperor.

Articles of League between the Emperor and the two Kings of *England* and *France* broken by the King of *France*.

The Emperor *Charles* comes into *England*.

It was now the twelfth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when being returned from *Callice*, he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Greenwich* with great magnificence;

nificence; and on Twelfth-day he and the Earl of *Devonshire* maintained a solemn Justs against all comers.

The Cardinal had long bore a grudge against the Duke of *Buckingham*, for speaking certain words in his disgrace, and now hath made his way for revenge. It is said that the Duke once holding the Bason to the King, the Cardinal when the King had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water; which the Duke disdaining, shed the water in his Shooes; with which the Cardinal incensed, threatned him that he would sit upon his skirts. The Duke, to shew that the King might take notice of the Cardinal's malice, came the next day to Court richly apparelled, but without skirts to his Doublet. The King demanding, what he meant by that strange fashion? he answered readily, that it was done, by way of prevention, for now the Cardinal should not sit upon his skirts. But this jest did the Duke no good, for the Earl of *Surrey* Lord Admiral, who had married the Duke's Daughter, the Cardinal had caused to be sent Deputy into *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Duke's special friend, he had caused upon certain suggested crimes to be imprisoned: so as the Duke having his friends sequestred from him, he lay now open to accusations, and accusations shall not be wanting; for the Duke having some time before put from him in displeasure one *Charles Knevet*, that had been his Surveyor, and inward with him; him the Cardinal gets to him, to see what he could get out of him against the Duke. And whether it was out of desire of revenge, or out of Hope of reward, or that the matter was so indeed, this *Knevet* confessed to the Cardinal, that this Duke had once fully determined to make away the King: being brought into a Hope to be King himself by a vain Prophesie, which one *Nicholas Hopkins* (a Monk of a House of the *Charter* Order, beside *Aristow*, called *Henton*) sometimes his Confessor, had opened to him; and as for the Cardinal, that he had often heard the Duke swear, he would punish him soundly for his manifold misdoings. And now had the Cardinal matter enough for Accusation, which he aggravated to the King, that the King bade him do with him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke is apprehended, and brought to the *Tower* by Sir *Henry Marney* Captain of the Guard, the fifteenth of *April*, and shortly after in *Guild-hall* before Sir *John Brugge*, then Lord Mayor, was indicted of divers point of high Treason; the Substance whereof was, that in the second year of the King's Reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compassed the King's death at *Windsor* and at *Thornbury* in *Glocestershire*; and that in the fifth year of the King's Reign, he went in person to the Priory of *Henton*, and there had conference with the foresaid *Nicholas Hopkins*, who told him he should be King; and that he had often said to the Lord *Abergavenny*, who had married his Daughter, that if King *Henry* died without issue, he would look to have the Crown himself. Upon these points he was arraigned in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, sitting then as high Steward of *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Devonshire*, *Essex*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Oxford* and *Derby*; the Lord of St. *Johns*, *de la Ware*, *Fitz-water*, *Willoughby*, *Brooke*, *Cobham*, *Herbert*, and *Morley*. The Duke pleaded for himself till he sweat again, but all booted not; for by these Peers he was found guilty and condemned, and so on Friday the seventeenth of *May*, was led by *John Keyme*, and *John Skevington*, Sheriffs of *London* to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded. The *Augustine* Friers took his body and head, and buried them. This *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham* was the last Hereditary High-Constable of *England*, (the greatest place in the Kingdom) whose Power extended to restrain some Actions of the King. He was also Earl of *Hereford*, *Stafford*, and *Northampton*: He married *Eleanor* the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and had Issue *Henry*, Lord *Stafford* (Father to *Henry* Lord *Stafford* late living) and three Daughters, *Elizabeth*, married to *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, *Katharine* married to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmorland*, and *Mary* married to *George Nevil* Lord of *Abergavenny*.

The Cardinal hadlong born a spleen against the Duke of *Buckingham*, and now finds means to work his will.

The Duke of *Buckingham* is beheaded His Honours and Issue.

In this mean while a new War was begun between the Emperor and the King of *France*; for compoling whereof, the Cardinal of *York* was sent attended with the Earls of *Worcester*, Lord Chamberlain, the Lord of St. *John*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Primate of *Armagh*, Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Sir *John Pechy*, Sir *John Hussey*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, and many other Knights, Gentlemen, and Doctors. On the twelfth of *July* he arrived at *Callice*, whither came to him the Chancellour of *France*, and the Count *de Palice* attended with four hundred Horse as Ambassadors from the *French* King; and from the Emperor the like, with Commissions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were also Ambassadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinal moved to have the Pope to be a party also in their League, but they wanting Commission, Letters were presently sent to *Rome* about it, and in the time till answer might be had, the Cardinal went to *Bruges*, to speak with the Emperor, with whom having stayed thirteen days, after much royal Entertainment, he returned back to *Callice*; and then fell presently to the Treaty of Peace with the *French* Commissioners, but was colder in the matter than he was before, as having had his edge taken off by some dealings with the Emperor, so as nothing was concluded; but that these Fishermen of both the Princes might freely Fish on the Seas without disturbance, till the end of *February* following, whereof he sent advertisement to both the Princes; to the Emperor by the Lord of Saint *Johns*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen*; to the *French* King by the Earl of *Worcester*, and the Bishop of *Ely*. During all which time of the Cardinal's stay in *Callice*, all Writs and Patents were there by him sealed, and no Sheriff could be chosen for lack of his presence, having the great Seal there with him, and full power in things, as if the King had been there in person. Before he returned, he made a

The Cardinal is sent to make a Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, but deals not fair in it.

The Cardinal carries the Great Seal over with him, and the inconveniencies by it.

new League with the Emperour, and intimated to the *French* King, that he doubted the King of *England* would not hereafter be so much his friend, as heretofore he had been; whereat, though the King of *France* were much offended, yet he signified by his Letters (perhaps dissemblingly) that he would continue the King of *England*'s Friend as much as ever: only he inveighed against the Cardinal, as a man of no truth, and withdrew many Pensions which he had before given to some *English*. Presently upon this, was *Tourney* besieged by the Lord *Hugh de Moncada* a *Spaniard*; and though the *French* King sent great Forces to succour it, yet it was rendred up to the Emperor, the last of *November*, in the thirteenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign.

The Cardinal seeks to be Pope, but too late.

This year Pope *Leo* died the first of *December*, suspected to be poysoned by *Barnaby Malespina* his Chamberlain, whose Office was always to give him drink. After whose death, Doctor *Pace* was sent to *Rome*, to make friends in the behalf of the Cardinal of *York*, who was brought into a hope through the King's favour to be elected Pope: but that hope was soon quelled: for before Doctor *Pace* could get to *Rome*, *Adrian* the sixth was chosen Pope. This Doctor *Pace* was a very Learned and Religious man, yet through crosses in his employment fell mad, and died; in whose place of employment succeeded Doctor *Steven Gardiner*.

Doctor *Pace* the Cardinal's Agent, falls mad and dieth.

An. Reg. 13. 1522.

On the second of *February*, King *Henry* being then at *Greenwich*, received a Bull from the Pope, whereby he had the Title given him to be Defender of the Christian Faith, for him and his Successors for ever; which Title was ascribed to him for writing a Book against *Luther*, as it was given out; but thought to be written by *Sir Thomas Moor*, or by *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*: Of which Book (saith *Holingshead*) I will only say thus much, that King *Henry* in his Book, is reported to rage against the Devil and Antichrist, to cast out his foam against *Luther*, to rase out the Name of the Pope, and yet to allow his Law. Which Book *Luther* answered with as little respect to the King, as the King had done to him.

King *Henry* for writing a Book against *Luther*, hath the Title given him to be Defender of the Faith.

In this mean time, many displeasures grew between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, specially two: One, that *French*-men seized upon *English* Ships as they passed: For remedy whereof, one *Christopher Cet*, an expert Sea-man, was sent with six Ships to safeguard the Merchants. Another, that the Duke of *Albany* was returned into *Scotland*, contrary to that which was covenanted by the League; which though the King of *France* denied to be done with his privity, yet King *Henry* knew the Duke of *Albany* had Commission from the *French* King to return, which did the more exasperate him; and hereupon were Musters made in *England*, and a note taken of what Substance all men were.

This year died the Lord *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Garter, Sir *John Pechy* and Sir *Edward Ballonge*, all valiant Captains, suspected to have been poysoned at a Banquet made at *Ardres*, when the two Kings met last.

At this time *Gawen Douglass* Bishop of *Dunkell* fled out of *Scotland* into *England*, because the Duke of *Albany*, being come thither, had taken upon him the whole Government of the King and Kingdom; whereupon *Clarenceaux* the Herauld was sent into *Scotland*, to command the Duke of *Albany* to avoid that Realm; which he refusing, the Herauld was commanded to defie him. Thereupon the *French* King seized all *English* mens goods in *Bourdeaux*, and imprisoned their persons; and retained not only the money to be paid for the restitution of *Tourney*, but also withheld the *French* Queen's Dower: Whereof, when King *Henry* understood, he called the *French* Ambassador residing in *England*, to give account thereof, who though he gave the best reasons he could to excuse it, yet was commanded to keep his house, and the *French* Hostages remaining here, for the money to be paid for the delivery of *Tourney*, were restrained of their liberty, and committed to the custody of the Lord of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Sir *Andrew Windsor*, and Sir *Thomas Nevil*, each of them to keep one; and withall, all *French* men in *London* were committed to Prison, and put to their Fines; and all *Scotch* men much more. There were then also sent to Sea under the Conduct of Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Vice-Admiral, eight and twenty great Ships, and seven more towards *Scotland*; who set fire on many *Scottish* [illegible] in the Haven, and at length took many Mariners and returned.

Upon differences between the Kings of *England* and *France*, the *French* Ambassador is commanded to keep his house.

King *Henry* hearing, that the Emperor would come to *Callice*, so to pass into *England*, as he went into *Spain*; appointed the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, to go to *Callice*, there to receive him, and the Cardinal to receive him at *Dover*. The Cardinal taking his journey thither on the tenth of *May*, rode through *London*, accompanied with two Earls, six and thirty Knights, and an hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin; and Yeomen seven hundred. The five and twentieth of *May*, being Sunday, the Marquess of *Dorset* with the Bishop of *Chichester*, the Lord *de la Ware*, and divers others at the water of *Gravelling*, received the Emperor, and with all honour brought him to *Callice*, where he was received with Procession, by the Lord *Bernes*, Lieutenant of the Town. On *Munday* he took Shipping at *Callice*, and landed at *Dover*; where the Cardinal with three hundred Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen received him, and in great state brought him to the Castle, where he was lodged. On Wednesday being *Ascension*-Even, the King came to *Dover*, and there with great joy and gladness the Emperor and he met. On Friday in the afternoon they departed from *Dover*, and came that night to *Canterbury*, and from thence next day to *Greenwich*; where the Queen received her Nephew with all the Joy that might be. Here to honour the Emperor's Presence, Royal Justs and Turneys were appointed; where the King, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and ten Aids, kept the place against the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and other ten Aids, on their part. On Friday the [illegible] of *June*, the Emperor and the King with all their Companies went to *London*, where the

The Emperor comes into [illegible] and with what state he is received.

City

City received them with Pageants, and other as rare devices, as at a Coronation, and the Emperor was lodged at the *Black-Fryers*, and all his Lords in the new Palace of *Bridewell*. On Whitsunday the King and the Emperor rode to the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, where the Cardinal sung Mass, and had his Traverse and his Cup-board. Before Mass, two Barons gave him water, and after the Gospel, two Earls, and at the last Lavatory two Dukes, which pride the *Spaniards* much disdained. After many Feastings in other places, at last they rode to *Windsor*, where they stayed a whole week; and there, on *Corpus Christi* day, the Emperor wore the Mantle of the Garter, and sate in his own Stall. On the same day both the Princes received the Sacrament, and took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them. On the morrow after, they came to *Winchester*; before whose coming thither there was come to *Hampton*, the Earl of *Surrey* Admiral of *England*, with all the King's Navy, and with him the Lord *Fitz-water*, the Baron *Carew*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Sir *Richard Jernyngham*, *Francis Brian*, Sir *William Bawtime*, Sir *William Foskew*, Sir *Edward Donne*, Sir *Edward Chamberlain*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Anthony Royus*, Sir *Edward Sherbourn*, and the Vice-Admiral, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, Sir *Edmund Bray*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Sir *William Firton*, *John Cornwallis*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *William Sidney*, *Anthony Brown*, *Giles Hussey*, *Thomas More*, *John Russel*, *Edward Bray*, *Henry Owen*, *George Cobham*, *Thomas Oldhall*, *Thomas Lovel*, *Robert Ichingham*, *Anthony Knevet*, Sir *John Tremaile*, Sir *William Sheviston*, Master of the Ordnance, and *John Fastolf* Serjeant at Arms, by whom chiefly a design was moved, though now noised only that it was but to scour the Seas for the safe conduct of the Emperor. For the Earl of *Surrey*, having wafted the Emperor over to the Coast of *Biskey*, upon his return made to the Coast of *Britain*; and there landing seven thousand of his men, marched to the Town of *Morleys*, and by assault took it: Having won this Town, the Earl called to him certain Gentlemen and made them Knights, as Sir *Francis Brian*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Thomas Moor*, Sir *Giles Hussey*, Sir *John Russel*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *George Cobham*, Sir *John Cornwallis*, Sir *Edward Ridgly*, and some others; and after the Earl had lain a while on the Coast of *Britain*, he was commanded home by the King's Letters: Who thereupon brought back his whole Fleet to a place called the *Cow*, under the Isle of *Wight*, and then went on land, leaving divers of his Ships under the Governance of the Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-williams*.

The Earl of Surrey Admiral, surpriseth Morlo in France.

In this mean time divers Exploits were atchieved between them of the Garrison in the Marches of *Calice*, and the *French* men of *Bulloign*, where the *French* commonly had the worst: But being of no great moment, may well be passed over without relating, likewise at the same time the Lord *Ros*, and the Lord *Dacres* of the North, appointed to keep the Borders against *Scotland*, burnt the Town of *Kelsie*, and fourscore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of Stone, with all their Bulwarks.

King *Henry* intending now to go seriously on with his Wars in *France*, levied an Army, which under the conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*, he sent over to *Calice*; whither the Earl being come, he divided his Army into three Battels; the first was led by Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water*, the middle ward by himself and his Brother the Lord *Edmund Howard*, the Rereward by Sir *William Sands*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, both of them Knights of the Garter: And Sir *Edmund Guilford* was Captain of the Horsemen. In this Order the Earl entred the *French* ground the second of *September*, and took his Journey towards *Hedring*. By the way there came to him a great power of *Burgonians*, sent by the Lady *Margaret*, according to the Articles of the League. All the Towns, Villages, and Castles in the Country, through which they passed, they burnt and sacked; as the Town and Castle of *Selloy*, the Town of *Brambrigge*, *Setterk*, *Botington*, and *Manstier*, with divers others. On the 16 of *September*, they came before the Castle of *Hedring*, and laid siege unto it; but the Castle being well fortified, and the Earl having no battering Ordnance, which by reason of the foul weather he could not bring with him, after eleven days he raised his siege, and passing from thence to *Dorlens*, burnt the Town, and raised the Castle as also the Town of *Dortier*, and then the year being far spent, came back to *Calice* the sixteenth of *October*.

The Earl of *Surrey* wins many Towns in *France*.

At this time the Duke of *Albany* being established Governour of *Scotland*, raised an Army of fourscore thousand men, with which he approached the Borders, but made no Invasion, as thinking perhaps that the only report of his great Army would fright the *English*; but yet this stayed not the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, Warden of the East and middle Marches, to enter into *Tividale*, and so forward ten miles into *Galloway*, burning all Towns and Villages on every side as he passed. All that night he tarried within the *Scottish* ground, and the next day being Good-Friday, withdrew back into *England*, with a prey of four thousand Cattel, having burned *Grimsley*, *Mowhouse*, *Donford*, *Myles*, *Ackforth*, *Cowlerg*, and many other Towns and Villages.

In King *Henry*'s fourteenth year, on the fifteenth of *April* began a Parliament, which was holden at the *Black-fryers*, whither the King came and there sat down in his Royal Seat; at his feet on the right side sate the Cardinal of *York*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and at the Rail behind stood Doctor *Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, who making an Oration, told there the causes of calling this Parliament; which were (as he said) for remedying of Mischiefs by the Common Law, as Recoveries, Foreign Vouchers, and corrupt Trials; and for making new Laws for the good of the Common wealth; whereof notwithstanding, no one word was spoken all the time of the Parliament, nor any other thing done, but a Subsidy granted; but howsoever, being commanded to chuse their Speaker, they chose Sir *Thomas More*, who at first disabling himself, at last made two Petitions,

An. Reg. 14. 1523.

A Parliament holden at *Black-fryers*.

The Speaker makes two Petitions to the King.

ons to the King; one for himself, that if he should be sent by the Commons to the King on a Message, and misuse their intent, he might then with the King's pleasure resort again to the Commons, to know their meaning. The other, for the House of Commons, that if in communication and reasoning, any man should speak more largely than of duty he ought to do, yet all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entred of Record. Which Petitions were granted, and then the Parliament began; where at first a Subsidy was demanded, but as there was much ado in the House of Commons about it, so there was no less amongst the Clergy in the Convocation House; for *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester* and *John* Bishop of *Rochester* were much against it, but most of all one *Rowland Philips*, Vicar of *Croydon*, and a Canon of *Paul's*; but the Cardinal taking him aside, dealt so with him, that he took him off, so as he came no more to the House; and then the Bell-weather (as one saith) giving over his hold, the rest soon yielded; and so was granted the half of all their spiritual yearly Revenues, to be paid in five years following. The Clergy being thus brought on, on the nine and twentieth of *April*, the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, to work them also; and there, shewing the great charges the King was necessarily to be at in his present Wars, demanded the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, to be raised of the fifth part of every Man's Goods and Lands, which was four shillings of every pound. This demand was enforced the day after by the Speaker Sir *Thomas More*; but the Burgesses were all against it, shewing that it was not possible to have it gathered in money; for that men of Lands had not the fifth part thereof in Coyn. And further alledged, that there be not many Parishes in *England*, one with another, able to spare a hundred Marks, except Cities and Towns; and seeing there were not above thirteen thousand Parishes in the Kingdom, (at this day there are but 9284,) how could such a sum be raised? Hereupon certain of the House were sent to move the Cardinal, to be a means to the King to accept of a lesser sum; but the Cardinal answered, He would rather have his Tongue plucked out of his Mouth with a pair of Pincers, than make to the King any such motion. Whereupon the Cardinal came again into the House, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the demand; to which it was answered, That the Order of that House was to hear, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. When the Cardinal was gone, the Commons, after long debating the matter, at last agreed of two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upward, and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence, and under forty shillings of every head of fifteen years and upwards, four pence to be paid in two years. When this was told to the Cardinal, he was much offended; so that to please him, the Gentlemen of fifty pounds Land and upwards, by the motion of Sir *John Hussey*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, were charged with twelve pence more in the pound, to be paid in three years.

A Subsidy with much ado granted.

How many Parishes in the Kingdom.

The Cardinal to move them to it, bore them in hand, that the Lords had agreed to four shillings of the pound; which was untrue, for the Lords had granted nothing, but stayed to see what the Commons would do; whereof when the King heard, he reproved the Cardinal for it, saying withal, that ere it were long he would look to things himself, without any Substitute. Which speech of the King's, though it daunted the Cardinal for a while, yet he soon recovered his spirits, and was as peremptory afterward as he had been before. After this the Parliament was Prorogued till the tenth of *June*; during which Prorogation, the Common People said to the Burgesses, We hear say, you will grant four shillings of the pound, we advise you not to do so, that you may go home; with many like threatnings. At this time, the Cardinal, by his power Legantine, dissolved his Convocation at *Paul's*, convoked by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, calling him and all the Clergy to the Convocation at *Westminster*: Which was never done before in *England*, saith *Hall*. The one and thirtieth of *July*, the Parliament was adjourned to *Westminster*, and there continued till the thirteenth of *August*, which was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolved.

The Cardinal makes a false report to the House of Commons.

The Parliament dissolved at nine a clock at night.

About this time the Bishop of *Durham* died, and the King gave that Bishoprick to the Cardinal; who resigned the Bishoprick of *Bath* to Doctor *John Clerk* Master of the Rolls; and Sir *Henry Marney*, that was Vice-Chamberlain, was made Lord Privy Seal, and shortly after was created Lord *Marney*: Also during this Parliament, Sir *Arthur Plantagenet*, Bastard Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, at *Bridewel*, was created Viscount *Lisle*, in the right of his Wife, who was Wife before to Edmund Dudley beheaded.

Sir *Henry Marney* created Lord *Marney*. Sir *Arthur Plantagenet* base Son of King *Edward* the Fourth is created Viscount *Lisle*.

The fifteenth of *June* in the fifteenth year of the King's Reign, *Christian* King of Denmark with his Queen, driven out of his own Country, came into *England*, and was lodged at *Bath-Place*, who, after he had been feasted by the King and by the City of *London*, and received great gifts of both, returned again into *Flanders*, where he remained as a Banished man. Some years after, King *Henry* sent Doctor *Henry Standish*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*, and Sir *John Baker* Knight, into *Denmark*, to perswade the people to receive him again into his Kingdoms; but they could not prevail, he was so much hated for his cruelty.

An Reg. 15. 1524.

About this time the Earl of *Kildare* having recovered again the favour of the Cardinal, was sent deputy into *Ireland*, as he had been before, where he reduced the wild *Irish* to indifferent conformity. All this while had *England* Wars both with the *French* and with the *Scots*. In *Scotland* the Marquess of *Dorset* threw down the Castles of *Wederborne*, of *Nesgate*, of *Blackader*, of *Mackpalls*, and burnt to the number of seven and thirty Villages, yet never came to skirmish. In *France* the Lord *Lovell*, Governour of *Calice*, with twelve hundred men went before *Bullogne*, where he skirmished with the Enemy; and after burning divers Churches and Castles in the Enemies Country, returned back to *Calice*, with the

The Earl of *Kildare* doth good service in *Ireland*.

The Marquess *Dorset* in *Scotland*.

The Lord *Lovell* in *France*.

loss

loss only of a dozen men. King *Henry* being advertised that the Duke of *Albany* was providing of Forces in *France*, with which to return into *Scotland*, sent forth his Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-williams*, with divers great Ships to intercept him; but when he could not meet with him, he then landed in the Haven of *Treport*; where with seven hundred men, he beat six thousand *French* that sought to impeach his landing, took their Bulwarks and much Ordnance in them, burned the Suburbs of the Town of *Treport*, and all in five hours, and then returned.

Sir William Fitz-williams with 700 beat six thousand French.

All this while King *Henry* had play'd with the *French*, but now he seems to be in earnest, and therefore sends over the Duke of *Suffolk* with an Army, the four and twentieth of *August*; attended with the Lord *Montacute* and his Brother Sir *Arthur Pool*, the Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Marney*, the Lord *Sands*, the Lord *Barkley*, the Lord *Powis*, and the Baron *Curson*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, Sir *John Vere*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *William Kingstone*, Sir *Richard Weston*, Sir *Andrew Windsore*, Sir *Robert Winkefield*, Sir *Anthony Winkefield*, Sir *Edward Guilford*, Sir *Edward Grevile*, Sir *Edward Chamberlain*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *Everard Digby*, Sir *Adrian Fosbew*, Sir *Richard Cornwal*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *William Sidney*, Sir *Henry Owen*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen. In the whole Army were six hundred Demi-launces, two hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand Archers on foot, and five thousand Bill-men. Also seventeen hundred taken out of the Garrisons of *Hammes*, *Guisnes*, and *Callice*, in all ten thousand and five hundred, besides two thousand six hundred Labourers and Pioneers. With this Army the Duke of *Suffolk* took the field, his Vantguard was led by the Lord *Sands*; the Captain of the right Wing was Sir *William Kingston*, and of the left Sir *Everard Digby*: The Captain of all the Horsemen was Sir *Edward Guildford*, Marshal of *Callice*; the Duke himself led the Battel, and Sir *Richard Winkefield* the Rereward. The Dukes enterprise was the winning of *Bell* Castle, which the Lord *Sands* and the Lord *Ferrers* assaulted, and had it yielded to them, and then Sir *William Skevington* was placed Captain in it. At this time the Duke of *Bourbon*, high Constable of *France*, began to have his mind alienated from the King of *France*, and to draw him the more on, the Duke of *Suffolk* sent Sir *John Russel* (afterward created Duke of *Bedford*) to him, who passing in disguised Apparel, so prevailed with him, that he professed to take part with the Emperor, and the King of *England*, who having ten thousand *Almains* in his pay, it was thought fit (for encouragement of the *English*) to proclaim in the Army the access of so powerful an assistant: And thereupon the Duke of *Suffolk* removed to *Ard*, and so forward into *Picardy*. At *Cordes* between *Terwin* and Saint *Omers*, there came to him the Lord of *Isilstein*, and with him of *Spaniards*, *Almains*, and others, three thousand footmen, and five hundred Horse. With these Forces, the Duke marching on, took first the rich Town of *Anchor*, then the Castle of *Bourguard*, and then by assault the Town of *Bray*, though two thousand good men of War were in it: After this, the Towns of *Cappe* and *Roy*, *Libome* and *Davenker*. And then came before the Town of *Mount-Dedier*, in which were a thousand foot and five hundred horse; yet upon Sir *William Skevington*'s Batteries, was yielded to him. From hence he removed to *Roy*, where he rested a while with his whole Army: And there on *Allhollandday*, in the chief Church of *Roy*, made Knights, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Powis*, *Oliver Manners*, *Arthur Pool*, *Richard Sands*, *Robert Jerningham*, *Robert Salisbury*, *Edward Beningfield*, *Richard Corbet*, *Thomas Wentworth*, *William Storton*, *Walter Mantel*, *George Warram*, and *Edward Seymor* (that was after Duke of *Somerset*.) The day after, the Army removed to a place called *Neele*, from thence to *Veane*, and then to *Beauford*, where the Duke made *John Dudley*, and *Robert Utreight* Knights, and from thence on the eighth of *November*, to a place called *Mount Saint Martin*; here the *Welshmen* began to murmur, that they might not return home, the Winter being so far spent; but there was to the number of a thousand persons, under the leading of Sir *John Wallope*, who having no wages but what they could get by booties, and were therefore called Adventurers, and by some Kreekers, and these had more desire to stay, than the *Welshmen* had to be gone, for the great gains they made by the spoils of so many Towns that were taken. The thirteenth of *November* the Duke removed to a place within two miles of *Boghan* Castle, defended by great Marishes, that lay before it, but the Frost at that time being so great, that many lost their Fingers and Toes with cold, and some died, Sir *Edward Guilford* acquainted the Duke, that he thought the Marishes were hard enough frozen to bear great Ordnance; whereupon the Duke bid him venture it then and go on, which he resolutely did, and had the Castle presently delivered up to him. In this mean time, the King hearing in what state the Army stood, had prepared six thousand men to be sent to the Duke for a relief, under the leading of the Lord *Abmjoy*; but before they could be put in order to pass the Sea, the Duke, partly by extremity of the weather, and partly by the murmuring of the Souldiers, was constrained to break up his Army, and return to *Callice*.

The Duke of Suffolk is sent with an Army into France.

How marshalled.

He wins many Towns.

A great Frost.

In this mean time, the *Scots* knowing that the strength of *England* was gone into *France*, took boldness to invade the Marches; but then the Earl of *Surrey*, Treasurer and High Admiral of *England*, with six thousand men, being sent against them, took divers of their Castles and Holds; and at *Tedworth* skirmishing with a great Garrison of *Scots*, overthrew them, and took and burned both the Town and Castle. And now the *French* King finding that the *Scots* did not work any great trouble to the *English*, whereby to keep them from molesting of *France*, and thinking it to be for want of the Duke of *Albany*'s presence, whom they accounted their Governour, he therefore prepared a Navy of Ships to transport him into *Scotland*; but when the Duke of *Albany* heard,

heard, that Sir *William Fitz-williams* was ſent with a great Fleet to ſtop his paſſage, he brought his Ships into the Haven of *Breſt*, and gave it out that he would not go into *Scotland* that year; which being told to the King of *England*, he commanded that his Ships alſo ſhould be laid up in Havens till the next Spring. And now ſee the cunning of the *Scot*; for when he ſaw the King's Ships diſcharged, he then boldly took Shipping himſelf, and ſailed into *Scotland*; whither being come preſently levied a great Army, and approached the *Engliſh* Borders; but when he heard the Earl of *Surrey* was coming againſt him with a mighty power, he then ſent a Herald to him, promiſing of his Honour; to give him Battle; and if he took him priſoner, to give him good quarter. To whom the Earl anſwered, that he would not fail to abide his Battel; and if he took him priſoner, the quarter he would give him, ſhould be to cut off his head, and ſend it for a preſent to his Maſter the King of *England*. At this time the Earl of *Surrey* being at *Alnewick*, came the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle*, and *Darcy*, with many Knights, Gentlemen, and other Souldiers, to the number of forty thouſand: and from the Court came the Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, and others. The laſt of *October*, the Duke of *Albany* ſent two or three thouſand men over the water to beſiege the Caſtle of *Warke*; who by battery of their Ordnance won the outermoſt Ward, called the *Barnekins*; and continuing their battery, won the ſecond Ward, but then Sir *William Liſle*, that was Captain of the Caſtle, iſſuing forth with thoſe few he had left, drove the *French* men from the place, and ſlew of them to the number of three hundred, a memorable ſervice, and for which the Earl of *Surrey* afterwards gave him great thanks. The Earl would gladly have followed his Enemies into their own Borders, but that his Commiſſion was only to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after, the Queen of *Scots*, Mother to the King, ſent to her Brother the King of *England*, for an abſtinence from War, till a further communication might be had; which being granted, the *Engliſh* Army brake up, and the Earl of *Surrey* returned to the Court.

A policy of the Duke of *Albany*.

The Earl of *Surrey* his ſervice againſt the *Scots*.

And now for a while we muſt be content to hear of petty Occurrences, becauſe greater did not happen; which if it make us like the Story the worſe, it may make us like the Times the better; ſeeing they are ever the beſt times that afford leaſt matter to be talked of: But this time will laſt but a while; for ſhortly we ſhall come to hear Occurrences, that have been matter of talk to this day, whereof the like have never ſcarce been ſeen, and will hardly be believed, when they are heard; a Marriage diſſolved after twenty years conſummation; Houſes built in Piety, under pretence of Piety demoliſhed, a King made a Captive; a Pope held a Priſoner; Queens taken out of love, put to death out of loathing; and the Church it ſelf ſhaken, that it hath ſtood in diſtraction ever ſince.

At this time the Emperor *Charles* ſent to the King of *England* two Mules trapped in Crimſon Velvet, richly embroidered; alſo eleven goodly Jennets trapped with Ruſſet Velvet, richly wrought; four Spears, and two Javelins of ſtrange Timber, and work richly garniſhed; and five Brace of Grey-hounds. To the Queen he ſent two Mules richly trapped, and high Chairs after the *Spaniſh* faſhion: Which Preſents were thankfully received both of the King and Queen.

Preſents ſent to the King and Queen by the Emperor.

At this time in the month of *October* the Cardinal ſent out Commiſſions, that every man, being worth forty pounds, ſhould pay the whole Subſidy before granted, out of hand; which he called an Anticipation: Which fine new word, he thought, would make them pay their money the more willingly; but they loved their money better than any words he could deviſe.

The Cardinal requires the Subſidy to be paid by Anticipation.

In this year the King ſent the Lord *Morley*, Sir *William Huſſey* Knight, and Doctor *Lee*, his Almoner, to *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria* with the Order of the Garter; which he received in the Town of *Norimberg*, to his great contentment.

In this year, through Books of Prognoſtications, for ſhewing much hurt to come by waters and floods, many perſons with-drew themſelves to high grounds, for fear of drowning; ſpecially one *Bolton*, Prior of Saint *Bartholomews* in *Smithfield*, builded him an Houſe upon *Harrow* on the Hill, and thither went and made proviſion for two months. Theſe great waters ſhould have fallen in *February*, but no ſuch thing happening, the Aſtronomers excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, that in the computation they had miſcounted in their number an hundred years.

A great Inundation threatned by Prognoſtication, but miſtaken.

In this mean time, many enterprizes were attempted, between the *Engliſh* men of *Calais* and *Guyſnes*, and the *French* men of *Boloign* and the Frontiers of *Picardy*, and ſtill Sir *William Fitz-williams* Captain of *Guyſnes*, Sir *Edward Jerningham*, Captain of *Newnham* Bridge, Sir *John Wallope*, and Sir *John Gage*, were the men that did the *French* moſt hurt.

This year, the firſt of *September*, was Doctor *Thomas Hannibal*, Maſter of the Rolls, received into *London*, by Earls, Biſhops, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, as Ambaſſador from Pope *Clement*, who brought with him a Roſe of Gold for a Preſent to the King: And on the day of the Nativity of our Lady, after a ſolemn Maſs ſung by the Cardinal of *York*, the ſaid Preſent was delivered to the King, which was a Tree forged of fine Gold, and with Branches, Leaves, and Flowers reſembling Roſes.

A Preſent ſent to the King from the Pope.

About the beginning of Winter, the Adventurers called *Kreekers* being not above two hundred, and of them five and twenty Horſemen, made an attempt to fetch ſome booty from a Village not far from *Montrell*; whereof the Earl of *Dammartin* having notice, he ſet upon them with a far greater number, and ſlew moſt of them; and this was the end of the *Kreekers*, as brave men as ever ſerved any Prince.

The Adventurers called *Kreekers*, all deſtroyed.

In *December* this year, there came to *London* divers Ambaſſadors out of *Scotland*, about a Peace to be had; and a marriage to be concluded, between the King of *Scots*, and the

the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to the King of *England*.

At this time the Lord *Leonard Gray*, and the Lord *John Gray*, Brothers to the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, Sir *George Cobham*, Son to the Lord *Cobham*, *William Cary*, Sir *John Dudley*, *Thomas Wyat*, *Francis Pointz*, *Francis Sidney*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Edward Seymore*, *Oliver Manners*, *Percival Hart*, *Sebastian Newdigate*, and *Thomas Caleu*, Esquires of the King's Houshold, made a challenge of Arms against the Feast of Christmas, which was proclaimed by *Windsor* the Herald, and performed at the time appointed very nobly, as Tilts, Turneys Barriers, and the assault of a Castle erected for that purpose, in the Tilt-yard at *Greenwich*, where the King held his Christmas that year with great State and Magnificence.

1525. About this time, *John Jockin*, Steward of the Houshold to the *French* King's Mother, came into *England*, and was received in secret manner into the house of one Doctor *Lee*, a Prebendary of Saint *Stephens*, who oftentimes talked with the Cardinal about a Peace to be concluded between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, of whose often meetings, Monsieur *Marillac*, the Emperor's Ambassadour grew suspicious. The four and twentieth of January, Monsieur *Boysion*, President of *Roan* came to *London*, as Ambassadour from the *French* King, and was lodged with the said *John Jokin*; which small things should not be related, but that they were preparatives to great matters afterward.

On *Sunday* the fifth of *March*, were received into *London* Monsieur *de Beure*, Lord of *Cumpher*, Admiral of *Flanders*, Monsieur *John de la Cave*, President of *Malines*, and Master *John Mai* Doctor, as Ambassadors from the Lady *Margaret*, in the name of the Emperor, who requested three things: First, they demanded the Lady *Mary*, the King's only Daughter, to be presently delivered, and she to be named Empress, and as Governess, take possession of all the *Low Countreys*. Secondly, That all such Sums of money as the King should give with her in Marriage, should be paid incontinently. Thirdly, That the King of *England* should pass the Sea in Person, and make War in *France* the next Summer. The first two Demands were not agreed to for certain causes. And as to the third, the King said, he would take time to advise. On *Thursday* the ninth of *March*, a Gentleman came in Post from the Lady *Margaret*, with Letters signifying, That whereas the King of *France* had lien long at the siege of *Pavia*, he had now been forced to raise his Siege, and was himself taken Prisoner by the Imperialists; for joy whereof, Bonefires and great Triumph was made in *London*, and on the twentieth of *March*, being *Sunday*, the King himself came to *Paul's*, and there heard a solemn Mass. But for all this shew of Joy, it was thought, if the King of *France* had not now been taken Prisoner, that the King of *England* would have joyned with him, as being angry with the Emperor for enhansing his Coin in *Flanders*, which caused much money to be conveyed out of *England* thither. The King of *France* being taken Prisoner, was after some time conveyed into *Spain*, and at last brought to *Madrid*, where he fell so sick, that the Physicians had little hope of his Life, unless the Emperour should be pleased speedily to visit him; upon whose Visitation he recovered his Health, though not presently his Strength. In which time many Propositions were made for his Delivery; but the Emperor would accept of none without Restitution of the Dutchy of *Burgoigne*. At last, the *French* King weary of Imprisonment, and longing for Liberty, was content to agree to any Conditions; the chief whereof were, That the *French* King by a certain day, should be set at Liberty, and within six weeks after should resign to the Emperor the Dutchy of *Burgoigne*, with all members pertaining to it; and at the same Instant should put into the Emperour's Hands the Dauphin of *France*, and with him either the Duke of *Orleance* his second Son, or else twelve principal Lords of *France* whom the Emperour should name; and that there should be between them a League and perpetual Confederation, for defence of their Estates. Of whose Attonement when King *Henry* heard, as before he had expressed Gladness that he was taken Prisoner, so now he sent Sir *Thomas Cheiney* to him, to express his Joy for being set at Liberty: So sudden is the interchange of love and hatred amongst great Princes. The *French* King being thus delivered, the Emperour married the Lady *Isabel*, Daughter to *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, and had with her in Dower Eleven hundred thousand Duckets; though three years before, being at *Windsor*, he had covenanted to take to Wife the Lady *Mary*, King *Henry's* Daughter.

The King of *France* is taken prisoner.

Upon delivery of the Dutchy of *Burgoigne* to the Emperor, he is set at liberty.

At this time Cardinal *Woolsey* obtained License of the King to erect a Colledge at *Oxford*, and another at *Ipswich*; and towards the charge of them, got leave also to suppress certain small Monasteries, to the number of forty; and after got a Confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the Goods and Lands belonging to those Houses, to the maintenance of those two Colledges. A pernicious President, and that which gave the King a way afterward to make a general suppression of all Religious Houses: though indeed there be great difference between converting of Monasteries into Colledges, and utter subverting them.

The Cardinal suppresseth forty Monasteries, towards the erecting of two Colledges.

In *May* King *Henry* sent *Cuthert Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Winkefield* Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, into *Spain*, to confer with the Emperor about matters of great importance, and particularly about War to be made in *France*; and yet were these two Princes at this time in League: But he that shall observe the Carriage of these two Princes towards one another, and how convertible their Leagues were into War, and their War into Peace, shall find it a strange Riddle to *Raison di stato*, and their Leagues to have been but meer Complements, where the scale was turned with the least grain of a Circumstance; and though they were bound by Oath, yet that Oath made the Leagues but little the firmer, seeing the Intrigue might be broken, and yet the Oath kept: For while one gave the occasion, and the other took it, though they were both Accessaries, yet neither was Principal; and where there

is not a principal, the Oath remains inviolate. And upon those hinges did the friendship of these Princes turn, as at this time the Emperor, though not long before he parted had with the King of *England* in the greatest kindness that could be, yet gave not the *English* Ambassadors so kind entertainment now, as he had formerly done; but for what cause was not apparent, unless upon some sinister report made to him by Mounsieur de *Prate*; who having been his Leigier with the King of *England*, was without taking leave of the King departed, and come to the Emperor before the *English* Ambassadors came.

The Cardinal seeks to raise money by a Commission: which the people oppose, and the King disclaims.

But howsoever King *Henry* being determined to make War in *France* himself in Person, his Council fell into Consideration how the charge of the War should be maintained; which care the Cardinal takes upon him; and thereupon appoints Commissioners in all Shires, to sit and draw the People to pay the sixth part of every man's substance, in Plate and Money: But the people opposed it, alledging, that it was against the Law of the Realm, for any man to be charged with such Payments, unless by Parliament: And as the Cardinal continued to press it, so the People continued to deny it; and when some for denying it were committed to prison, the Commons in many Countries made great Assemblies for their defence: The report whereof at last came to the King, who thereupon came to *Westminster* and protested openly, that it was done without his knowledge, and that it was never his meaning to ask any thing of his Subjects but according to Law; and therefore desired to know by whose Authority it was done. Here the Cardinal excused himself and said, that it was the opinion of all the Judges, and of all his Council, that he might lawfully demand any Sum, so it were done by Commission, and thereupon it was done. But the King liked not to take advantage of a distinction to draw money from his Subjects; and thereupon gave warning for doing any such thing hereafter: And signified so much by his Letters into all the Shires of *England*. Giving also a general Pardon to all those that had offered to rise upon it; which though he did of his own free grace, yet the Cardinal to win a good opinion in the Commons gave out, that it was by his means the King granted the Pardon.

An. Reg. 17. 1525.

Dukes and Earls created.

King *Henry*'s seventeenth year, was honoured with advancing of many in honour; for on the eighteenth of *June*, at the Pallace of *Bridewell*, the King's Son (which he had by *Elizabeth Blunt* Daughter to Sir *John Blunt* Knight) called *Henry Fitz-Roy*, was created first Earl of *Nottingham*, and after on the same day, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, *Henry Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire* was created Marquess of *Exeter*, the Lord *Brandon* Son to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the *French* Queen (a child of two years old) was created Earl of *Lincoln*, Sir *Thomas Manners*, Lord *Ros* was created Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *Henry Clifford* was created Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water*, was created Vicount *Fitz-water*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen* Treasurer of the King's Houshold was created Vicount *Rochford*.

At this time the *French* King's Mother, as then Regent of *France*, procured by her Ambassadors, at first a Truce, and afterward a Peace with *England*, which was proclaimed in *London*, the eighth of *September*. By the Covenants of which Peace, the King of *England* should receive at certain days twenty hundred thousand Crowns, which in sterling money amounted to the sum of four hundred thousand pound; whereof fifty was to be paid in hand. Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, and Doctor *Taylour*, was sent to the Lady Regent, to take her corporal Oath, and likewise King *Henry* the four and twentieth of *April*, at *Greenwich*, in presence of the Ambassadors of *France*, *Rome* and *Venice*, took his corporal Oath, to observe the Peace between him, and his loving Brother the *French* King, during his life, and one year after.

A Peace between *England* and *France*, for which a great sum of money paid to King *Henry*.

In this Winter was a great mortality in *London*, so as the Term was adjourned, and the King kept his Christmass at *Eltham*, with a small number, and was therefore called the still Christmass. At which time, the Cardinal coming to the Court, took order for altering the state of the King's Houses, Many Officers and other Servants were discharged, and put to their Pensions, in which number were fourscore and four Yeomen of the Guard. Who before having had twelve pence the day with check, were now allowed but six pence the day without check, and commanded to go into their Countries.

The still Christmass by reason of the sickness.

On *Shrove-Tuesday* this year, a solemn Justs was held at *Greenwich*, the King and eleven other one the one part, the Marquess of *Exeter*, and eleven other of the other part.

An. Reg. 19. 1528.

In his nineteenth year King *Henry* kept a solemn Christmass at *Greenwich*, with Revels, Masks, Disguisings, and Banquets, and the thirtieth of *December* and third of *January* were solemn Justs holden, when at night the King and fifteen others with him, came to *Bridewell*, and there putting on Masking Apparel, took his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinal's Pallace, where were at Supper many Lords and Ladies, who danced with the Maskers, and after the dancing was made a great Banquet. This Christmass was a Play at *Grayes-Inn*, made by one master *Roe* a Serjeant at Law, the effect whereof was, that Lord *Governance* was ruled by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose evil order Lady *Publick Weal* was put from Governance. This the Cardinal took to be meant by him, and thereupon sent the said Master *Roe* to the Fleet, though the Play were made long before the Cardinal had any authority: by which we may see how inseparable a companion suspition is to a guilty conscience.

The King visits the Cardinal in a Mask.

The fourteenth of *January* came to the Court *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, a Grandee of *Spain*, as Ambassador from the Emperor to the King, with a large Commission, to make King *Henry* Judge; how just the conditions were, which the Emperour required of the King of *France*: and about this negotiation tarried he years in *England*: So desirous the Emperour was to continue good correspondence with the King of *England*.

King *Henry* made arbitrator between the Emperour and the King of *France*.

On *Shrove-Tuesday* the King, and the Marquess of *Exeter* with others in most sumptuous attire

attire came to the Tilt, and ran so many courses, till two hundred fourscore and six Spears were broken; and then disarming themselves went into the Queen's Chamber, where a sumptuous Banquet was provided. And this Banquet was one of the last of the Queens preparing: For hitherto there had been no exception taken to the lawfulness of her marriage, but now came over Ambassadors from the King of *France*, requiring to have the King's Daughter the Lady *Mary*, to be given in marriage to the Duke of *Orleance*, second Son to their Master the *French* King; wherein they that were the suitors for it, were the ministers of it: For amongst them was the President of *Paris*, who made a doubt whether the marriage between King *Henry* and the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain*, having been his Brothers Wife, were lawful or no. But howsoever the *French* Ambassadors at *Greenwich* on Sunday the 26th of *May*, in the Name of their Master the *French* King, took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them during their lives. And shortly after were sent Sir *Thomas Cullen*, Viscount *Rochford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Knight as Ambassadors to the King of *France*, to take his Oath in person for performance of the League.

The first exception taken to the lawfulness of the King's marriage.

But enough of small Occurrences; and indeed there will be Occurrences now more worthy to be related, but more lamentable to be heard: For now the Duke of *Bourbon* General of the Emperor's Army, in *Italy*, was slain by a shot from the Wall of *Rome*, as he was gallopping by; upon whose death the Army entered and sacked the City, made the Pope fly to the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, and there coop'd him up; [illegible] the Cardinals, and put them to [illegible] Prisoners, besides infinite Sums of Money [illegible] Pope fained by the Imperialists, and the Imprisoned Cardinals compelled as Prisoners.

committed against the Pope [illegible] the hard Conditions the Emperor [illegible] fed upon the King of *France* for setting [illegible] liberty, and the Emperour's breach [illegible] nise in not marrying the Lady *Mary* King *Henry*'s Daughter, were the apparent causes of King *Henry*'s breaking [illegible] with the Emperour *Charles*: But [illegible] affording, though concealed Cause, perhaps was the growing greatness of the Emperour by his acquests in Italy and other places; enough to breed jealousie in all neighbouring Princes: and indeed, King *Henry* had some cause to think the Emperour's Spirits were grown higher with his Victories; seeing where before he was wont always to write Letters to King *Henry* with his own hand, and subscribe them, Your Son and faithful Friend; now after his Victories he caused his Secretaries to write them, subscribing only *Charles*. And yet a more pressing Cause, though not avowed, might be the Emperours displeasure against the Emperour, for denying him the Bishoprick of *Toledo* in *Spain*. But whichsoever of these was the predominant cause, all of them together made a sufficient for King *Henry* to fall off from amity with the Emperour: and his falling off from the Emperour, cause sufficient to fall in with

Conclusion of King Henry's breaking the League with the Emperour.

the King of *France*; and thereupon the two Kings send their several Heralds to the Emperour; King *Henry*, *Clarentius* the *French* King, his Herald *Guyen*, to expostulate their grievances with the Emperour; and he refusing to return a satisfactory Answer, to defie him as their Enemy. The Emperour heard the Heralds with great temper, and answered *Clarentius* very mildly; That he knew his Master's grievance was grounded upon mis-information, wherein he would shortly rectifie him by his Letters, as desiring nothing more than to continue his Friend; but *Guyen* answered roundly, binding him tell his Master, that he had broken his Faith in not performing the Covenants, agreed upon for his Liberty; and with these answers dismissed them: only *Guyen* not thinking it fit to deliver his Answer, being in such terms, by word of Mouth, obtained to have it sent in writing. The Heralds being returned home, and delivering the Answers, the King of *France* was so incensed to be charged with breach of Faith, that soon after he sent another defiance to the Emperour, telling him in plain terms, That he lyed in his Throat; and thereupon challenged him to the Combat; requiring him to appoint the field, and himself would the Weapons. The Emperor accepted the Challenge, but other Occurrences intervening, hindred the performance.

The King of *France* gives the Emperor the lye, and challengeth him to a Combat.

In this meantime the Cardinal was appointed to go Ambassador to the King of *France*, carrying with him [illegible] thousand pounds, to be employed [illegible] the *French* King, and procure the Confederates to a War against the Emperour, who the eleventh of *July* took shipping at *Dover*, and landed that day at *Calice*; with whom was *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Sands* Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, Sir *Thomas More*, with other Knights and Gentlemen, in all to the number of Twelve hundred Horse. At *Amiens*, he was received by the [illegible] King himself, and by his mother, and [illegible] of *France*: By whom [illegible] Articles of Accord should be [illegible] the Emperour; which if refused, then the *French* King should marry the Lady *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Daughter, and they both to be [illegible] Emperour. These things concluded, the Cardinal returned; and on the [illegible] of *September* came to the King at *Richmond*. In *October* following there came Ambassadors from the *French* King, to take King *Henry*'s Oath for observing the League with the King of *France*; And on *Sunday* the Tenth of *November*, King *Henry* at *Greenwich* received the Order of Saint *Michael* by the Hands of the Lord *Annas de Montmorancie*, great Master of the King's Houshold, and Monsieur [illegible]: At likewise the same day at *Paris* the [illegible] King received the Order of the Garter by the Hands of the Lord *Lisle*, Doctor [illegible] Master of the Rolls, Sir *Nicholas Carew* Master of the King's Horse, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothesley* Knight, otherwise called Garter King of Arms, who were sent thither with the whole Habit, Collar, and other Ornaments of the Order.

The Cardinal goeth into *France* with a train of 1200 Horse.

Upon King *Henry*'s defiance of the Emperor in the *French* King's quarrel, *English* Merchants their Ships and Goods were attached in *Spain* and in the *Low-Countries*, as likewise all *Spanish* and *Flemish* Merchants were attached here, which being very detrimental to both Nations, at last, by mediation of *Hugo de Mendoza*, the Emperor's Ambassador Legier, a reconcilement was made, and free traffick between the Nations was revived.

1529.

King *Henry* begins to be troubled in mind about his marriage.

In his twentieth year, on the two and twentieth of *February*, Sir *Piers Butler* of *Ireland* was created Earl of *Ossory*. And now King *Henry* began to be troubled in mind about his marriage with Queen *Katharine*; but whether his trouble of Mind grew for scruple of Conscience, or for desire of change, was by many men doubted; some thought he had set his affection upon the Lady *Ann Bullen*, whom afterward he married; and to make way for that marriage, moved this Scruple, that he might be divorced: But this is not likely; for he married not the said Lady till above three years after this doubt had been moved, and three years was a long time to have affection be delayed, which commonly is impatient of delay. If King *Henry*'s own Protestation may be taken, it was very Scruple of Conscience that troubled his mind. But then by what means this Scruple came first into his Head, is another doubt; some thought it was first moved [illegible] Confessor Doctor *Longland*, telling him, that the Marriage with the Queen his Brother could not be lawful: But [illegible] likely, for Doctor *Longland* was [illegible] so, who knew the Marriage [illegible] dispensation from the Pope, and [illegible] that [illegible] beyond exception [illegible] was a Plot of *Woolsey*'s, thereby to [illegible] King *Henry* and the [illegible] whom he was to [illegible] Nephew, he revenged [illegible] neither is this likely, or [illegible] much deceived in [illegible] plot [illegible] perour laboured [illegible] verfities to [illegible] Marriage, yet he [illegible] *Henry* as much [illegible] believe the King [illegible] of *Paris*, coming Ambas[illegible] from the King of *France*, that first moved [illegible] tion of Marriage between [illegible] *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleans*, second Son to the *French* King: But by what means forver this Scruple had beginning, King *Henry*'s desire was now it should have an ending; and that the matter might be debated with indifferency, he allowed the Queen to make choice of what Council she thought [illegible] who thereupon [illegible] *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Nicholas West* Bishop of *Ely*, Doctors of the Law; *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Henry Standish* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, Doctors of Divinity, with many other: In the mean time he sent to all the Universities in *England* and *France*, to have their opinions, but specially to the Colledge of *Rome*, desiring the Pope to send his Legate to hear the Cause, who thereupon sent Cardinal *Campeius*, and joyned Cardinal *Woolsey* in Commission with him. The place appointed for the Cardinals to sit and hear the Cause, was at the *Black-friers*, where in the great Hall preparation was made of Seats, and all things necessary for such a session. Among other Officers of the Court, *Stephen Gardiner* Archdeacon of *Winchester* (late as chief Secretary to Cardinal *Wolsey*) had a Seat as chief Secretary. The Court being set, the Judges commanded silence whilst their Commission was read; which done, the Scribes commanded the Crier to call the King by the name of *Henry* of *England*, coming into the Court, who answered, Here: Then called he the Queen by the name of *Katharine* Q. of *England*, come into the Court. The Queen (though present, yet not [illegible] but rising from her seat, went to the [illegible] where she sate, and kneeling down [illegible] in effect; Sir, I humbly desire you to [illegible] pity upon me, for I am a poor Woman and a stranger, and I have here no indifferent [illegible], wherein all are your Subjects; [illegible] assurance of friendship, when they all [illegible] upon your Counsel: I have been your Wife [illegible] twenty years, and have born you diver[illegible] me with dishonesty or unfulfilness, I appeal me to depart from you to my [illegible], if you cannot, I then desire you to [illegible] Justice, and to [illegible] that I may know [illegible] friends in Spain will give me [illegible] now will not, then your Pleasure be fulfilled. And having so said, she rose up, and making a low courtesie, departed. The King being [illegible] fied, that she was going out of the House, commanded the Crier to call her again, who [illegible] upon called [illegible], saying, [illegible] Queen [illegible] come into the [illegible] which [illegible] told [illegible] after [illegible] for)

King *Henry* is cited to the Court and appears.

The Queen is cited and appears: But making her Protestation, departs, and appeals to the Pope.

[illegible] The Pope [illegible] Cause.

King *Henry* [illegible] fies his Queen's [illegible] fulness.

[illegible] The Queen is allowed her Council to debate the lawfulness of her marriage.

The chief point of difference was whether Prince *Arthur* had ever carnal knowledg of her.

[illegible] the Queen [illegible] Conscience, whom the Queen charged that he knew to be a Virgin when he married her (though to say the

the truth, it were strange Prince *Arthur* had found. When the Seal was brought to the King, he delivered it to Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker then of the Parliament (the first Layman that bore that Office in any memory) and in his room was chosen Speaker *Thomas Audley* Attorney of the Dutchy. *Wolsey* now removed from his Chancellorship, was in the Parliament then holden, charged with points of Treason; But that charge was so clearly taken off by his servant *Thomas Cromwel*, who was then of the House, that the Cardinal was acquitted to the great commendation of *Cromwel*, both for abilities in himself, and faithfulness to his Master.

After this, the King being informed, that all those things which the Cardinal had done by his power Legantine, were within the case of Præmunire; he caused his Attorney *Christopher Hales* to sue out a Præmunire against him; and thereupon the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were sent unto him, to let him know, the King's pleasure was, he should go to *Asher*, a House near to *Hampton-Court*, belonging to his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and there to reside: Whereupon the Cardinal, having first delivered up all his Moveables to the King's use (the greatest store, and richest, that was ever known of any Subject,) went presently to *Putney* by water, and from thence rode to *Asher*, where he and his Family continued three or four weeks, without either Bed, Sheets, Table-cloths, or Dishes to eat their Meat in, or Money wherewith to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Bishop of *Carlisle*. After this, his matter for the Præmunire being called upon in the King's Bench, His two Attorneys confessed the Action, and thereupon had Judgment to forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and to be out of the King's Protection; but the King of his clemency gave him a sufficient Protection, and left him the Bishoprics of *York* and *Winchester*, with Plate and Stuff convenient for his Dignity. His Bishoprick of *Durefme* was given to Doctor *Tunstal*, Bishop of *London*, his Abbey of Saint *Albans* to the Prior of *Norwich*; and the Bishoprick of *London* to Doctor *Stockesley*, Ambassador then beyond the Seas.

In the mean time, *Margaret* Dutchess of *Savoy* went to the Emperor, and the Lady *Loyse* Dutchess of *Angolesme*, Mother to the *French* King, met at *Cambray* to treat of a Peace between the Emperor, the Pope, and the Kings of *England* and *France*, where were present Doctor *Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Thomas More*, then Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, Commissioners for the King of *England*: after long debating through the diligence of the said Ladies, a Peace was concluded, and was therefore called, the Woman's Peace; and was indeed as fickle as Women, for it was soon broken, and neither of the Princes trusted the other ere the more for it.

King *Henry* before this time had been wholly ruled by the Cardinal and by the Clergy; but now, growing sensible of that error, he called his High Court of Parliament, in which the Commons complained sharply of their grievances against the Clergy, especially in six things.

The first, for that they exacted unreasonable sums of money, due as Fees, for the probate of mens last Wills and Testaments; insomuch, that Sir Henry Guilford,

The Queen continues in her Appeal.

Cardinals give sentence in the Court.

Wolsey sues to the King to marry Lady *Anne Bullen*, and why.

Wolsey is in a Præmunire; and inconfined to *Asher*.

The Commons in Parliament complain against the Clergy, and wherein.

Guilford, *Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the King's Houſe, declared openly, that he and others being Executors to Sir William Compton, payed for the Probate of his Will to the Cardinal and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a thouſand Mark.*

The ſecond, The extream exaction which ſpiritual men uſed in taking of Corps or Mortuaries.

The third, That Spiritual men became Farmers of great Granges and Lands, to the prejudice of Husbandmen and Graziers.

The fourth, becauſe many Abbots, Priors, and other ſpiritual men, kept Tan-houſes, and bought and ſold Wool, Cloth, and other Wares, as temporal Marchants.

The fifth, becauſe ſuch Clergy men as had the beſt Livings, would take the uttermoſt of their rights, and yet live in the Court or in Noble-men's, or in Biſhops houſes, where they ſpent nothing.

The ſixth, Becauſe divers ignorant men among ſt them held ten or twelve Benefices to themſelves ſeverally, and yet lived not upon any one of them, but kept great Scholars at ſmall penſions.

These things before this time might not be touched, becauſe the Biſhops were Chancellours, and had all the rule about the King; but now the King looking better into the matter, gave way to theſe Complaints: Whereupon the Burgeſſes drew up their Bills; one of the probate of Teſtaments; another for Mortuaries; and a third for non-reſidence, Pluralities, and taking of Farms by Spiritual men. The Bill of Mortuaries paſſed firſt the Houſe of Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords. When two days after, the ſame day the Bill of Probate of Teſtaments, to which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the Biſhops much frowned, but eſpecially *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who roſe up and ſaid, My Lords, you ſee what Bills come daily from the Commons Houſe, and all is to the deſtruction of the Church: For God's ſake conſider what a Realm *Bohemia* was, and how the Church went down, then fell the Crown of that Kingdom. Now with our Commons is nothing but *down with the Church*; and as for me, the reaſon is for lack of Faith only. When theſe things were reported to the Houſe of Commons, they took the matter very haſtily, and thereupon ſent their Speaker *Thomas More*, with thirty of the Houſe to the King, complaining what a diſhonour to the King and the whole Realm it was to ſay, That they whom he had elected for the wiſeſt men of all Shires, ſhould be charged to lack Faith, which was all one to ſay they were Infidels and no Chriſtians; ſo as what Acts or Laws ſoever they made, ſhould be taken as Laws made by Pagans and Heathens, and not worthy to be kept by Chriſtian men. And therefore humbly beſought his Majeſty to call the ſaid Biſhop of *Rocheſter* before him, to give an account of the words he had ſpoken. Whereupon within few days after, the King ſent for the Biſhop, and acquainted him with the Commons complaint againſt him, who excuſed himſelf, by ſaying becauſe the doings of the *Bohemians* was for lack of Faith, and not the doings of the Houſe of Commons; of which excuſe, the King (not

An inconſiderate ſpeech of *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

And how he excuſed it.

being ſatisfied by the Houſe by Sir *William Fitz-williams* Comptroller of his Houſhold, but it pleaſed the Commons nothing at all: After divers meetings between the Lords and the Commons about the Bills of Probate of Teſtaments and Mortuaries, the Temporality held to the Spirituality their own Laws and Cuſtoms, and the Spiritualty defended them by Preſcription Uſage. To whom a Gentleman of *Gray's-Inn*, made this Anſwer, That Uſage have ever been of Thieves to be hanged for Theft, is it therefore lawful? Whereupon this Diſcourſe in debate, an Act was paſſed, which releaſed to the King all ſuch ſums of money as he had borrowed of the Loan, in the firſt year of his Reign. Which Act at firſt was much oppoſed by the moſt part of the Temporality, being the Debtors, it was at laſt admitted to. Which once known in the Countries abroad, made much murmuring, that the Parliament ſo to be mocked of; for every man counterfeit a ſore debt, ſo as ſome [illegible] with money, and ſome returned never in anſwer to their Creditors: [illegible] which grievance the King granted a general pardon for all offences (certain excepted) and was a means alſo that the three Bills paſſed; one for [illegible] Teſtaments, another for [illegible], and [illegible] plurality of [illegible] Non-reſidence, having and taking of Farms by [illegible] perſons, though this laſt with ſome qualifying.

Prescription not enough to make a thing lawful.

During this Parliament, the King created Viſcount *Rochford* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, the Viſcount *Fitz-water* Earl of *Eſſex*; and the Lord *Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*.

Earls created.

[illegible] the Lords of the [illegible] had [illegible] Articles againſt [illegible] and laid them down [illegible] the chief whereof were

Firſt, That whereas the King's [illegible] *Cardinal*, had [illegible] *Legate*, by [illegible] he had [illegible] Biſhops, and ſpiritual perſons.

[illegible] Writings which he [illegible] to Rome, as to any Forreign Prince, he wrote Ego [illegible] and my King; ſo preferring himſelf before the King.

Thirdly, That without the King's [illegible], he carried the Great Seal of England [illegible] into Flanders.

Fourthly, That having the Broad Seal, he preſumed to come and breath where the King.

Fifthly, That he cauſed the Cardinal's Hat to be put upon the King's Coyn.

Sixthly, That he would not ſuffer the King's Clerk of the Market to ſit at Saint Albans.

Seventhly, That he had ſent ſundry ſorts of Treaſure to Rome, for procuring of his Dignity.

These Articles were read in the Houſe, and if he [illegible] confeſſed afterward under the Cardinal's own hand, which added to the former Articles, all his Lands and Goods were ſeized on to the King's uſe.

This Parliament being ended, the King removed to *Greenwich*, and there kept his Chriſtmas with his Queen and Court, in great [illegible] for though this manner of meeting and marriage between them, was hotly purſued by the King; yet abſtaining only from her Bed, he con-

converſed with her ſtill, and they kept Court together in as loving manner as they had done before. And now King *Henry* underſtanding that the Pope and the Emperor were to meet at *Bologna*, he ſent Ambaſſadors thither, the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Doctor *Stokeſley* Elect of *London*, and Doctor *Lee*, to declare both to the Pope and to the Emperour, the opinions of divers learned men, in the matter of his Marriage; who all agree that it was againſt the Law of God; and thereupon requiring the Pope to do him Juſtice, and ſhewing to the Emperour, that the King moved this matter for diſcharge of his Conſcience only, and to no other end. To which the Pope anſwered, That when he came to *Rome*, he would hear the matter diſputed, and do the King right. The Emperor anſwered, That he would in no caſe be againſt the Law of God, and if this Marriage were judged ſuch by the Court of *Rome*, he would reſt contented. With theſe anſwers the Ambaſſadors returned.

An. Reg. 12. 1531.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when the Emperor gave to the Maſter of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem* the Iſland of *Malta*, in ſtipplying of the Iſland of *Rhodes*, which the *Turk* ſometime before had won from that Order.

The Iſland of *Malta* given by the Emperor to the Maſter of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem*.

In this year the New Teſtament having been Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by *Tindal*, *Joy*, and others, was forbidden to be read; and many for reading it, were ſharply puniſhed by command of the Biſhops, and Sir *Thomas More* then Lord Chancellor; but none was more violent in the matter than the Biſhop of *London*, who cauſed all the Books to be brought into *Pauls* Church-yard, and there burned.

King *Henry*, having heard by good information, that Cardinal *Campeius* was ſent Legate into *England*, he had brought with him a Bull of Divorce, but was afterward upon change of the Pope's mind, commanded to burn it; ſaw plainly by this, that the Pope had no meaning of proceeding really in the matter, but to keep it afoot for his own ends; neither to diſpleaſe the Emperour by granting it, nor King *Henry* by not granting it, but promiſing Expedition to keep him in expectance; yet uſing delays to keep him in dependance: and therefore reſolved now to take ſuch a courſe, that he ſhould not need to take care whether the Pope granted it or no; and thereupon cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, That no Perſon of what Eſtate or Condition ſoever, ſhould purchaſe, or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of *Rome*, any thing prejudicial to the Juriſdiction or prerogative of this his Realm, upon pain of impriſonment, and other puniſhments at his Grace's pleaſure: And ſhortly after an Act was made, that Biſhops ſhould pay no more Annats, or money for Bulls to the Pope; for as much as it was proved, there had been paid for Bulls of Biſhops, ſince the fourth year of King *Henry* the Seventh, an hundred and threeſcore thouſand pounds, beſides what had been paid for Pardons and other Diſpenſations. Another Act was alſo then made, That no perſon ſhould appeal for any Cauſe out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commiſſary to the Biſhop, and from the Biſhop to the Archbiſhop, and from the Archbiſhop to the King, and all Cauſes of the King to be tryed in the upper Houſe of the Convocation.

An Act made that no more Annats ſhould be paid to *Rome*

Nor no Appeals to the Pope.

At this time the Cardinal lying ſtill at *Aſher*, and his adverſaries doubting leſt, lying ſo near the King, he might one time or other get acceſs to the King's preſence, and come again into favour; they uſed means to have ſent him further off, and thereupon the King appointed him to go to his Dioceſs of *York*, and not to come Southward without ſpecial Licenſe; whereupon in Lent he made great preparation for his Journey, and having in his Train to the number of an hundred and threeſcore perſons, by eaſie Journeys came to *Peterborow*, and there kept his Eaſter; the week after he went to *Stamford*, then to *Newark*, and ſo to *Southwell*, where he continued moſt part of all that Summer: And then rode to *Scroby*, where he ſtayed till *Michaelmas*, and then came to *Cawood* Caſtle, within ſeven miles of *York*, where he kept a plentiful houſe for all comers, and repaired the Caſtle, being greatly in decay, having above three hundred Artificers in daily wages. At laſt, he determined to be inſtalled at *York*, the next Monday after *Allhallan-day*; againſt which time great preparation was made, and the Cardinal ſent to the King, to lend him the Miter and Pall, which he uſed to wear at any great Solemnity. At which preſumption the King marvelled not a little, ſaying to thoſe that were about him, what a thing is this that pride ſhould thus reign in a man that is quite under foot? But before the day of Inſtalment came, he was arreſted in this manner; Sir *Walter Walſh* one of the King's Privy-Chamber was ſent down to the Earl of *Northumberland*, with whom he was joyned in Commiſſion to arreſt the Cardinal, whereupon they met together to *Cawood*, where the Cardinal lay: And being entered into the houſe, it was told the Cardinal, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was come, and in the Hall; Then (ſaith the Cardinal) I am ſorry we have dined, and I doubt our Officers are not provided of any good cheer. With that he went and brought the Earl up, welcoming him in a complimental manner, as if they had come but only to viſit him; but being come into the Chamber, the Earl with a ſoft Voice, laying his hand upon the Cardinal's arm, ſaid, My Lord, I arreſt you of high-Treaſon: the Cardinal ſomewhat aſtonied, asked to ſee his Commiſſion; which the Earl denying to ſhew, Then (ſaith the Cardinal) I will not obey your arreſt: At that inſtant Maſter *Walſh* came in, and kneeled down to the Cardinal; who asked him, if he were joyned in Commiſſion with the Earl; who anſwered, He was: Well then, ſaid the Cardinal, I troth you are one of the King's Privy-Chamber, your name is *Walſh*: I am content to yield to you, but not to my Lord of *Northumberland*, unleſs I ſee his Commiſſion; The meaneſt of the King's Privy-Chamber is ſufficient to arreſt the greateſt Peer of the Realm, by the King's Commandment, without any Commiſſion. Then the Earl took the Cardinal's keys from him, and put him in cuſtody of his Gentlemen: Some few days after he was conveyed from *Cawood* to *Pomfret*, and after to *Sheffield* Park where he had kind entertainment, and ſtaid at it the Earl

The Cardinal is commanded to his Dioceſs of *York*.

He prepares to be inſtalled, and ſends to the King for his rich Miter and Pall.

He is arreſted by Sir *Walter Walſh* one of the King's Privy-Chamber.

of

of *Shrewsbury* and the Lady eighteen days, till at last sitting one day at Dinner, his colour was observed to change; and being asked how he did? Not well (saith he) I have something suddenly at my stomach as cold as a Wrought-stone, which I know is wind: I desire to take something from the Apothecary to break wind: Which was brought, and the Earl seeing the same taken, he took it, and thereupon broke wind indeed; but whether it were he took it in too great a quantity, or that there was some foul play used, he fell soon after into such a loosness, that the night following he had above fifty stools: Yet the next day he rode to *Nottingham*, and the day after to *Leicester* Abbey; being so sick by the way, that he was ready to fall off his Mule. Coming to the Abbey Gates, the Abbot with all the Convent met him, to whom he said, Father Abbot, I am come hither to lay my bones among you; and then was led up into his Chamber, and went to bed, where growing sicker and sicker, the next morning Master *Kingston* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who had been sent to bring him up, coming to him, and asking him how he did? I do but tarry (said he) the pleasure of God, to render up my poor Soul into his hands. For this is my case, I have a Flux with a continual Fever, the nature whereof is, that if there be no amendment within eight days, either excoriation of the Entrails will ensue, or Frenzy, or else present death, and the best of them is death; and (as I suppose) this is the eighth day. Sir (said Master *Kingston*) you are afraid without cause, for assure you, the King commanded me to say unto you, that you should be of good cheer, for that he loved you as much good will as ever he did. No, no, Master *Kingston* (said the Cardinal) I see now how it is framed, but if I had served God as diligently, as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs; but this is the reward for my study to do him service, not regarding the service of God to do him service: And having so said, his Speech failed, and moment the Clock struck eight, and then he gave up the ghost; which made some to remember how he had said before, that at eight of the clock they should lose their Master. Being dead, he was buried in the Abbey of *Leicester*.

This Man held at once the Bishoprick of *York*, *Winchester*, and *Durham*, the Dignities of Lord Cardinal Legate and Chancellor of *England*, the Abbey of Saint *Albans*, divers Priories, and sundry great Benefices in *Commendam*: he had also in his hands, as it were in Farm, the Bishoprick of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, which having been given by *Henry* the Seventh to strangers that lived out of the Realm, they suffered *Woolsey* to enjoy them, receiving of him a Pension only. The Retinue of this Prelate is scarce credible, a thousand Persons daily in his household, of whom many Knights and some Lords; all which Greatness as it came by the King's favour, so by the withdrawing of his favour it was overthrown: so true is that saying of *Solomon*, *The King's favour is as dew upon the grass; but his wrath is as the Roaring of a Lion, and as a Messenger of death.* After this, the King removed from *Hampton-Court* to *Greenwich*, where with his Queen *Katherine* he kept a solemn Christmas, and on the Twelfth-night he came in Masquing to the Hall, where were divers Interludes, costly Masks, and a sumptuous Banquet. After Christmas he came to his Mannor of *Westminster*, which before was called *York-place*; for the Cardinal had made a Feoffment of it to be King, which the Chapter of *York* confirmed; and then it was no more called *York-place*, but the King's *Mannor of Westminster*, now *White-Hall*.

He falls sick.

White-hall given by the Cardinal to the King.

And dies.

His many Honours and great retinue.

About this time was a Call of Eleven Serjeants at Law; namely, *Thomas Audely*, *Walter Luke*, *John Spelman*, *John Port*, *Christopher Jenny*, *John Denfel*, *Edward Merwine*, *Edmund Knightly*, *Roger Cholmley*, *Edward Montague*, and *Robert York*, who had their Feast at *Ely-house* five days together, sitting on the bench with the King and Queen present: Which *John Denfel* of *Denfelton* in the County of *Cornwal*, was of *Lincolns-Inn*, and died the third day of *January*, *Anno Christi* 1[illegible], and was buried within the Church of St. *Giles* [illegible], in *Middlesex*; leaving by *Mary* his Wife, the Daughter of Sir—— *Lucas* in *Warwickshire* Knight, two Daughters and Co-heirs. Anne his eldest married unto Sir *William Hollis* of *Haughton*, in the County of *Nottingham* Knight, Grandfather to *John Hollis*, Knight, Earl of *Clare*, deceased: and the other Daughter married unto Master ——*Rokiner*.

At this time the whole Clergy of *England* was charged by the King's learned Council to be in a præmunire for supporting and maintaining the Cardinal's Legantine power: They were severally called by Process into the Court of Chancery to answer before their day [illegible] came in place to appear [illegible] humble petition to [illegible] King an hundred thousand pounds for their Pardon by Parliament; [illegible] labour, was accepted, and their Pardon promised. But his petition the Clergy called the King Supreme Head of the Church. This Pardon [illegible] the King's hand, and sent to the Lords, who assented to it, and from them it to the Lower House. But here divers of the House excepted against the Pardon, unless themselves also might be included in it: who (they said) having had [illegible] do with the Cardinal, might be brought [illegible] the same cases the Clergy were. Hereupon their Speaker *Thomas Audely*, with a convenient number of the House was sent to the King about it: To whom the King made answer, That he was their Soveraign Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his Mercy; and seeing they went about to restrain him of his liberty, he would grant a Pardon to the Clergy, which he might do by his great Seal without them, and for their Pardon, he would be advised before he granted it. With this Answer the Speaker and Commons returned much grieved and discontented; and some said that *Thomas Cromwel*, who was newly come into the King's favour, had disclosed the secrets of the House, which made the King give this unpleasing Answer. [illegible] after the King, of his own accord, caused that Pardon also to be drawn, and signed it, which easily passed both Houses, with great commendation

The King first called the Supreme Head of the Church.

The King's wisdom in granting his Pardon.

dation of the Kings Judgment, to deny it at first when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterward, when it was received as of grace.

In this Parliament-time, on the 30 of *March*, Sir *Tho. More* Lord Chancellour with twelve of the Lords, came into the Lower House, acquainting them, that though in the matter of the King's Divorce, he might sufficiently rest upon the judgment of learned men in his own Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, yet to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he had sent into *France*, *Italy*, the Pope's Dominions, and the *Venetians*, to have their opinions; and then causing them to be read, Sir *Thomas Audley* took out of a Box certain Writings sealed, which were the determination of the Universities of *Orleans*, of *Paris*, of *Anjou*, of *Bourges*, of *Bolonia*, of *Padua*, and of *Tholouse*: All which were peremptory in these two points; That the Brother, by the law of God, might not marry the Relict of his Brother; and then being against the Law of God, that it is not within the power of the Pope to dispense with it: And now (said they) you may know, that the King hath not sought this Divorce for his pleasure, but for the discharge of his Conscience: and this said, they departed. The King himself, when he heard of these determinations, was so far from rejoycing at it, that he rather mourned, as for the loss of so good a wife; yet conversed with her as he had done before, in nothing altered but abstaining from her bed. But being willing the Queen should know these determinations, in Whitsun-week after, he sent divers Lords to acquaint her with them, requiring her thereupon to recal her Appeal, and to refer the matter to eight indifferent Lords, which she utterly refused, using her usual Answer, that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide the Determination of the Court of *Rome*, and of no other. After Whitsuntide the King and Queen removed to *Windsor*, and there continued till the 14 of *July*, on which day the King removed to *Woodstock*, and left the Queen at *Windsor*, where she remained a while, and after removed to *Easthamstead*, whither the King sent to her divers Lords, first to perswade her to be conformable to the Law of God, which if they could not do, then to let her know, that his pleasure was, she should be at either of these three places, his Mannor of *Ewelme*, or of *Easthamsted*, or the Monastery of *Ashridge*, and there to continue without further molesting him with her suits.

The Pope cannot dispense against the Law of God.

Notwithstanding the determinations of Universities, yet the Queen stands still to her Appeal.

The Queen is confined.

And now *Cranmer* is to play his part. It chanced that Dr. *Stephens* and Dr. *Fox* and he met at *Waltham* one day at Dinner, where falling into discourse about the case now in question, of the King's Marriage with Queen *Katharine*, the other Doctors thought the Marriage might be proved unlawful by the Civil Law: but (said *Cranmer*) it may be better proved by the Law of God, and it is no hard matter to do it. Which words of his being made known to the King, *Cranmer* is sent for, and commanded to set his Reasons down in writing; which having done, and shewed them to the King, he was asked whether he would stand to that which he had written; who answered, he would, even before the Pope himself, if his Majesty pleased: Marry (said the King) and to the Pope you shall go; and thereupon sent him to the Court of *Rome* and with him *Tho. Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, Dr. *Stokesley* Elect of *London*, Dr. *Lee* the King's Almoner, and others: who coming to *Bolonia* where the Pope was, had a day of Audience appointed, but was hindred by a ridiculous accident; for the Pope holding out his foot for them to kiss his Toe, as the manner is, a Dog of the Earls by chance in the room, ran and caught the Popes foot in his mouth, and made it for that time unfit to kiss. After this, when *Cranmer* had made his proposition, he was told it should be answered when the Pope came to *Rome*: so the Ambassadors were dismissed, and *Cranmer* went to the Emperour's Court, where in private conference he satisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the most learned at that time about the Emperour, and brought him to be of his Opinion. *Cranmer* returning home, and giving the King this satisfaction, the King's Marriage with Queen *Katharine* was soon after dissolved by Parliament; and the Bishop of *Canterbury*, accompanied with Dr. *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, *Stephen Gardner* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishops *Bath* and *Lincoln*, and other learned men, rode to *Dunstable* where Queen *Katherine* then lay; where being cited to appear, and making default fifteen days together, for lack of appearance, she was divorced from the King, and the Marriage declared to be void and of none effect; and from thenceforth it was decreed, she should no more be called Queen, but Princess Dowager; after which time, the King never saw her more.

Cranmer is sent to *Rome* to prove the Kings marriage unlawful.

The Queen is by Parliament divorced.

At this time, being the four and twentieth year of King *Henry's* reign, Sir *Thomas More*, after long suit, delivered up the great Seal, which was then delivered to *Tho. Audeley* Speaker of the Parliament, which Parliament, begun at the *Black Friers*, was adjourned to *Westminster*, and there at nine a clock at night dissolved, and was therfore called the *Black Parliament*. This *Tho. Audely* was first made Lord Keeper, and shortly after Chancellour; in whose room of Speaker, *Humfrey Wingfield* of *Grays-Inne* was chosen. On the first of *September* this year, the King being at *Windsor* created *Anne Bullen* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, giving her a 1000 pounds land a year: and then being desirous to talk with the King of *France* in person, on the 10 of *October* taking the said Lady with him, and divers Lords, as the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marquess of *Dorset*, and *Exeter*, the Earls *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Surrey*, *Essex*, *Derby*, *Rutland*, *Sussex*, and *Huntington*, with divers Viscounts, Barons, and Knights, he sailed over to *Calice*; and on the 20 of *October* met with the King of *France* at *Boloign*, with whom he stayed four days: in which time, to do him Honour, the King of *France* honoured the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* with the Order of Saint *Michael*: and then both Kings went to *Calice*, where the *French* King stayed certain days; in which time to do the King of *France* honour, King *Henry* honored two of his great Lords with the Order of the Garter and then after great magnificence in revelling and feasting on the 20 of *October* the *French* King departed from *Calice*, and King *Henry* returned into *England*; whereon the 14 of *November* following, he married secretly the Lady *Anne Bullen*, which marriage was not openly known till Easter after, when it was perceived

Sir *Thomas More* delivers up the great Seal, and *Thomas Audely* Speaker of the Parliament is made Lord Chancellour. The Lady *Anne Bullen* is created Marchioness of *Pembroke*.

King *Henry* with the King of *France* at *Calice*.

He marries the Lady *Anne Bullen*.

Cranmer is made Archbishop of Canterbury.

she was with child; at which time *William Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* died: *Thomas Cranmer* was elected in his room.

After that the King perceived his new Wife to be with child, he caused all Officers necessary to be appointed to her; and so on Easter-eve she went to her Closet openly as Queen, and then the King appointed her Coronation to be kept on Whitsunday following, and Writings were sent to all Sheriffs, to certifie the names of men of forty pounds to receive the Order of Knighthood, or else to make fine: The Assessment of which fine was appointed to *Thomas Cromwell*, Master of the Jewel-house, and of the King's Council; a man newly come into the King's Favour, by whose industry great sums of money were by such fines gathered. In the beginning of *May*, the King caused Proclamation to be made, that all men who claimed to do any service at the Coronation, by way of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put in their claim three weeks after Easter in the Star-Camber, before Charles Duke of *Suffolk*, for that time high Steward of *England*, the Lord Chancellour and other Commissioners. Two days before the Coronation were made Knights of the *Bath*, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Fitz-water*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Montegle*, the Lord *Vaux*, Sir *John Berdant*, Sir *Henry Parker*, Sir *William Windsor*, Sir *Francis Weston*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Harlston*, Sir *Thomas Poynings*, Sir *Henry Savil*, Sir *George Fitz-williams*, Sir *John Tindal*, and Sir *Thomas Jeremy*. On Whitsunday the Coronation was kept in as great state and pomp for all circumstances as ever any was, and the day after solemn Justs were holden.

The Order of Knighthood imposed upon all men of forty pound lands.

Cromwell is taken into the King's Service.

Queen Anne of Bullen is Crowned.

In *May* this year Pope *Clement* sent a Messenger to King *Henry*, requiring him personally to appear at the general Council, which he had appointed to be kept the year following: But when his Commission was shewed, there was neither time nor place specified for keeping of this said Council; and so with an uncertain answer to an uncertain demand, the Messenger departed.

Anno Reg. 25. 1534.

It was now the five and twentieth year of the King's Reign, when on Midsummer-day, *Mary* the *French* Queen, and then wife to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, died, and was buried at St. *Edmundsbury*; and on the seventh of *September* following, between three and four a clock in the afternoon, the Queen was delivered of a Daughter that was named *Elizabeth*: The Godfather at the Christning was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Godmothers the old Dutchess of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioness of *Dorset* widow; and at the Confirmation, the Lady Marchioness of *Exeter*: The Christning was performed with exceeding great state, and great gifts were given by the Gossips.

The Queen is delivered of a Daughter named *Elizabeth*.

This year one *Pavier* the Town-Clerk of *London* hanged himself, whom *Hollinshead* saith, he heard once swear a great Oath, that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in *English*, rather than he would live to see that day, he would cut his own throat: which I therefore relate, that the judgment of God may be seen upon such unhallowed Oath.

The judgment of God upon an unhallow'd Oath.

A little before this time one *Elizabeth Barton*, named the Holy Maid of *Kent*, came to be discovered; whose abettors were *Richard Master* a Priest, Parson of *Aldington* in *Kent*, *Ed. Bocking* D. of Divinity, a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Rich. Deering* a Monk, *Edw. Thwayts* Gent. *Henry Gold* Parson of *Aldermary*, *Hugh Rich* a Fryar Observant, *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gold*, Gentlemen. This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances, in which she would deliver many strange things, and amongst other, said, That by Revelation from God and his Saints, she was informed, that if King *Henry* proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he should not be King of *England* one month after. And here we may see how credulous sometimes great Scholars are in believing Impostures, when *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* were thought to give credit to this Counterfeit: So that we need not wonder at St. *Austin*, who though he gave credit to many lying Miracles, yet they were such as had more probability in them than this, which consisted in nothing but making of faces, as upon Examination of the Maid and her Abettors was confessed; and thereupon she and most of them were condemned, drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged.

The Holy Maid of Kent her Imposture discovered, and she hanged.

In the mean time the *Scots* had been troublesome, and made inroads upon the Borders; till at last Commissioners being sent to treat of agreement, a Peace was concluded, to continue both the Kings lives; which on the twentieth of *May* this year was openly proclaimed.

About this time, at the suit of the Lady *Katherine Dowager*, a Bull was sent from the Pope, which cursed both the King and the Realm; which Bull was set up in the Town of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, the Messenger not daring to come nearer: And because it was known that the Lady *Dowager* had procured this Curse to be sent, the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to her, lying then at *Bugden* beside *Huntington*, to discharge a great part of her household-servants; yet leaving her a convenient number like a Princess.

1535.

It was now the six and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s reign, when in a Parliament holden, an Act was made for establishing the succession in the Crown upon the Lady *Elizabeth*; to which, first all the Lords, Knights, and Burgesses were sworn; and other Commissioners were sent into all parts of the Realm, to take the oath of all men and women to the said Act. Another Act was also made, which authorized the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Pope's Authority to be utterly abolished. But Doctor *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, Sir *Thomas More* Knight, and Doctor *Wilson* Parson of Saint *Thomas Apostles* in *London*, expresly denied at *Lambeth*, before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take the Oaths; of whom Doctor *Wilson* recanted, but the other two, persisting in their opinion, were both of them beheaded. Of these two, Bishop *Fisher* was much lamented, as reputed a man both of great learning and good life. The Pope had elected him Cardinal, and his Hat was come as far as *Calice*, but before it could come into *England* his head was off. Sir *Thomas More* was both learned and very wise, but so given to a vein of merry jesting and merry scoffing, that he could not refrain it at the very time of his death, as when he was carried to

The Popes Authority in *England* abolished by Parliament.

Fisher Bishop of *Rochester* and Sir *Thomas More* beheaded: and why.

the

the *Tower*, being demanded his upper Garment, (meaning his Gown) You shall have it, said he, and gave them his Cap; saying, it was the uppermost Garment he had: Also, when being upon the Scaffold, the Hangman kneeled down and asked him forgiveness; I forgive thee, (said he) but I promise thee, thou wilt never have credit by cutting off my head, my neck is so short: And when he was to lay his head down upon the Block, having a great gray beard, he stroked it out, and said to the Hangman, I pray you let me lay my Beard over the Block, lest you should cut it; for though you have Warrant to cut off my head, you have none to cut my beard. But his Devotion was no jesting matter, for he used to wear a Shirt of hair next his skin for a perpetual Penance; and oftentimes in the Church he would put on a Surplice, and help the Priest to say Mass; which he forbore not to do, even when he was Lord Chancellor of *England*, as one time the Duke of *Norfolk* coming to the Church found him doing it. Two memorable things are recorded of him: One, which shews his great integrity, and the small reckoning he made of Riches, that having passed through so many great Employments, and born so many great Offices, yet in all his time he never purchased above One hundred pounds land a year, nor left any great flock of Money behind him, when he died. The other, which shews his filial piety, that being Lord Chancellor of *England* at the same time that his Father was a Judge of the *Kings Bench*, he would always as he went to *Westminster*, go first to the *Kings Bench*, and ask his Father blessing, before he went to sit in the Chancery.

Sir Thomas More gives to jesting at his execution.

The ninth of *July* this year the Lord *Dacres* of the North was arraigned at *Westminster*, of high Treason, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as high Steward of *England*; his Indictment being read, he so answered every part and matter therein contained, that by all Peers he was found Not guilty: a rare thing to stop a current that ran with such violence. The one and twentieth of *September*, Doctor *Tregonwell* Master of the Rolls was discharged of that Office: and the nineteenth of *October* following *Thomas Cromwell* was sworn in his place.

The Lord *Dacres* arraigned of high Treason.

Cromwell is made Master of the Rolls.

This year the King of the *Scots* was installed Knight of the Garter, by his Deputy the Lord *Erskine*; and *Stephen Gardiner*, who after the Cardinal's death, was made Bishop of *Winchester*, was sent Ambassadour Leiger into *France*, where he remained three years. Also in *January* of this year, *Katherine Princess Dowager* fell into her last Sickness; to whom the King sent the Emperor's Ambassador Leiger, desiring her to be of good comfort; but she finding her death to approach, caused only one of her Gentlewomen to write a Letter to the King, commending to him her Daughter and his, and beseeching him to be a good Father to her: and then desiring him further, to have some consideration of her Servants, on the eighth of *January*, at *Kimbolton*, she departed this life, and was buried at *Peterborough*. A Woman of so vertuous a life, and of so great obsequiousness to her Husband, that from her only merit is grown a reputation to all *Spanish* Wives.

Queen *Katherine Dowager* dies at *Kimbolton*.

Also the nine and twentieth of *January* this year, Queen *Ann* was delivered of a Child before her time, which was born dead.

Queen *Ann* is delivered of a Child before her time, and born dead.

And now King *Henry* began to fall into those great Disorders, which have been the blemish of his life, and have made him to be blotted out of the Catalogue of our best Princes. For first in *October* this year, he sent Doctor *Lee* and others to visit the Abbeys, Priories, and Nunneries in *England*, who set at liberty all those Religious Persons that would forsake their habit, and all that were under the Age of four and twenty years; and in *December* following a Survey was taken of all Chantries, and the names of such as had the gift of them. After which, in a Parliament holden the fourth of *February*, an Act was made, which gave the King all Religious Houses, with all their Lands and Goods, that were of the value of three hundred Marks a year and under: the number of which Houses was three hundred seventy and six; the value of their Lands yearly, above two and thirty thousand pounds, their moveable goods one hundred thousand, the Religious Persons put out of the same houses above ten thousand. This year *William Tindall* was burnt at a Town in *Flanders* between *Brussels* and *Mechlin*, called *Villefort*, for translating into *English* the New Testament, and divers parts of the Old; who having been long imprisoned, was upon the Lord *Cromwell*'s writing for his Deliverance, in all haste brought to the fire and burnt.

All Religious Houses of a certain value given by Parliament to the King.

William Tindal burnt in *Flanders* for translating into *English* the New Testament.

It was now the eight and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when one Monday there were solemn Justs holden at *Greenwich*, from whence the King suddenly departed and came to *Westminster*; whose sudden departure struck great amazement into many, but to the Queen especially, and not without cause: For the next day the Lord *Rochford*, her Brother, and *Henry Norris*, were brought to the Tower of *London*, Prisoners; whither also the same day at five a clock in the afternoon was brought Queen *Anne* her self by Sir *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Cromwell* Secretary, and Sir *William Kingston* Lieutenant of the Tower, who at the Tower-gate fell on her knees before the said Lords, beseeching God to help her, as she was innocent of that whereof she was accused. On the fifteenth of *May* she was arraigned in the Tower before the Duke of *Norfolk* sitting as High Steward of *England*. When her Indictment was read, she made unto it so wise and discreet answers, that she seemed fully to clear her self of all matters laid to her charge: But being tried by her Peers, whereof the Duke of *Suffolk* was chief, she was by them found guilty, and had Judgment pronounced by the Duke of *Norfolk*. Immediately the Lord *Rochford* her Brother was likewise arraigned and condemned: Who on the seventeenth of *May*, together with *Henry Norris*, *Mark Smeton*, *William Brereton*, and *Francis Weston*, all of the King's Privy-Chamber, about matters touching the Queen, were beheaded on the Tower-hill. Queen *Anne* her self on the nineteenth of *May*, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, was beheaded with the Sword of *Calice* by the

1537.

Queen *Ann* is committed to the Tower.

She is beheaded.

the Hangman of that Town, her body with the head was buried in the Quire of the Chappel there. This Queen *Anne* was the Daughter of *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and of Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; the Earls Father was the Son of Sir *William Bullen*, whose Wife was *Margaret* the second Daughter and Co-heir of *Thomas Butler* Earl of *Ormond*; and the said Sir *William* was the Son of Sir *Godfrey Bullen*, Lord Mayor of *London*, who lieth buried in Saint *Leonards* Church in the *Jewry*, whose Wife was *Anne* eldest Daughter and Co-heir to *Thomas* Lord *Hoo* and *Hastings*, and his descent was out of the House of the *Bullens* in the County of *Norfolk*. Thus much for her Parentage. For her Religion, she was an earnest Professor, and one of the first Countenancers of the Gospel: In Alms-deeds, so liberal, that in nine Months space, it is said she distributed among the poor to the value of fifteen thousand pounds. Now for the Crimes for which she died, (Adultery and Incest,) proofs of her guiltiness there are none recorded; of her innocency many. First, her own clearing of all objections at the time of her Arraignment: Then *Cromwel*'s writing to the King, after full examination of the matter, that many things have been objected, but none confessed, only some Circumstances had been acknowledged by *Mark Smeton*: (and what was *Mark Smeton*, but a mean Fellow, one that, upon promise of life, would say any thing? And having said something, which they took hold of, he was soon after executed, lest he should retract it.) Lastly, they that were accused with her, they all denied it to the death; even *Henry Norris*, whom the King specially favoured, and promised him Pardon if he would but confess it. It was a poor proof of Incest with her Brother, that coming one morning into her Chamber before she was up, he leaned down upon her Bed, to say something in her ear; yet this was taken hold of for a Proof: And it need be no marvel, if we consider the many Adversaries she had, as being a Protestant, and perhaps in that respect, the King himself not greatly her friend: (For though he had excluded the Pope, yet he continued a Papist still) and then who knows not, that Nature is not more able of an Acorn to make an Oak, than Authority is able of the least surmise to make a certainty? But howsoever it was that her death was contrived, certain it is, that it cast upon King *Henry* a dishonorable Imputation; insomuch that where the Protestant Princes of *Germany* had resolved to chuse him for head of their League; after they heard of this Queens death in such a manner, they utterly refused him as unworthy of the honour: And it is memorable what conceit Queen *Anne* her self had of her death; for at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, she called one of the King's Privy-Chamber to her, and said unto him, Commend me to the King, and tell him, he is constant in his Course of advancing me; for from a private Gentlewoman, he made me a Marquis, from a Marquis a Queen, and now that he had left no higher degree of worldly honour for me, he hath made me a Martyr.

Her Parentage.

Her Religion and Alms-deeds.

Her Innocency.

Immediately after her death, in the week before Whitsuntide, the King married *Jane Seymour*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, who at Whitsuntide was openly shewed as Queen: And on Tuesday in Whitsun-week her Brother Sir *Edmund Seymour* was created Vicount *Beauchamp*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford* was made Lord *Hungerford*.

The King Marries the Lady Jane Seymour.

The eigth of *June* the Parliament began; during the which, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, without the King's assent, had affianced the Lady *Margaret Douglass*, Daughter to the Queen of *Scots*, and Niece to the King: For which he was attainted of Treason, and an Act was made for like Offenders hereafter; and so he died in the Tower, and she long time remained there a Prisoner; yet afterward was set at liberty, and married *Mathew* Earl of *Lenox*, who by him had *Henry* Father of *James* the first King of *Great Britain*.

In the time of this Parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy had a solemn Convocation at *Pauls* Church in *London*, were after much disputation and debating of Matters, they published a Book of Religion, intituled, Articles devised by the King's Highness: In which Book are specially mentioned but three Sacraments, namely, Baptism, Eucharist, and Penance; also certain Injunctions were set forth, whereby many of the old Holidays were abrogated, specially those that fell in Harvest-time.

Articles devised by the Kings Highness.

The two and twentieth of *July*, *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset* (base Son of King *Henry* by *Elizabeth Blunt*) died at St *James*, and was buried in *Thetford* in *Norfolk*.

The nine and twentieth of *June* the King held a great Justs and Triumph at *Westminster*, but a disastrous Sea-fight was upon the water, where one *Gates* a Gentleman was drowned in his Harness, and by the breaking of a Gun two Mariners were sore maimed. In *July* following, *Thomas Cromwel*, Secretary to the King, and Master of the Rolls, was made Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seale: and the nineteenth of *July* the Lord *Fitz-Warren* was created Earl of *Bath*; and the day after the said *Cromwel* was made Lord *Cromwel*, and on the eighteenth of *July*, Vicar General under the King over the Spirituality; who sate divers times in the Convocation-House, amongst the Bishops, as Head over them. And now was the state of Religion in *England* come to a strange pass, because always in passing, and had no consistence: For at first, the Authority of the Pope was excluded in some cases only, a while after in all, but yet his Doctrine was wholly retained. Afterward his Doctrine came to be impugned, but in some few points only; a while after, in many more; that the Fable of *Proteus* might no longer be a Fable, when the Religion in *England* might be his true Moral. And indeed, it could be no otherwise; the distance between the two Religions being not possible to be passed *per saltum*, but must be done by degrees, which degrees may be observed in the progress of the story. For where at first it was permitted only to read the Bible in *English*, now it came to be permitted to pray in English: for now in *September* the Lord *Cromwel* set forth Injunctions to have the Lords Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, the

Cromwel is made Lord Keeper. The Lord *Fitz-Warren* is created Earl of *Bath*: *Cromwel* is made Lord *Cromwel*. And Vicar General over the Spirituality.

Religion altered in *England* by degrees.

the ten Commandments, and all Articles of the Christian Faith translated into *English*, and to be taught by all Persons and Curates to their Parishioners: Which innovation so stirred up the People, that in *Lincolnshire* they assembled to the number of twenty thousand, against whom the King himself went in person, who winning by Persuasion their chief Leaders, brought the rest upon Pardon to submit themselves: But when he had himself done the work of Mercy, he afterward sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, with Sir *Francis Bryan*, and Sir *John Russel*, to do the work of Justice, who caused *Nicholas Melton*, and a Monk naming himself Captain *Cobler*, and thirteen other (Ring-leaders of the Sedition) to be apprehended, and most of them to be executed. But this Commotion was scarce appeased, when presently there arose another in the North-parts, where forty thousand were assembled, giving themselves out for an Holy Pilgrimage, where on one side of their Ensigns, they had Christ hanging on the Cross, on the other side, the Cup and Bread of the Sacrament, as taking Arms only for maintenance of the Faith of Christ, and deliverance of the Holy Church now oppressed. But these were opposed by *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who having rais'd an Army without Commission, though to resist the Rebels, yet began to be much troubled, whether in so doing he had not committed Treason, and was never quiet till he had sent to the King for Pardon, and Commission to proceed: At which time a rumour being raised amongst his Soldiers, that the Earl so well liked the Rebels Cause, that what shew soever he made, yet when it should come to the tryal, he would not stick to join with them, and take their Parts; to remove this opinion out of their Minds, he caused all his Soldiers to come before him, and made his Chaplain give him an Oath; by which he swore in their hearing, to be true to the Crown and never be assisting to any Rebels. To his aid were sent the Duke of *Norfolk*, with the Marquess of *Exeter*, and Earls of *Huntington* and *Rutland*; who with a mighty Army approaching the Rebels, beyond *Doncaster*, in the way towards *York*, attempted first to have pacified them without blood-shed; but when no perswasions would serve, it was resolved of both sides to come to Battel: but see here the great Goodness of God; for the night before the day appointed for Battel, it happened that a little Brook called *Don*, running between the two Armies, upon a small rain grew to such a height, that it was not passable by either Foot or Horse; so as the Armies having time to consider, and considering perhaps this Miracle as sent of God, they came to agreement, and upon Pardon disbanded and returned to their houses; but in the mean time they had besieged the Castle of *Scarborough*, where the resolute carriage of Sir *Ralph Evers* is memorable, who held the Castle by only his own Servants and Tenants, and that, when for twenty days together he had no other Sustenance but Bread and Water. But all Commotions were not yet appeased; for at this very time there was another great Army assembled out of *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, and the North-parts of *Lancashire*, marching Southwards: But by the diligence of the Earl of *Derby*, to whom also the Earl of *Sussex* was sent, they were suppressed, and their chief Leaders, as the Abbots of *Whalley*, *Sauly*, and others, apprehended and hanged. But neither is there yet an end of Commotions; for now in *February*, *Nicholas Musgrave*, *Tho. Tilby*, with others to the number of twelve thousand, began a Rebellion, and besieged *Carlile*; but by the power of the City were first beaten back, and then were encountred by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who caused seventy four of them by Martial Law to be hanged on the Walls of *Carlile*. But neither was there yet an end of Commotions; for now in *Stivington*, *Pickering*, *Leigh*, and *Scarborough*, began a new Rebellion, by procurement of *Francis Bigot*, who had a great power, and meant to have taken *Hull*: but by the Industry of Sir *Ralph Ellarker*, and the Mayor of the Town, threescore of the Rebels were taken and hanged, and the rest put to flight, and glad to be quiet. But neither yet was there an end of Commotions; for in the latter end of this eight and twentieth year the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Hussey*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer*, and his Wife, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempest* Esquire, and others began to conspire, though each of them before had been pardoned by the King: But this, as being but the fag-end of the Commotion was soon suppressed the; Lord *Darcy* was beheaded on the *Tower-hill*, the Lord *Hussey*, at *Lincoln*, Sir *Robert Constable*, was hanged in chains at *Hull*, Sir *John Bulmers* Paramour was burnt in *Smithfield*, and most of the other were executed at *Tyburn*. *Tanta molis erat*, so great a matter it was, to make the Realm be quiet, in so gren Innovations of Religion.

This year on Saint *George's* Feast, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Knight of the Garter, and on the twelfth of *October*, which is Saint *Edwards* even, at *Hampton-Court*, the Queen was delivered of a Son, (but with so hard a labour that she was fain to be rip'd.) The Child was named *Edward*, whose Godfathers at the Christning were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, his Godmother was his Sister the Lady *Mary*: At his Bishoping his Godfather was the Duke of *Suffolk*. On the eighteenth of *October* he was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*. But the Birth of his Son brought not so much joy to the King, as the Death of his Queen brought him sorrow; for within two days after she died, and was buried at *Windsor*, and so much was the King's grief for her death, that he continued a Widower two years after.

It is not unworthy the relating, what a miserable dissolution befel the Family of the *Geraldines*, or *Fitz-Garrets*, (Earls of *Kildare*) in *Ireland* about this time. For *Gerald Fitz-Garret*, who had been ten years Deputy in *Ireland*, upon complaint for some fault was sent for over into *England*, where not making a satisfying answer, he was committed to the Tower; but before his coming over, had, with the Kings leave, left Deputy there his own Son, a young man of not above twenty years of age, but yet ripe of under-

An Insurrection in *Lincolnshire* for Innovation of Religion. The King goes in person, and suppresseth it.

Another Insurrection in the North: for suppressing whereof the Earl of *Shrewsbury* raised an Army; and having done it without Commission, was glad to ask the King.

A miracle of the sudden swelling of the River *Don*.

Sir *Ralph Evers* his gallant carriage.

Another Insurrection

And yet another.

And yet another.

Queen *Jane* is delivered of a Child (named *Edward*) but

The miserable dissolution of the Family of the Geraldines or *Fitz-Garrets* in *Ireland*.

under standing, and fit for the place. This young Lord hearing that his Father was committed Prisoner at the Tower, and soon after, as the rumour increased, that he was put to death; in rage to be revenged, rose up in Arms: And having five Uncles in the Country, (men of great estimation) drew them (though some of them unwilling) to take his part. Amongst other outrages [illegible] committed, the Archbishop of *Dublin* was [illegible] his presence. The Father in the Tower hearing hereof, with very grief died; the Son and his Uncles upon the King's sending an Army, were all either taken or submitted; and being sent for over into *England*, those of his Uncles, that against their wills had been drawn into the Action, had good hopes of their lives, till entring the Ship of passage, which was called the *Cow*, they then presently despaired, because of a Prophecy, that five Sons of a certain Earl should be carried into *England* in the belly of a *Cow*, and never after return: And indeed it fell out true, for through the Malice of their adversaries, (exasperating the King against them, and saying there would never be quietness in *Ireland* as long as any of the *Geraldines* were left alive) they were all put to death; one only Son of the family remained, a youth of thirteen years of age, who though at that time sick of the small Pox, yet made shift to save himself by flight, fled first into *France*, and frighted from thence, afterward into *Flanders*, and driven from thence, at last into *Italy*, where protected by *Reginald Pool*, at that time made Cardinal by Pope *Julius* the third he was afterward, by his means, restored to his Dignity and his Patrimony.

Edward Seymour Vicount *Beauchamp* is made Earl of *Hertford*. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Admiral is created Earl of *Southampton*.

This year *Edward Seymour*, Vicount *Beauchamp*, the Queens Brother, was created Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, Lord Admiral, was created Earl of *Southampton*. Master *Paulet* was made Vice-Treasurer, Sir *John Russel* was made Controller of the King's House, and divers Gentlemen were made Knights.

In *February* divers Roods were taken down by the King's commandment, as the Rood of *Boxeley*, called the Rood of Grace, which was made with Vices to move the eyes and lips; also the Rood called St. *Saviour* at *Bermondsey* Abbey in *Southwark*, and divers others. In *May* a Friar Observant, called Frier *Forrest*, who had taken the Oath of Supremacy himself, yet privately perswaded others, that the King was not Supreme head of the Church, was thereupon examined, and for his defence said, that he took the Oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented to it: But this Answer served not his turn from being condemned; and on a pair of Gallows prepared for him, in *Smithfield*, he was hanged by the middle and arm-holes, all quick, and under the Gallows was made a fire whereby all he was consumed. A little before his execution a huge great Image was brought to the Gallows, fetched out of *Wales*, which the *Welsh*-men had in great reverence, called *Darvel Gatheren*, of which went a Prophecy, that this Image should set a whole Forrest on fire, which was thought to take effect, in setting this Frier *Forrest* on fire, and consuming him to nothing.

Frier *Forrest* hanged by the middle, and withal burnt; by which a Prophecy fulfilled.

In *September*, by the special Motion of the L. *Cromwel*, all the notable Images, unto which was made any special Pilgrimages and offerings, were taken down and burnt; as the Images of *Walsingham*, *Ipswich*, *Worcester*, the Lady of *Willsdon*, with many others; and forthwith by means of the said *Cromwell*, all the orders of the Friers and Nuns, with their Cloysters and Houses were, suppressed and put down: Also the Shrines of counterfeit Saints, amongst others, the Shrine of *Thomas Becket* in the Priory of Christ-Church was taken to the King's use, and his Bones, Scull, and all which was there found, with a piece broken out by the wound of his head, were all burnt in the same Church by the command of the Lord *Cromwell*: and the one and twentieth of *October* the Church of *Tho. Becket* in *London*, called the Hospital of St. *Thomas* of *Acres*, was suppressed: the fifteenth of *Novem.* the *Black-fryers* in *London* were suppressed, the next day the *White-friers*, the *Grey-friers*, and the Monks of the *Charter-house*, and so all the other immediately after: only three Abbots resisted, the Abbot of *Colchester*, the Abbot of *Reading*, and the Abbot of *Glastonbury*, who therefore were all taken and executed. The four and twentieth of *November* the Bishop of *Rochester* preached at *Paul's-Cross*, and there shewed the Blood of *Hales*, affirming it to be no blood, but honey clarified and coloured with Saffron, as it had been evidently proved before the King and Council. The number of monasteries suppressed, were six hundred forty five, besides fourscore and ten Colledges, one hundred and ten Hospitals, and of Chantries and free Chappels two thousand three hundred seventy four. But now to make amends for the suppressing of so many Monasteries, the King instituted certain new Bishopricks, as at *Westminster*, *Oxford*, *Peterborough*, *Bristow*, *Chester*, and *Gloucester*; and assigned certain Canons and Prebends to each of them.

All Orders of Friers and Nunneries suppressed by *Cromwel*.

The number of Monasteries suppressed. In lieu of the suppressed Monasteries the King erects six new Bishopricks divers Lords and Knights excited and why

The third of *Novem.* *Henry Courtney* Marquess of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Devonshire*, *Henry Pool* Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Nicholas Carew* [illegible] Knight of the Garter, and Master [illegible] Horse, and Sir *Edward* [illegible] Lord *Abergenny*, were sent [illegible] being accused by Sir *Geoffry Pool* [illegible] *Montacute* Brother of high Treason: They were indicted for devising to promote and advance one *Reinald Pool* to the Crown, and put down King *Henry*. This *Pool* was a near Kinsman of the King's (being the Son of the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, Daughter and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*) He had been brought up by the King in learning, and made Dean of *Exeter*; but being sent after to learn experience by travel, he grew so great a friend of the Popes, that he became an enemy to King *Henry*, and for his enmity to the King, was by Pope *Julius* the third made Cardinal. For this man's cause the Lords aforesaid being condemned, were all executed; the Lord Marquess, the Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevil*, beheaded on the Tower-Hill the ninth of *January*, Sir *Nicholas Carew* the third of *March*; two Priests condemned with them were hanged at *Tyburn*; Sir *Geoffry Pool* though condemned also, yet had his Pardon.

Cardinal *Pool* his Parentage and Education.

About this time one *Nicholas*, alias *Lambert*, being accused for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, and the King was content to hear him: Whereupon a Throne was set up in the Hall of the Kings Palace

All Images put down.

lace at *Westminster*, for the King to sit: And when the Bishops had urged their Arguments and could not prevail, then the King took him in hand, hoping perhaps to have the honour of converting an Heretick, when the Bishops could not do it, and withal promised him pardon if he would recant; but all would not do: *Nicholson* remained obstinate, the King mist his Honour, the Delinquent mist his pardon, and shortly after was drawn to *Smithfield*, and there burnt.

About this time King *Henry* being informed that the Pope, by Instigation of Cardinal *Pool*, had earnestly moved divers great Princes to invade *England*; he, as a provident Prince, endeavoured as earnestly to provide for defence; and to that end rode himself to the Sea-coasts to see them fortified, and in needful places Bulwarks to be erected. He caused his Navy to be rigged, and to be in readiness at any short warning: He caused Musters to be taken in all Shires, and lists of all able men in every County, in *London* specially; where Sir *William Forman*, the then Mayor, certified the number of fifteen thousand, not that there were no more, but that so many were ready prepared; and these on the eighth of *May*, the King himself saw Mustered in St. *James's* Park; where the Citizens strove in such sort to exceed each other in bravery of Arms, and forwardness of Service, as if the City had been a Camp, and they not men of the Gown, but all profest Souldiers; which they performed to their great cost, but greater commendation.

Anno Reg. 31. 1540.

It was now the one and thirtieth year of King *Henry's* Reign, and the nine and fortieth of his age; when having continued a Widower two years, he began to think of marrying again; and he needed not to be a Suitor for a Wife, for he was sued unto to take one. The Emperor solicited him to marry the Dutchess of *Milan*; but to marry her he must first obtain a Licence from the Pope, and King *Henry* was resolved rather [illegible] no Wife, than to have any more to do [illegible] Pope. Then the Duke of *Cleve* made [illegible] him to marry the Lady *Anne* his Sister, and he was a Protestant Prince; and so though differing in [illegible] of Doctrine, yet in the main point of excluding the Pope, both of one mind. Many about the King were forward for this Match, but the Lord *Cromwell* specially: and indeed it concerned him more than any other, that the King should take a Protestant Wife, seeing his Actions had been such, as none but a Protestant Queen would ever like; and if the Queen should not like them, the King, though done by his leave, would not like them long. Hereupon such means were used, that Ambassadours came from the Duke of *Cleve* to conclude the Match; and then the 11 of *December* the Lady her self in great state was brought to *Callice*, and then over to *Dover*, and being come to *Rochester*, the King secretly came to see her: Afterward she was conducted to *London*, met by the way in several places, by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdom. The third of *January* she was received into *London* by Sir *William Hollys* Knight, then Lord Mayor, with Orations, Pageants, and all Complements of State, the greatest that ever had been seen. On Twelfth-day the Marriage was solemnized: The Archbishop of *Canterbury* did the Office, the Earl of *Overstein* a *German* Lord gave her. In *April* following, the Lord *Cromwell*, as though he had won the King's heart for ever by making this Match, was made Earl of *Essex*: For in *March* before, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, and the ancientest Earl of *England*, had broke his neck, by seeking to break a young Horse, leaving only one Daughter; and she dying without [illegible], the Earldom came to the Family of [illegible] which yet enjoyed not the honour, ti[illegible] in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and then [illegible] restored.

The Lord *Cromwell* is made Earl of *Essex*. How the Earldom of *Essex* came to the Family of *Devereux*.

The ninth of *March*, the King [illegible] Sir *William Paulet*, Treasurer of his House, Lord *Saint-John*; Sir *John Russel*, Comptroller, Lord *Russel*; and shortly after Sir *William Par* was created Lord *Par*. The eight and twentieth of *April* began a Parliament at *Westminster*, in the which *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, *Gertrude*, Wife to the Marquess of *Exeter*, *Reynold Pool* Cardinal, Brother to the Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Adrian Foskew*, *Thomas Dingly* Knight of Saint *John's*, and divers others were attainted of High-Treason; of whom *Foskew* and *Dingly* the tenth of *July* were beheaded, the Countess of *Salisbury* two years after: And in this Parliament the Act of the Six Articles was established, and Sir *Nicolas Hare* was restored to his place of Speaker in the Parliament.

Earls created.

It was now five months after the King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*. And though the King, at the first sight of the Lady, did not like her Person: yet, whether as respecting the honour of Ladies, he would not disgrace her at the first meeting; or whether he meant to try how time might work him to a better liking; or indeed, that he would not give distaste to the *German* Princes [illegible] that time, for some ends he had a working, he dissembled the matter, and all things went on in a shew of contentment on all hands. But for all these shews, the crafty Bishop of *London*, *Steven Gardiner*, finding how the world went with the King's affection towards his Queen, and for her sake with *Cromwell*, to neither of whom he was greatly affected (not to the Queen, as misliking her Religion; not to *Cromwell*, as envying his greatness;) he so wrought upon the King's inclination, what by suggesting, and what by aggravating, that the Lord *Cromwell*, the ninth of *July*, sitting in the Council-Chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower; and the nineteenth of the same month was attainted by Parliament, and never came to his Answer; by Law which (as some reported) he himself had caused to be made; and the eight and twentieth of *July* was beheaded on the Tower-hill, for Crimes (as appears in Record) of Heresie and Treason. This Lord *Cromwell* was born at *Putney*, a Village in *Surrey* near the Thames-side, Son to a *Smith*, [illegible] whose decease his Mother was married [illegible] a Sheer-man. For the pregnancy of his [illegible] he was first entertained by Cardinal *Wolsey*, and by him imployed in many great Affairs. The Cardinal falling, the King took him into his service; and finding his great Abilities, first advanced him for his worth, and then for his pleasure overthrew him. But the greatest part of *Stephen Gardiner's* practice had been done before:

The King inclines to marry again.

And by the recommendation of *Cromwell* marries the Lady *Anne* Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*.

The Lord *Cromwell* is committed to the Tower.

Is beheaded.

His Parentage and Education.

Sir *William Hollys* Knight, Lord Mayor of *London*.

fore: for at Midsummer before, the King caused the Queen to remove to *Richmond*, as for her health and pleasure; and in the time of her absence, on the sixth of *July*, sent certain Lords to the Lower House of Parliament, who there declared certain causes, for which the King's marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* was not to be counte[nanced]; and so carried the matter, that [by] publication clearly determined, the Ki[ng] might marry any other, and so might he, [the] Divorced, it was further Enacted, [that] no more be called Queen, but the La[dy] of *Cleve*. The fault for which this Divorce was decreed, is not expresly delivered; some say a precontract of the said Lady with a Lord of *Germany* was pretended, but it seems to have been from some womanish defect in her body; as she spared not to affirm, that she had never been carnally known by the King in all the time of their lying together. And as it is said, when her Ladies one time said unto her, that they looked now every day to hear of her great belly; she should answer, they might look long enough, unless saying, How doest thou sweet heart? Good morrow sweet heart, and such like words, could make a great belly; for (said she) more than this there never passed between the King and me. However it was, she willingly submitted to the Decree, whether out of fear, or perhaps as little liking the King as the King did her; and afterward led a private life here in *England*, well respected of the King, and dying sixteen years after, in the fourth year of Queen *Mary*, was buried at *Westminster*.

The Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* is by Parliament judg'd unlawful.

About this time *Leonard Gray*, Deputy of *Ireland*, was on the Tower-hill beheaded, for suffering his Nephew *Gerald Fitz-Garret* to escape, who had been declared an enemy unto the State: and then also was *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres*, a young man of four and twenty years of age, hanged at *Tyburn*, for killing a mean person upon a sudden affray; also the fourth of *August*, *Thomas Epson*, a Monk of *Westminster*, for denying to take his Oath, to be true to the King, had his Monks Garment plucked from his back, the last that was seen in such habit in *England* till Queen *Mary*'s days.

Leonard Gray beheaded and why.

Thomas Fines Lord *Dacres* hanged at *Tyburn*, and why.

1541.

The sixth of *July*, in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King *Henry* had been divorced from the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, and now the eighth of *August* following, the Lady *Katharine Howard*, Neece to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Daughter to the Lord *Edward Howard*, was shewed openly as Queen at *Hampton-Court*.

King *Henry* marries the Lady *Katharine Howard*.

On the tenth of *June* the year following, Sir *Edmund Knevet* of *Norfolk*, Knight, was arraigned before the Officers of the Green-cloth, for striking one Master *Cleer* of *Norfolk*, within the Tennis-Court of the King's House; being found guilty, he had judgment to lose his right hand, and to forfeit all his Lands and Goods: [and] then there was called to do execution, first the Serjeant Surgeon, with his Instruments pertaining to his Office, then the Serjeant of the Woodyard, with a mallet, and a block to lay the hand upon, then the King's Master Cook with a knife to cut off the Hand, then the Serjeant of the Larder to set the knife right on the joint, then the Serjeant Ferrier with searing Irons to sear the veins, then the Serjeant of the Poultrey with a Cock, which Cock should have his head smitten off upon the same block, and with the same knife; then the Yeoman of the Chandry with Sear-cloaths, then the Yeoman of the Scullery, with a pan of fire to heat the Irons, a chafer of water to cool the ends of the Irons, and two forms for all Officers to set their stuff on; then the Serjeant of the Cellar with Wine, Ale, and Beer; then the Serjeant of the Ewry, with Bason Ewre and Towels. All things being thus prepared, Sir *William Pickering* Knight Marshal, was commanded to bring in his prisoner, Sir *Edmund Knevet*, to whom the Chief Justice declared his offence, which the said *Knevet* confessed, and humbly submitted himself to the King's mercy; only he desired, that the King would spare his right hand, and take his left, because (said he) if my right hand be spared, I might live to do the King good service: of whose submission, and reason of his suit, when the King was informed, he granted him to lose neither of his Hands, and pardoned him also of his Lands and Goods.

Is pardoned, and why.

1542.

The Summer of his three and thirtieth year, King *Henry*, with his Queen *Katharine*, made a progress into the North parts, and returning at Allhallontide to *Hampton-Court*, he was there informed of the Queen's dissolute life, first before her marriage, with one *Francis Dereham*, a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, whom imployed afterward in *Ireland*, she had lately again at *Pomfret* received into her Service; and now since her marriage with one *Tho. Colepeper*, of the King's Privy-Chamber: Whereupon the thirteenth of *November*, Sir *Thomas Wriothsley* Knight, Secretary to the King, was sent to the Queen at *Hampton-Court*, to charge her with these Crimes, and discharging her household, to cause her to be conveyed to *Sion*, there to remain, till the King's pleasure should be further known. The Delinquents being examined, *Dereham* confessed, that before the King's marriage with the Lady *Katharine*, there had been a pre-[contract] between himself and her; but when he [found] the likelihood of the King's liking [of] her, he then waved and concealed it for [his] preferment. So the first of *December* these Gentlemen being arraigned at the *Guild-hall*, they confessed the Indictment, and had Judgment to dye, as in cases of Treason: the tenth of *December*, they were drawn from the Tower to *Tyburn*, where *Colepepper* was beheaded, and *Dereham* was hanged and dismembred: *Colepepper*'s body was buried in *Sepulchres* Church in *London*, but both their heads were set on *London-bridge*. The two and twentieth of *December*, there were arraigned at the King's Bench, the Lord *William Howard* and the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, *Catharine Tilney* and *Alice Wrestwold* Gentlewomen, *Joan Bulmer* Wife to *Anthony Bulmer* Gentleman, *Anne Howard* Wife to *Henry Howard* Esquire, and Brother to the Queen, with divers others, who were all condemned for misprision of Treason, for concealing the Queen's misdemeanor, and adjudged to forfeit all their lands and goods during life, and to remain in perpetual prison. The fifteenth of *Jan.* the Parliament began at *Westminster*, where the Lords and Commons Petitioned the King, that he would not vex himself with the Queen's offence, and that both she and the Lady *Rochford* might be attainted by Parliament; and

King *Henry* is informed of the dissolute life of Queen *Katharine* with *Dereham* and *Colepepper*.

Colepepper is beheaded, and *Dereham* hanged.

Queen *Katharine* is beheaded.

and that to avoid protracting of time, he would give his Royal assent unto it, under the great Seal, without staying for the end of the Parliament. Also that *Deerham* and *Colepepper*, having been attainted before by the Common Law, might be attainted likewise by Parliament. All which was assented to by the King; and after, on the thirtieth of *February*, the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on the Green within the *Tower*, where they confessed their offences, and died penitently. Yet something to take off the offences of this Queen; It is certainly said, that after her condemnation, she protested to Doctor *White*, Bishop of *Wincheſter*, her last Confessor, that as for the act for which she was condemned, she took God and his Holy Angels to witness, upon her souls salvation, that she died guiltless.

King *Henry* is prochimed King of *Ireland.*

Before this, on the three and twentieth of *January*, King *Henry* was proclaimed King of *Ireland*, whereas before this time, the Kings of *England* were only entituled Lords of *Ireland*: And this title was given him both by the Parliament here, and by the Parliament holden in *Ireland*, before Sir *Anthony Sentleger* Knight, the Kings Deputy there.

Arthur Plantagenet Vicount *Liſle* dieth of joy.

About this time *Arthur Plantagenet* Vicount *Liſle* base Son to King *Edward* the fourth, having been impriſon'd upon ſuſpicion of a practiſe for betraying of *Callice* to the *French*, whilſt he was the Kings Lieutenant there, was now found to be innocent of the Fact: And thereupon the King, to make him ſome reparation for his diſgrace, ſent him a Ring and a very gracious meſſage, by Sir *Thomas Wriothſley* his Secretary; whereat the ſaid Vicount took ſo great joy, that the night following of that very joy he died: So deadly a thing is any paſſion, even joy it ſelf, if it be extreme. After his death Sir *John Dudley*, his wives ſon, was created Vicount *Liſle*. This Sir *John Dudley* was ſon to *Edmund Dudley*, beheaded in the firſt year of this King's Reign, and was made Vicount *Liſle* in right of his Mother.

Sir *John Dudley*, ſon to *Edmund Dudley* beheaded, is made Vicount *Liſle.*

Burgeſſes of the Parliament and their Servants free from Arreſts.

During this Parliament, one *George Ferrers* Gentleman, ſervant to the King, and Burgeſs for the Town of *Plymouth* in *Devonſhire*, in going to the Parliament-Houſe, was arreſted in *London* by a Proceſs out of the Kings-Bench, for a Debt wherein he was late afore condemned, as ſurety for one *Welden*, at the ſuit of one *White*: Which Arreſt being ſignified to Sir *Thomas Moyl* Knight, Speaker then of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgeſſes there; order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called *Saint-John*, ſhould be ſent to the Counter in *Breadſtreet*, (whither the ſaid *Ferrers* was carried) and there demand to have him delivered. But the Officers of the Counter not only refuſed to deliver him, but gave the Serjeant ſuch language, that they fell at laſt to an affray; at which time the Sheriffs coming they alſo took their Officers part; ſo as the Serjeant was fain to return without the Priſoner: Which being ſignified to the Speaker and the Burgeſſes, they took the matter in ſo ill part, that they would ſit no more without their Burgeſs: And thereupon riſing up, repaired to the upper Houſe, where the whole Caſe was declared by the Speaker, before Sir *Thomas Audely* Lord Chancellor, and the Lords and Judges there aſſembled; who Judging the contempt to be very great, referr'd the puniſhment thereof to the the Houſe of Commons it ſelf: Whereupon returning to their places again, upon new debate of the Caſe, they took order that their Serjeant ſhould once more repair to the Sheriffs of *London*, and demand the priſoner, without carrying any Writ or Warrant for the matter. It is true, the Lord Chancellor offered to grant a Writ, but the Houſe of Commons refuſed it; being of a clear opinion, that all commandments from the neather Houſe were to be executed by their Serjeants without Writ, only by ſhewing his Mace, which is his Warrant. But before the Serjeants return into *London*, the Sheriffs better adviſed, became more mild, and upon the ſecond demand delivered the Priſoner without any denial: But then the Serjeant had further in charge, to command the Sheriffs and Clarks of the Counter, to appear perſonally the next morning before the Houſe of Commons: Where appearing, they were charged by the Speaker, with their contempt, and compelled to make immediate anſwer, without being admitted to any council. Sir *Roger Cholmley* Recorder of *London*, offered to ſpeak in the cauſe, but was not ſuffered, nor any other but the parties themſelves. In concluſion, the Sheriffs and *White* who had cauſed the Arreſt, were committed to the *Tower*; the Officer that did the Arreſt, with four other Officers, to *Newgate*; but after two or three days, upon the humble ſuit of the Mayor, were ſet at liberty: And becauſe the ſaid *Ferrers*, being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and ſet at large by priviledge of Parliament, was not by Law to be brought again into execution, and ſo the Creditor without remedy for his Debt againſt him as his principal debtor, therefore after long debate, by the ſpace of nine or ten days together, they at laſt reſolved to make an Act of purpoſe, to revive the execution of the ſaid debt againſt *Welden* who was principal debtor, and to diſcharge *Ferrers* that was but ſurety: Wherein notwithſtanding the Houſe was divided, and the Act paſſed but by fourteen voices. The King being advertiſed of this proceeding, called before him the Lord Chancellour and the Judges, the Speaker and divers of the Lower Houſe, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect; firſt commending their wiſdom, in maintaining the priviledges of their Houſe (which he would not have to be infringed in any point) he alledged that he being the head of the Parliament, and attending in his own Perſon upon the buſineſs thereof, ought in reaſon to have privilege for himſelf and all his ſervants attending upon him; ſo as if the ſaid *Ferrers* had been no Burgeſs, but only his ſervant, yet in that reſpect, he was to have the privilege as well as any other. For I underſtand (ſaith he) that you not only for your own perſons, but alſo for your neceſſary ſervants, even to your Cooks and Horſe-keepers, enjoy the ſame privilege; inſomuch, as my Lord Chancellor here preſent hath informed us, that whilſt he was Speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the *Temple* was arreſted in *London*, and in execution upon a Statute of the Staple; and for ſo much as the ſaid Cook during

The Commands of the Parliament to be executed by their Serjeant without any Writ, by ſhewing only his Mace.

King *Henry* will maintain the Priviledges of Parliament.

all the Parliament ſerved the Speaker in that office; he was taken out of execution by Privilege of Parliament; the Prerogative of which Court (as our learned Council informeth us) is ſo great, that all Acts and Proceſſes coming out of any other Court, muſt for a time ceaſe and give place to it. And touching the party himſelf, though for his preſumption he was worthy to have loſt his debt, yet I commend your equity, that have reſtored him to his debt againſt him that was the Principal. When the King had ſaid this, Sir *Edward Montacute*, Lord Chief Juſtice, roſe up and confirm'd by many reaſons all that the King had ſaid, as likewiſe did all the other Lords, none ſpeaking any thing to the contrary.

It was now the four and thirtieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when in *May* he took a loan 1543. of money of all ſuch as were valued at fifty pounds and upwards in the Subſidy-Book. The Lord Privy-Seal, the Biſhop of *Winchester*, Sir *Thomas Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothſley*, were Commiſſioners for the loan in *London*, who ſo handled the matter, that of ſome chief Citizens they obtained a thouſand marks impreſt to the King's uſe: For which Privy-Seals were delivered to repay it again within two years.

At this time were many complaints made by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Scots*, partly for receiving and maintaining divers *Engliſh* Rebels, fled into *Scotland*, and partly for invading the *Engliſh* Borders: But ſtill when the King of *England* was preparing to oppoſe them, the *Scotiſh* King would ſend Ambaſſadors to treat of reconcilement; till at laſt, after many deluſory pranks of the *Scots*, the King of *England*, no longer enduring ſuch abuſes, ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* his Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hartford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*, the Lords of the North parts, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Maſter of the King's Horſe, and Sir *John Gate*, Comptroller of the King's Houſe, with ſundry others to the number of twenty thouſand Men, who on the one and twentieth of *October* entred *Scotland*, where ſtaying but eight days only, he burnt above eighteen Towns, Abbeys, and Caſtles, and then, without having battel offered, for want of victuals returned to *Barwick*. As ſoon as he returned, comes abroad the King of Scots, raiſeth a power of fifteen thouſand men, and uſing great threatnings what he would do; invaded the Weſt Borders: but the edge of his threatning was ſoon taken off: for the Baſtard *Dacres* with *Jack* of *Muſgrave*, ſetting upon them with only an hundred Light Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* with three hundred, put them to flight; upon a conceit that the Duke of *Norfolk* with all his Army had been come into thoſe parts: Where were taken Priſoners of the *Scots*, the Earls of *Caſſil* and *Glencairn*, the Lord *Maxwel* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Flemming*, the Lord *Somerwel*, the Lord *Oliphant*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Oliver Sincleer*, the King's Minion, *John Roſs* Lord of *Gray*, *Roger Erskin* Son to the Lord *Erskin*, *Car* Lord of *Gredon*, the Lord *Maxwels* two Brothers, *John Leſley* Baſtard-ſon to the Earl of *Rothes*, *George Hume* Lord of *Hemeton*, with divers other men of account, to the number of above two hundred, and more than eight hundred of meaner calling; ſo as ſome one *Engliſh* Man, and ſome Women alſo, had three or four priſoners in their hands. At which overthrow the King of *Scots* took ſuch grief, that he fell into a burning Ague, and thereof died, leaving behind him one only Daughter. And here King *Henry* began to apprehend a greater matter than the Victory; for he and his Council conceived, that his Daughter would be a fit match for his Son Prince *Edward*, thereby to make a perpetual union of the two Kingdoms: and to this purpoſe they conferred with the Lords whom they had taken Priſoners, who exceeding glad of the propoſition, and promiſing to further it by all the poſſible means they could, where thereupon ſet at liberty, and ſuffered to return home. Coming into *Scotland*, and acquainting the Earl of *Arran* with the motion, who was choſen Governor of the young Queen, and of the Realm, the matter with great liking was entertained, and in Parliament of the three Eſtates in *Scotland*, the Marriage was confirmed, and a Peace between the two Realms for ten years was Proclaimed; and Ambaſſadors ſent into *England*, for ſealing the conditions. But *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, being Cardinal, and at the Popes devotion, and therefore an utter Enemy to King *Henry*, ſo croſſed the buſineſs, that it came to nothing, but ended in a War between the two Kingdoms; ſo as in *March* the year following the Lord *Seymour* Earl of *Hartford* with an Army by Land, and Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle*, with a Fleet by Sea met at *New Caſtle*, and there joined together, for invading of *Scotland*. With the Earl of *Hartford*, where the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Clinton*, *Conyers*, *Stinton*, the Lord *William Howard*, with Knights and others, to the number of ten thouſand; with Sir *John Dudley* the Admiral, were two hundred ſail of Ships. On the fourth of *May*, the whole Army was landed two miles from the Town of *Leith*, at a place called *Granther Garg*, and there the Lord Lieutenant putting his men in order, marched towards the Town of *Leith*; the Lord Admiral led the Forward, the Lieutenant the Battel, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rereward. Before they came to the Town of *Leith*, the Cardinal with ſix hundred Horſe, beſides Foot, lay in the way to impeach the paſſage; but they were ſo aſſailed by the Harquebuſars, that they were glad to flie, and the firſt man that fled was the Cardinal himſelf, and then the Earls of *Huntley*, *Murray*, and *Bothwel*: Hereupon the *Engliſh* made forward to *Leith*, and entred it without any great reſiſtance. The ſixth of *May* they marched towards *Edinburgh*, and as they approached the Town, the Provoſt with ſome of the Burgers came and offered the Keys of the Town to the Lord Lieutenant, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and the Town to be preſerv'd from fire: but the Lord Lieutenant told them, their falſhood had been ſuch, as deſerved no favour, and therefore unleſs they would deliver the Town abſolutely without any condition, he would proceed in his enterpriſe and burn the Town. Here we may ſee what it is to make men deſperate; for to this the Provoſt anſwered, They were better then to ſtand upon defence: And ſo indeed they did, and made the *Engliſh* glad to retire; for the Caſtle

The *Scots* enter the *Engliſh* Borders: againſt whom the King ſends an Army, and repels them.

The *Scots* fright with a conceit.

The King of *Scots* with grief thereof dieth, leaving behind him one only Daughter.

King *Henry* ſeeks to match his Son Prince *Edward* with his Daughter; and is embraced by all the States of *Scotland*.

Only *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, and Cardinal, croſſeth it.

Whereupon a War between the two Kingdoms. And the Earl of *Hartford* is ſent with an Army into *Scotland*.

Where he takes *Leith*, and many other Towns.

No policy to make the Enemy deſperate.

Caſtle ſhot ſo fiercely upon them, that having burnt only a part of the Town, they returned to *Leith*; but whilſt they lay there, they ſo waſted the Country, that within ſeven miles every way of *Edenburgh*, there was not a Town, nor Village, nor houſe that was left unburnt. At *Leith* the eleventh day of *May*, the Lord General made Knights, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Conyers*, Sir *William Wroughton*, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Sir *Edward Dorrell*, Sir *Francis Hotham*, and others to the number of at leaſt threeſcore. In *Leith* Haven, they ſeiſed upon all the *Scottiſh* Ships, whereof two were of notable fairneſs, the one called the *Salamander*, given by the *French* King at the marriage of his Daughter into *Scotland*; the other called the *Unicorn*, made by the late *Scottiſh* King: the Ballaſt of which two Ships was Canon-ſhot, whereof they found in the Town to the number of fourſcore thouſand. On the fifteenth of *May*, their Army and their Fleet departed from *Leith*, both in one hour, having firſt ſet the Town on fire and burned it to the ground: from *Leith* the Engliſh Army marched to *Seaton*, from thence to *Haddington*, from thence to *Dunbar*, from thence to *Ranton*, all which Towns and Caſtles, with divers others, they burnt and utterly defaced; and on the eighteenth of *May* came to *Barwick*, not having loſt in all the Journey above fourteen men.

1544.

In the mean time, in King *Henry*'s five and thirtieth year, on Trinity Sunday a new League was entred into and ſworn, between the King and the Emperour, at *Hampton-Court* to be both offenſive and defenſive.

Lords impriſoned for eating fleſh in Lent.

In this year Proclamation was made whereby the people were licenſed to eat white meats in Lent; but ſtreightly forbidden the eating of fleſh: whereupon ſhortly after, the Earl of *Surrey* with divers other Lords and Knights were impriſoned, for eating of fleſh contrary to the Proclamation.

Obrine is created Earl of *Thoumond*: whoſe Poſterity enjoyeth the Honour to this day.

The third of *June* this year, there came out of *Ireland* three Lords, of whom *Obrine* was here created Earl of *Thoumond*, (which honour his poſterity enjoyeth to this day) *Mack William a Bary* was created Earl of *Clanrichard*, and *Mack Gilpatrick* was made Baron of *Ebrankie*.

King *Henry* had already had five Wives, all of them Maids, and no good luck with any of them; he will now therefore try his fortune with a Widow, and thereupon the twelfth of *June*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, he took to Wife the Lady *Katharine Par*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer* late deceaſed, who was then proclaimed Queen: but how lucky this match would have proved, if the King had longer lived, God knows, ſeeing in a ſhort time of three years they lived together, it was no ſmall danger ſhe eſcaped: which though it happened not till a year or two after this time, yet will not unfitly be ſpoken of in this place, that ſo her ſtory may come together. This Queen, as being an earneſt Proteſtant, had many great adverſaries, by whom ſhe was accuſed to the King, to have Heretical books found in her cloſet; and this was ſo much aggravated againſt her, that they prevailed with the King, to ſign a Warrant to commit her to the *Tower*, with a purpoſe to have her burnt for Hereſie.

King *Henry* marries the Lady *Katharine Par*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer*.

She is accuſed to the King of Hereſie.

This Warrant was delivered to *Wriothſley* Lord Chancellour, and he by chance, or rather indeed by Gods Providence, letting it fall from him, it was taken up and carried to the Queen; who having read it, went ſoon after to viſit the King, at that time keeping his Chamber by reaſon of a ſore Leg: being come to the King, he preſently fell into talk with her, about ſome points of Religion, demanding her reſolution therein; but ſhe knowing that his nature was not to be croſt, ſpecially conſidering the caſe ſhe was in, made him anſwer, that ſhe was a woman accompanied with many imperfections, but his Majeſty was wiſe and judicious, of whom ſhe muſt learn as of her Lord and head. Not ſo by Saint *Mary*, (ſaid the King) for you are a Doctor, *Kate*, to inſtruct us, and not to be inſtructed by us, as often we have ſeen heretofore. Indeed Sir, (ſaid ſhe) if your Majeſty have ſo conceived, I have been miſtaken, for if heretofore I have held talk with you touching Religion, it hath been to learn of your Majeſty ſome point, whereof I ſtood in doubt, and ſometimes that with my talk I might make you forget your preſent infirmity. And is it even ſo, Sweet-heart? (quoth the King) why then we are Friends, and ſo kiſſing her, gave her leave to depart. But ſoon after, was the day appointed by the King's Warrant for apprehending her; on which day, the King diſpoſed to walk in the Garden, had the Queen with him, when ſuddenly the Lord Chancellor with forty of the Guard came into the Garden with a purpoſe to apprehend her: Whom as ſoon as the King ſaw, he ſtept to him, and calling him Knave and Fool, bid him avaunt out of his preſence. The Queen ſeeing him ſo angry with him, began to intreat for him: to whom the King ſaid, Ah poor ſoul! thou little know'ſt what it is he came about; of my word, Sweet-heart, he hath been to thee a very Knave. And thus by God's providence was this Queen preſerved, who elſe had taſted as bitter a cup, as any of his former Wives had done.

And by what means ſhe avoids the danger.

About this time King *Henry* and the Emperor ſent *Garter* and *Toyſon d'or*, Kings at Arms, to demand performance of certain Articles of the *French* King; which if he denyed, they were then commanded to defie him: but the *French* King would not ſuffer them to come within his land, and ſo they returned: whereupon King *Henry* cauſed the ſaid demands to be declared to the *French* Ambaſſadour at *Weſtminſter*; and in *July* ſent over ſix thouſand men, under the leading of Sir *John Wallop*, accompanied with divers Knights and Gentlemen. Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Marſhal of the Army, Sir *Robert Bowes* Treaſurer, Sir *Richard Cornwal* Captain of the Horſe, and Sir *George Carew* his Lieutenant. There were likewiſe Sir *Tho. Palmer*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *John Saint-John*, and Sir *John Gaſcoine*, Knights, that were Captains of the Foot. Their Commiſſion was to joyn with the Emperour, and together to make War upon *France*. The third of *Auguſt* open War was proclaimed in *London*, between the Emperour and the King of *England* on the one part, and the *French* King on the other, as mortal Enemy to them both, and to all other Chriſtian Princes beſides, as he that had confederated

King *Henry* ſends over an Army to aid the Emperour againſt the King of *France*.

himself with the *Turk*, Sir *John Wallop* marching forth of *Callice* with his Army, joyned with the Emperours Forces, who together went and beſieged *Landrecies*, a Town lately fortified by the *French*, lying within the Borders of the Emperours Dominions: To raiſe this ſiege the *French* King had raiſed a mighty Army, with which he came on as if he meant to give the Emperour Battel: And thereupon the Emperour raiſing his ſiege, with a purpoſe to encounter him, the *French* King took the opportunity to put men and victuals into the Town, which was the thing he intended; and having done this, the night following departed with his Army: And then the Emperour ſeeing him gone, and finding the Winter coming on, and no hope of ſudden getting the Town, being now newly ſupplyed, he alſo brake up his Army, and returned home.

Lords made.

This Year, the Sunday before *Chriſtmas*, the Lord *William Parre*, Brother to the Queen, who had Married the Daughter and Heir of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*, was at *Hampton-Court* created Earl of *Eſſex*; and Sir *William Parre* Knight, Uncle to them both, was made Lord *Parre* of *Horton*, and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and on New-years day Sir *Thomas Wriothſley*, the Kings Secretary, was made Lord *Wriothſley* of *Tochfield*.

King *James* his Parentage.

In *June* this year, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* fled out of *Scotland*, and came into *England*, whom King *Henry* received kindly, and gave him in marriage the Lady *Margaret* his Sisters Daughter, by whom he had *Henry*, Father of our late King *James* of bleſſed memory.

Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellour being lately dead, *Thomas* Lord *Wriothſley* ſucceeded him in the place. And now with an Army levied to go for *France*, the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Earl of *Surrey* the Dukes Son, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and his Son, Sir *Robert Devereux*, Sir *Tho. Cheiney* Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Thomas Poynings* Captain of *Guyſnes*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, about Whitſuntide paſſed over to *Callice*, and marching towards *Admiral*, joyned with the Emperours Forces, under the leading of the *Count de Baron*, which two Armies laid ſiege to *Mutrel*, whereof Monſieur *de Bies*, one of the Marſhals of *France*, was Captain: But being then at *Bulloigne*, and hearing of the ſiege of *Mutrel*, he left *Bulloigne*, and with his Forces came thither, which was the thing that was deſired, to draw him from *Bulloigne*; and thereupon was the Duke of *Suffolk* appointed to paſs over with the Kings Army, accompanied with the Earl of *Arundel* Marſhal of the Field, the Lord *Saint John*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of the Kings Houſe, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Kings Horſe, with divers others, who the nineteenth of *July* came and encamped before *Bulloigne*. The four and twentieth of *July* the King in Perſon, accompanied with divers of the Nobility, came to *Callice*; and the ſix and twentieth encamped before *Bulloigne* on the North-ſide. Many batteries and aſſaults were made, ſo long, till at laſt the Town upon compoſition yielded, and the Duke of *Suffolk* entred and took poſſeſſion, ſuffering ſix thouſand *French*, as was agreed, with bag and baggage to depart. The eighth of *September* King *Henry* entred the Town himſelf, and then leaving the Lord *Liſle* Lord Admiral his Deputy there, he returned into *England*, landing at *Dover* the Firſt of *October*. Many enterpriſes after this were made by the Dauphin of *France* and by Monſieur *de Bies* for recovery of *Bulloigne*, but they were ſtill repulſed, and the *Engliſh* kept the Town in ſpight of all they could do; although at one time there came an Army of eighteen thouſand foot, at another time an Army wherein were reckoned twelve thouſand Launce-Knights, twelve thouſand *French* Footmen, ſix thouſand *Italians*, four thouſand of Legionary Souldiers of *France*, a thouſand men of Arms, beſides eight thouſand light Horſe, great Forces certainly to come and do nothing.

King *Henry* lays ſiege to *Bulloigne*.

He takes the Town and returns.

Whileſt theſe things were doing about *Bulloigne*, the Ships of the Weſt Country and other places waſted abroad on the Seas, and took above three Hundred *French* Ships; ſo that the *Gray-fryers* Church in *London* was laid full of Wine, the *Auſtins-fryers* and *Black-fryers* full of Herrings and other Fiſh, which ſhould have been conveyed into *France*.

Three hundred *French* Ships taken, laden with Wine and Herrings.

About this time the King demanded a Benevolence of his Subjects, towards his Wars in *France* and *Scotland*; to which purpoſe, the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and other of the Kings Council ſat at *Bernards-Caſtle*, where they firſt called before them the Mayor and Aldermen: and becauſe *Richard Read* Alderman would not agree to pay as they ſet him, he was commanded to ſerve the King in his Wars in *Scotland*, which the obſtinate man rather choſe to do, than he would pay the rate he was required. But being there, he was taken priſoner by the *Scots*, to his far greater damage, than if he had agreed to the Benevolence required: For at this time Sir *Ralph Evers* Lord Warden of the Marches, after many fortunate Roads into *Scotland*, aſſembled four thouſand men, and entring *Scotland* now again, was encountred by the Earl of *Arran*, by whom he and the Lord *Ogle*, and many other Gentlemen were ſlain, and divers were taken priſoners, of whom Alderman *Read* was one.

King *Henry* demands a Benevolence towards his wars in *France*.

Richard Read Alderman, refuſing to pay his Aſſeſſment, is ſent a Souldier into *Scotland*, and there taken priſoner.

1546.

In it was now the ſeven and thirtieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when on Saint *Georges* day Sir *Thomas Wriothſley* Lord Chancellour was made Knight of the Garter: Alſo *Trinity* Term was adjourned by reaſon of the Wars, but the Exchequer and the Court of the Tenths were open.

Sir *Thomas Wriothſley* Lord Chancellour is made Knight of the Garter.

At this time the *Engliſh* Fleet went before *New-haven*, but being there encountred by a far greater Fleet of *French*, they returned; with whoſe retreat the *French* Admiral emboldened, came upon the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, where he landed Souldiers; but upon firing of the Beacons was driven back: after which he landed two thouſand men in the *Iſle of Wight*, but was there repelled, though reported to have in his Ships threeſcore thouſand men.

In *Auguſt* this year died the valiant Captain the Lord *Poynings*, the Kings Lieutenant of his Town of *Bulloigne*; and the ſame month alſo

died

died at *Guilford* the noble Duke of *Suffolk*, *Charles Brandon*, Lord Great Master of the Kings House, whose body was honourably buried at *Windsor* at the Kings cost.

Charles Brandon Duke of *Suffolk* dieth.

About this time the *Scots*, having received aid out of *France*, approached the *English* Borders, but durst attempt nothing: Whereupon the Earl of *Hartford*, Lieutenant of the North-parts, raising an Army of twelve thousand men, *English* and Strangers, entred *Scotland*, and burnt a great part of *Mers* and *Tividale*, as *Kelsey* Abbey, and the Town, the Abbeys of *Medrose*, *Driborne* and *Tedworth*, with an hundred Towns and Villages more: When on the sixteenth of *September*, an Army of *Scots* and *French* attempted to enter into *England* on the East Borders, but in a Streight were set upon by the *English*, who slew and took of them to the Number of Sevenscore, amongst whom was the Lord *Humes*'s Son, and a principal *French* Captain. In another Road, which they made into the West Borders, the Lord *Maxwell*'s Son, and divers other were taken: But then at another time, (such is the chance of War) five hundred *English* entring the West Borders of *Scotland* were discomfitted, and the greatest part of them either taken or slain.

And now to revenge the presumptuous attempts of the *French* upon the *Isle* of *Wight*, the Lord Admiral with his Fleet approached the Coasts of *Normandy*, landed six thousand men at *Treport*, burnt the Suburbs of that Town with the Abbey, destroyed thirty Ships there in the Haven, and then returned, not having lost above fourteen persons in the whole Voyage.

A Peace concluded between the two Kings of *England* and *France*.

At this time the Earl of *Hartford* lying at *Bulloigne*, had in his Army above fourscore thousand men, and many skirmishes passed between him and the *French*; till at last, by mediation of the Emperour and divers other Princes, a meeting was appointed to treat a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Hereupon there came to *Guynes* for the King of *England*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Dudley*, Vicount *Lisley*, Baron of *Mawpas*, and High Admiral of *England*, Sir *William Paget* the Kings Secretary, and Doctor *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*: For the *French* King there came to *Ard*, *Claude Danebolt* Admiral of *France*, the Bishop of *Emreux*, Monsieur *Raymond* chief President of *Roan*, and the Secretary *Bouchetel*. Divers times they met betwixt *Ard* and *Guysnes*, after a long debating of matters, and divers breakings off, at length, the seventh of *June*, a Peace was concluded, and proclaimed in the City of *London*, on Whitsunday the thirtieth of *June*, by sound of Trumpet; and the same day in like manner at *Paris* and *Roan*: The chief Articles of which Peace was this, that the *French* King paying to the King of *England* eight hundred thousand Crowns, within the term of eight years, should have *Bulloigne* again restored to him, which in the mean time should remain in possession of the King of *England*, as a pledge for assurance of the said money. And now for a full establishment of this Peace, the Vicount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, with the Bishop of *Duresme*, and divers other Lords were sent into *France*, to take Oath of the *French* King, and of the Dauphin; as likewise at the same time divers Lords came from the *French* King, to take Oath of King *Henry*, who by the way were met by the young Prince and many Lords, and conducted to the King at *Hampton-Court*.

Bulloigne is restored to the *French* upon payment of eight hundred thousand Crowns.

In his seven and thirtieth year, the three and twentieth of *November*, a Parliament began at *Westminster*, wherein was granted to the King a Subsidy both of Spirituality and Temporality, and all Colleges, Chantries and Hospitals were given to him to dispose of. The four and twentieth of *December* the Parliament was prorogued, on which day the King coming to the Parliament-House, the Speaker made to him an Oration, which the Lord Chancellour was used to answer, but at this time the King would answer himself: The effect whereof was, that where Master Speaker had commended him for many excellent qualities that were in him, he thanked him for it, not that he had them, but for putting him in mind how necessary it was he should have them: Then he thanked the whole House for their Subsidy, and for giving him the Colleges and Chanteries, which he promised should be bestowed to the Glory of God & good of the Realm: *Lastly*, he acknowledged their love to himself, but found fault with want of love to one another; for what love, where there is not concord? and what concord, when one calleth anthor Heretick and Anabaptist; and he again calleth him Papist and Hypocrite? and this not only amongst those of the Temporality, but even the Clergy-men themselves preach one against another, inveigh one against another, without Charity or Discretion; some to be stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, and others so curious in their new *Sumpsimus*, that few or none preacheth truly and sincerely the word of God. Now therefore let this be amended, fear and serve God, be in Charity among your selves, to the which I, as your Supream Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you. And this said, the Acts were openly read; to some he gave his Royal assent, and to divers assented not.

All Colleges and Chantries are given to the King by Parliament.

The King answers the Speakers Speech himself, and the effect of his Speech.

Whilst the Oath for the Peace was thus taken by both Kings, *Bulloigne* remaining still in King *Henry*'s possession, Monsieur *de Chastillon* Captain of *Mont-pleasier* began to make a new Bastillion at the very mouth of the Haven of *Bulloigne*, naming it *Chastillons* Garden: Hereof the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, as then Deputy of *Bulloigne*, advertised the King by Sir *Thomas Palmour*, requiring to know his pleasure whether he should raze it, as a thing very incommodious to the Town, or let it stand. The King asked advice of his Council, who all agree that the Conditions of the Peace ought in no wise to be infringed, and therefore to let the Bastillion stand: Whereupon the King caused his Secretary the Lord *Paget* to write a Letter to the Lord *Gray* to that purpose; but then called Sir *Thomas Palmour* secretly to him, bidding him tell the Lord *Gray*, that whatsoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all speed possible he should raze the Fortification to the ground. Sir *Thomas Palmour* replying, that a message by word of mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be believed; Well (said the King) do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing it to his choice. Upon the coming back of

Sir

Sir *Tho. Palmour*, the Lord *Gray* called a Council, shewing them the Kings Letter, and withall Sir *Thomas Palmour*'s Message, and then asked their Advice, what in this case he should do; who all agreed without any question, that the Letter was to be followed, and not the Message: To which the Lord *Gray* himself said nothing, but caused the Message to be written *verbatim* from Sir *Thomas Palmour*'s mouth, and those of the Council to set their hands to it: This done, the night following he issued forth with a company of armed men and Pioneers, and overthrew the Fortifications to the ground, and then sent Sir *Thomas Palmour* with Letters to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, What, will he do it or no? Sir *Thomas Palmour* delivering his Letter, said, Your Majesty shall know by these; but then the King half angry, Nay tell me (said he) will he do it or no? Being then told it was done, and the Fortifications clean razed, he turned to his Lords and said, What say you my Lords to this? *Chatillons* Garden is razed to the floor. Whereto one presently answered, he that had done it was worthy to lose his head: to which the King straightly replyed, That he would rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged, than one such servant as had done it; and therewith commanded the Lord *Gray*'s Pardon should presently be drawn; the which he sent with Letters of great thanks, and promise of reward. The cause why the King took this course was this, lest if he had written the razing of the Fortification in this Letter, it might have come to the *French*-mens knowledge, before it could have been done, and so have been prevented. And this may be taken as a scantling of King *Henry*'s great capacity.

The Lord *Gray* obeyeth a Message from the King before the King's Letter.

1547.

It is now the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, when about *Michaelmas*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Earl of *Surry* his Son and Heir, upon certain surmises of Treason, were committed to the Tower of *London*: and the thirteenth of *January*, the King then lying at the point of death, the said Earl was arraigned in the *Guild-hall*, before the Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellour, and other Lords there in Commission. The special matter wherewith he was charged, was the bearing of certain Arms that were said to belong to the King and to the Prince; though the Earl justified the bearing of them as belonging to divers of his Ancestours, affirming withall, that he had the opinion of Heralds therein. But this notwithstanding, being no Lord of the Parliament, he was tryed by a common Jury, by them was found guilty, and thereupon had judgment of death, and the nineteenth of *January* was beheaded on the *Tower-Hill*. The Duke was attainted by Parliament, and kept in prison, till in the first year of Queen *Mary* the Attainder was reversed. The death of this Earl might lay an imputation of cruelty upon King *Henry*, if a just jealousie growing from the many circumstances of the Earls greatness, in the tender age of his own Son, did not excuse him.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son the Earl of *Surry* committed to the *Tower*, and why.

The Earl is beheaded.

Soon after the death of this Earl, the King himself died; having made his last Will, in which he took order, that his Son *Edward* should succeed him in the Crown, and he dying without Issue, his Daughter *Mary*, and she dying without Issue, his Daughter *Elizabeth*; although an other order of succession had passed before by Act of Parliament. The Executors of his last Will were these sixteen; *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Wriothsley* Lord Chancellor, Sir *William Pawlet* Lord *Saint-John* and great Master of the Household, Sir *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, and high Chamberlain of *England*, Sir *John Russel* Lord Privy-Seal, Sir *John Dudley* Vicount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *Edmund Montacute* Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Thomas Bromley* one of the Justices of the *Kings-Bench*, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Augmentation, Sir *William Paget* Knight of the Order, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treasurer of *Callice*, and *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. To whom were adjoyned as Assistants these twelve; *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, *William Par* Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Cheny* Treasurer of the Household, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice Chamberlain, Sir *William Peter* Principal Secretary, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker* of *Sissingherst* in *Kent*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and Sir *Edward Peckham*. And it was not without need to leave a full Council-Table, considering in what terms he left the Kingdom when he died. Abroad in league with the Emperor, at Peace with the King of *France*; but whether these were not personal only, and no longer binding than King *Henry* lived, might be doubted; With the *Scots* at deadly feud; with the Pope at utter defiance; from both which Coasts there could be expected but little fair Weather: At home the frame of Religion extremely disjoynted, and the Clergy that should set it in frame, out of frame themselves; the minds of the People extremely distracted; and the Nobility that should cement them, scarce holding themselves together. And in this state was the Kingdom when King *Henry* the eighth died, in the year 1547. the fifty sixth of his life, and of his Reign the eight and thirtieth.

His Executors.

Assistants to his Executors.

King *Henry* dieth.

Of his Taxations:

IN his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, was granted to the King two fifteenths of the temporality, and two Tenths of the Clergy, and Head-money; of every Duke ten Marks, an Earl five pounds, a Baron four pounds, a Knight four Marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in Goods to pay four Marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence, and every man and woman of fifteen years and upward four pence. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein divers Subsidies were granted to the King, towards the charges of his Wars in *France*. In his fourteenth year, order was taken by the Cardinal, that the true value of all mens substance might be known, and he would have had every man sworn, to tell what he was worth, and

Every man sworn what he is worth, and to give the Tenth part to the King.

and required a tenth part thereof towards the Kings charges in the present Wars, as the Spirituality had granted a fourth part. This the *Londoners* thought very hard, and therefore were excused for taken Oath, and were allowed to bring in their Bills upon their honesties; but when all was done, after much labouring by the Cardinal the Clergy granted one half of all their yearly spiritual Revenues, for five years, and the Temporality two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upwards; and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence; and under forty shillings of every head of sixteen years and upwards, four pence to be paid in every two years. In his sixteenth year, the Cardinal of his own head attempted by Commission, to draw the people to pay the sixth part of every mans substance in Plate or Money; but this was generally opposed, and the people in many Countrys rose upon it, so as coming to the King's knowledg, he utterly disavowed it, and blamed the Cardinal exceedingly for attempting it. In his four and twentieth year, in a Parliament then holden, a fifteenth was granted to the King, towards his Charges, of making Fortifications against *Scotland*. In his one and thirtieth year, a subsidy of two shillings in the pound of Lands, and twelve of Goods, with four fifteens, were granted to the King, towards his charges of making Bulwarks. In his five and thirtieth year, a Subsidy was granted to be paid in three years, every *English*-man being worth in Goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound; and from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; and from ten pounds to twenty pounds, 12 pence; from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two shillings: Strangers, as well Denizens as others, being Inhabitants: to pay double. And for Lands, every *English*-man paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty shillings to five pounds, and from five pounds to ten pounds sixteen pence, and from ten pounds to twenty pounds two shillings, and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three shillings: Strangers double. The Clergy six shillings in the pound of Benefices, and every Priest having no Benefice; but an Annual stipend, six shillings eight pence yearly, during three years.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his Time.

IN a Parliament holden his sixth year, divers Laws were made, but two most spoken of; one for Apparel, another for Labourers. In his twelfth year, he caused the Statutes against Inclosures to be revived, and commanded that decayed Houses should be built up again, and that Inclosed Grounds should be laid open; which though it did some good, yet not so much as it might have done, if the Cardinal for his own benefit had not procured liberty for great Men to keep up their Inclosures, to the oppression of poor men. In his seventeenth year, the King lying at *Eltham*, divers Ordinances were made by the Cardinal touching the Governance of the King's House, and were long after called the Statutes of *Eltham*. In his eighteenth year, in the month of *May*, Proclamation was made against all unlawful Games, so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cards, and Bowles were taken and burnt; but this Order continued not long, for young men being restrained from these Games, fell some to drinking, some to stealing of Coneys and Deer, and such other misdemeanors. Also in this year was an enhaunsing of Coin, for the preventing the carrying it over to places where it went at a higher rate; so that the Angel that went before but for seven shillings, should now go for seven and six pence, and every Ounce of Gold should be five and forty shillings, which was before but forty, and other Coins accordingly. In his twentieth year, Sir *James Spencer* being Mayor of *London*, the Watch used on Midsummer night was laid down. In his three and thirtieth year, in a Parliament then holden, an Act was made, that whosoever should poyson any person should be boyled to death; by which Statute, one *Richard Rouse*, who had poysoned divers persons in the Bishop of *Rochester's* place, was boyled to death in *Smithfield*, to the terrible example of all other. In this two and twentieth year, three Acts were made, one for probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, the third against plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by Spiritual persons. In his thirtieth year, it was ordained by *Cromwell* the King's Vicar General, that in all Churches a Register should be kept of every Wedding, Christning and Burial within the same Parish for ever. In his one and thirtieth year, the King first instituted and appointed fifty Gentlemen called Pensioners, to wait upon his Person, assigning to each of them fifty pounds a year for the maintenance of themselves and two Horses. In his six and thirtieth year, Proclamation was made for the inhaunsing of Gold to eight and forty shillings, and Silver to four shillings the Ounce; also he caused to be coined base Money, mingling it with Brass, which was since that time called down the fifth year of *Edward* the sixth, and called in the second year of Queen *Elizabeth*. In his seven and thirtieth year, the Brothel-houses called the Stews, on the *Bankside* in *Southwark*, were put down by the King's Commandment, and it was done by Proclamation and sound of Trumpet. In his three and twentieth year, it was enacted, that Butchers should sell their Meat by weight, Beef for a half-peny the pound, and Mutton for three farthings: also at this time foreign Butchers were permitted to sell their Flesh in *Leaden Hall Market*, which before was not allowed. In his time also the Government of the President in the North was first instituted, and the first President there was *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*.

Inclosures commanded to be laid open.

Dice and Cards forbidden.

Coin inhaunsed.

A Register of all Weddings, Christnings, and Burials, when first kept.

The Gentlemen Pensioners when first ordained.

The Stews put down.

Butchers appointed to sell their meat by weight.

The President of the North when first ordained.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the year 1517. the eighth year of this King's Reign, *Martin Luther* of *Wittenberg* in *Germany*, a Fryer of the Order of the *Hermits*, taking occasion from the abuse of Indulgences, began to preach against the Authority of the Pope, and to bring in a Reformation of Religion. For repelling of whom, the Council

Luther brings in a Reformation of Religion.

of *Trent* was called by Pope *Paul* the third, in the year 1542. which continued above forty years, but was never received in the Kingdom of *France*: which Council, by decreeing many things to be Points of Faith, which were not ſo accounted before, hath made no ſmall diſtraction amongſt Papiſts themſelves. Againſt this *Luther*, King *Henry* wrote a Book with great bitterneſs, and with as great bitterneſs was anſwered. At the ſame time with *Luther*, there aroſe alſo in the ſame Country other Reformers of Religion, as *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchton*; who differing from *Luther* in ſome few points, made the difference which is at this day of *Lutherans* and Proteſtants, ſo called at firſt at *Augſpurg*, for making a Proteſtation in defence of their Doctrine, which ſoon after ſpread all Chriſtendom over. King *Henry* in the ſix and twentieth year of his Reign, had excluded the Popes Authority out of his Realm: but thinking the work not ſufficiently done, as long as Abbeys and Priories kept their ſtation, which were, as it were, his Fortreſſes and Pillars; there was not long after means found to have them ſupreſſed: for aſperſions being laid upon them (and perhaps no more then truth) of Adulteries and Murthers; they by Act of Parliament, in his eight and twentieth year, at leaſt near four hundred of them were ſuppreſſed, and all their Lands and Goods conferred upon the King. In his one and thirtieth year, all the reſt; and laſtly, in his five and thirtieth year, all Colleges, Chantries, and Hoſpitals. So as the Hives being now all removed, there have never ſince any Bees or Drones been ſeen in the Country. In this King's time the City of *Rome* was taken and ſacked by the Imperial Army, forcing the Pope to fly to his Caſtle Saint *Angelo*, there kept a Priſoner, till he agreed to ſuch conditions as his Adverſaries propounded. In the two and twentieth year of this King's Reign, a Proclamation was ſet forth, that no Perſon ſhould purchaſe any thing from the Court of *Rome*; and this was the firſt blow given to the Pope in *England*. In his three and twentieth year, the Clergy ſubmitting themſelves to the King, for being found guilty of a Premunire, were the firſt that called him Supream head of the Church. In his four and twentieth year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made that Biſhops ſhould pay no more Annates or money for their Bulls to the Pope; and another, that no perſon ſhould appeal for any cauſe out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commiſſary to the Biſhop, and from the Biſhop to the Archbiſhop, and from the Archbiſhop to the King, and all cauſes of the King to be tried in the upper Houſe of the Convocation. In his ſix and twentieth [illegible] in *July*, *John Frith* was burnt in *Smithfield* and with him at the ſame ſtake one *Andrew* [illegible] a Taylor, both for denying the Real preſence in the Sacrament. And in a Parliament holden this year, an Act was made which Authorized the King's Highneſs to be ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Authority of the Pope to be aboliſhed; and then alſo was given to the King the Firſt-fruits and Tenths of all Spiritual Livings.

The difference between *Lutherans* and Proteſtants.

The King when firſt called Supreme Head of the Church. No more Annates to be paid to *Rome*; nor Appeals to be made to the Pope.

The Firſt Fruits and Tenths given to the King.

And this year were many put to death, Papiſts for denying the King's Supremacy, Proteſtants for denying the Real Preſence in the Sacrament; and it is incredible what number for theſe two cauſes were put to death in the laſt ten years of the King's Reign, of whom if we ſhould make particular mention, it would reach a great way in the Book of Martyrs. In his eight and twentieth year, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Vicar-General under the King over the Spirituality, and ſat divers times in the Convocation Houſe amongſt the Biſhops as Head over them; and in *September*, this year he ſet forth Injunctions, commanding all Parſons and Curates to teach their Pariſhoners the *Pater-noſter*, the *Ave*, and *Creed*, with the ten Commandements and the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, in the *Engliſh* tongue. In his one and thirtieth year, was ſet forth by the Biſhops the Book of the Six Articles, condemning all for Hereticks, and to be burnt, that ſhould hold,

The Six Articles ſet forth by the Biſhops.

1. *That the Body of Chriſt was not Really preſent in the Sacrament after Conſecration.*
2. *That the Sacrament might not be truly adminiſtred under one kind.*
3. *That Prieſts entred into Holy Orders might marry.*
4. *That Vows of Chaſtity entred into upon mature deliberation, were not to be kept.*
5. *That private Maſſes were not to be uſed.*
6. *That Auricular Confeſſion was not neceſſary in the Church.*

The Order of Saint *Johns* diſſolved.

This year alſo the Religion of Saint *Johns* in *England*, commonly called the Order of Knights of the *Rhodes*, was diſſolved; and on Aſcenſion-day, Sir *William Weſton* Knight, Prior of Saint *Johns*, departed this life, for thought (as was reported) after he heard of the diſſolution of his Order; for the King took all the Lands that belonged to that Order into his own Hands. In his ſix and thirtieth year, the Litany or Proceſſion was ſet forth in *Engliſh*, with commandment by the King to be generally uſed in Pariſh-Churches.

Works of Piety done by him or others in his time.

UPon the ſuppreſſion of Abbeys, King *Henry* inſtituted ſix new Biſhopricks and ſix Cathedral-Churches, endowing them with convenient Maintenance: he alſo gave competent Penſions during their lives to ſuch Religious perſons as were turned out of their Cloiſters: he alſo inſtituted in both the Univerſities Profeſſors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, of Divinity, Civil Law, and Phyſick, allowing to each of them forty pounds a year: he alſo founded a College at *Cambridge*. He gave at his death a thouſand Marks to the Poor; and to twelve poor Knights of *Windſor*, each of them twelve pence a day for ever, and every year a long Gown of white Cloth. But his greateſt work of Piety was his putting down the Stews in *Southwark*. *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, the King's Grandmother founded two Colleges at *Cambridge*, *Chriſts-College* and Saint *Johns*. In the fifth year of this Kings Reign *George Monox* Mayor

Profeſſors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues firſt inſtituted in both Univerſities.

of

of *London*, re-edified the decayed Steeple of the Church of *Waltham-stow* in *Essex*, adding thereunto a Side-isle with a Chappel, where he lieth buried: on the North-side of the Church-yard there he founded a fair Almshouse, for a Priest and thirteen poor men and women, giving them a weekly maintenance. He also for the commodity of Travellers, made a Cawsey of Timber over the Marshes, from *Waltham-stow* to *Lock-bridge* towards *London*. In this Kings eighth year, *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* founded *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford*, minding to have made it an House for Monks; but *Hugh Oldham* Bishop of *Exeter*, perswaded him to make it rather a College for Scholars, and joyning with him in it, contributed great sums of Money towards it, contenting himself only with the name of a Benefactor. In his seventh year King *Henry* builded the Tower of *Greenwich*. In this King's time Cardinal *Wolsey* founded two Colleges, one at *Oxford*, another at *Ipswich*. To his College at *Oxford* he had given four thousand pounds Lands a year; but his Lands being all confiscated to the King, the King took the Lands, but yet gave to the College a competent maintenance for a Dean, eight Prebends, and a hundred Fellows: which College is now called *Christ-Church*, and accounts King *Henry* for their Founder. His College at *Ipswich* was demolished. This Cardinal also built *Hampton-Court*, the chiefest at this day of all the King's Houses; and built or inlarged *White-Hall*, called then *York-Place*. King *Henry* in his Four and twentieth year, built also his Mansion-House of *Saint James*, where also he made a fair Park. This Place before had been an Hospital of Sisters, with whom the King compounded, giving them Pensions during their lives. In his Thirtieth Year, *Nicholas Gibson* Grocer, then Sheriff of *London*, builded a Free-School at *Ratcliff* near *London*, with maintenance for a Master and an Usher; he also builded an Almshouse there for fourteen poor and aged People. In his one and thirtieth year, *Thomas Hewitson*, the then Sheriff of *London*, gave certain Tenements to the Haberdashers, for finding of Ten Almsmen of the same Company. In his Six and thirtieth year, Sir *John Allen*, who had been twice Mayor of *London*, and of the Kings Council, gave at his death to the City of *London* a rich Collar of Gold, to be worn by the Mayor: which Collar was first worn by Sir *William Laxton* on Saint *Edwards* day, at the election of the new Mayor, who gave to every Ward in *London*, twenty pounds to be distributed among poor Householders; besides the Pensions, whereof threescore men, to every one a Gown of Broad cloth and a black Cape, and threescore Women, to every one a Gown of the like Cloth, and a white Kerchief. In the Eight and thirtieth year, King *Henry* gave to the City of *London*, for relief of poor People in St. *Bartholomew's* Spittle, the Church of the *Grey-friers*, and two Parish-Churches, the one at St. *Nicholas* in the Shambles, the other St. *Ewins* in *Newgate*-market, all to be made one Parish-Church of the *Grey-friers*, and in Lands he gave for the maintenance of the same Five hundred Marks a year for ever:

Corpus Christi College in *Oxford* when and by whom founded.

Christ-Church in *Oxford* founded

Hampton-Court by whom built.

St. James when first built.

Christ-Church Hospital in the Shambles founded.

and this Church to be named *Christ-Church*, founded by King *Henry* the Eighth. The Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* (the Widow of Sir *William Hollys* Knight, late Lord Mayor of the City of *London*) by her last Will and Testament, dated the 17 of *February* 1543. and in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and proved at *London* in the Prerogative-Court of *Canterbury* the 28 of *March* 1544. did will her Executors, her Cousin Mr. *Andrew Jud* Alderman (afterwards Knight and Lord Mayor of *London*) and her Brother *Thomas Scopham*, that they should provide a place or plot of ground, whereon should be erected six Almshouses for six aged folks, Men or Women, or else both, to inhabit and dwell in; for the maintenance of which, she willed that her said Executors should purchase as much Land or Tenements within the City of *London*, or Liberties of the same, as would amount *de claro* above all charges to the yearly value of Ten pound Sterling, to be distributed in this manner; that is to say, to every of the said six Alms-people seven Pence by the Week, to be paid on every Saturday or Sabbath-day weekly; and the remainder of the said yearly Ten pound to be distributed in Coals yearly, in the Winter season, to and amongst the said six Alms-people: and this to continue for ever, whiles the World shall endure, as by the said Will may appear; which was afterwards accordingly effected by her said Executors. Which said Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* and Sir *William Hollys*, were great Grandfather and great Grandmother unto *John Hollys* Knight, Earl of *Clare*, &c. deceased.

Casualties in his time.

A Sweating sickness, of which many great men died.

IN his Ninth Year happened a Sweating-sickness, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of *England* died, especially in *London*; which was so violent, that in three, and sometimes two hours, it took away mens lives; and spared neither rich nor poor: for in the Kings Court, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, and many Knights, Gentlemen and Officers died of it. It began in *July*, and continued to the midst of *December*. In his thirteenth Year was a great Mortality in *London*, and other places of the Realm, and many men of Honour and Worship died; amongst others, Doctor *Fox* Bishop of *London*, in whose place Doctor *Tunstal* succeeded. In his fifteenth Year, after great rains and Winds, there followed so fore a Frost, that many died for cold; and some lost Fingers, some Toes, and many their Noses. In his nineteenth Year, by extremity of Rain in seed-time, there followed a great dearth of Corn; which would have caused great calamity, but that it was relieved in *London* by Merchants of the *Steel-yard* out of *Germany*, and a thousand quarters supplied out of the King's own provision. In his Two and twentieth Year, in the end of *May*, began in *London* another Sweating-sickness; which afterwards infected all places of the Realm; by reason whereof the Term was adjourned, and the Parliament [illegible]. Many died in the Court, as Sir *Francis Pointz*, Sir *William Compton* Knights, and

Another Sweating sickness.

William Carew Esquire, of the King's Privy-Chamber. The King himself for a space removed almost every day, till he came to *Tittinghanger*, a place of the Abbot of *Saint Albans*, where he with the Queen and a small number remained till the Sickness was past. In his thirtieth year, the manner of casting Pipes of Lead for conveyance of Water under ground, without using of Soder, was first invented by *Robert Brooke* Clerk, one of the King's Chaplains: a profitable Invention; for by this, two men and a boy will do more in one day, than could have been done before by many men in many days. *Robert Cooper* Goldsmith was the first that made the Instruments, and put this Invention in practice. In a Rebellion in the North in this King's time, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent with an Army against the Rebels, and that a day of Battel between them was appointed; it happened, that the Night before a small Brook called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon the fall of a small Rain swelled to such a height, that it was not passable by either Foot or Horse, a thing which had never happened before upon a great rain, and was then accounted (as indeed it was) no less than a Miracle. In his three and thirtieth Year was a great Mortality in the Realm, by reason of hot Agues and Fluxes: and withal so great a drought, that small Rivers were clean dried, much Cattel died for lack of water, and the *Thames* was grown so shallow, that the Salt-water flowed above *London-bridge*, till the Rain had encreased the fresh-waters. In his five and thirtieth Year the first cast Pieces of Iron that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Buckstead* in *Sussex* by *Ralph Hage* and *Peter Bawde*. In his six and thirtieth Year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as *Michaelmas* Term was adjourned to *Saint Albans*, and there kept. In his seven and thirtieth Year, on *Tuesday* in *Easter-week*, *William Foxley*, Pot-maker for the Mint of the Tower in *London*, fell asleep, and could not be waked with pinching, or burning, till the first day of the next Term, which was full fourteen days; and when he awaked, was found in all points as if he had slept but one Night, and lived forty years after. About his fifteenth Year, it happened that divers things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Ryme was made.

Casting Pipes of Lead without Soder, when and by whom first invented.

A miraculous sudden rising of the River Dun.

The first cast Pieces of Iron made.

One that slept fourteen days together without waking.

Divers things newly brought into England.

Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Pickrel, and Beer,
Came into ENGLAND *all in one year.*

Of his Wives and Children.

KIng *Henry* had six Wives. His first was *Katharine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*. She lived his Wife above twenty years, and then was divorced from him; after which she lived three years by the name of *Katharine Dowager*: She deceased at *Kimbolton* in the County of *Huntington* the eighth of *January*, in the Year 1535. and there interred in the Cathedral-Church of *Peterborough*, under a Herse of black Say, having a white Cross in the midst. His second Wife was *Ann*, second Daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*. She was married to him the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the Year 1533. lived his Wife three years, three months, and five and twenty days, and then was beheaded, and her body buried in the Choir of the Chappel in the Tower. His third Wife was *Jane*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, and Sister to the Lord *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hartford*, and Duke of *Somerset*: she was married to him the next day after the beheading of Queen *Ann*, lived his Wife one year, five moneths, and four and twenty days, and then died in Child-bed, and was buried in the midst of the Choir of the Church within the Castle of *Windsor*. His fourth Wife was *Ann*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*: She lived his Wife six months, and then was divorced: she remained in *England* long after the King's death, and accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London*, at the solemnizing of Queen *Maries* Coronation. His fifth Wife was *Katharine*, Daughter of *Edmund*, and Niece of *Thomas Howard* his Brother, Duke of *Norfolk*. She was married to him in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, lived his Wife one year, six months, and four days, and then was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and buried in the Chancel of the Chappel by Queen *Ann Bullen*. His sixth Wife was *Katharine* Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre*, of *Kendal*, and Sister to the Lord *William Parre* Marquess of *Northampton*. She was first married to *John Nevil* Lord *Latimer*, and after his decease to the King at *Hampton Court*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign. She was his Wife three years, six months, and five days, and then surviving him, was again married to *Thomas Seymour* Lord Admiral of *England*, unto whom she bore a Daughter, but died in her Child-bed, in the year 1548. He had Children by his first Wife Queen *Katharine*, *Henry* born at *Richmond*, who lived not full two months, and was buried at *Westminster*, also another Son whose name is not mentioned, lived but a short time neither; then a Daughter, named *Mary*, born at *Greenwich* in the eighth year of his Reign, who came afterward to be Queen of *England*. By his second Wife, Queen *Ann Bullen*, he had a Daughter named *Elizabeth*, born at *Greenwich*, in the five and twentieth year of his Reign, who succeeded her Sister *Mary* in the Crown. He had also by her a son, but born dead. By his third Wife, Queen *Jane*, he had a Son named *Edward* born at *Hampton-Court*, in the nine and twentieth year of his Reign, who succeeded him in the Kingdom. Besides these he had a base Son, named *Henry Fitz-Roy*, begotten of the Lady *Talbois*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, born at *Blackmore* in *Essex*, in the tenth year of his Reign; who was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, married *Mary* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, with whom he lived not long, but died at St. *James* by *Westminster*, and was buried at *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was exceeding tall of stature, and very strong, fair of complexion, in his latter days corpulent and burly. Concerning his conditions

ditions, he was a Prince of so many good parts, that one would wonder he could have any ill: and indeed he had not many ill, till flattery and ill counsel in his latter time got the upper hand of him. His Cruelty to his wives may not only be excused, but defended. For if they were incontinent, he did but Justice; if they were not so, yet it was sufficient to satisfie his conscience, that he thought he had cause to think them so: and if the Marriage-bed be honourable in all, in Princes it is sacred. In suppressing of Abbeys he shewed not little Piety, but great Providence: for though they were excellent things being rightly used, yet most pestilent being abused; and then may the use be justly suppressed, when the abuse scarce possibly can be restrained. To think he suppressed Abbeys out of covetousness and desire of gain, is to make him extremely deceived in his reckonings; for if we compare the profit with the charge that followed, we shall find him certainly a great losser by the Bargain. He was so far from pride, that he was rather too humble; at least he conversed with his Subjects in a more familiar manner than was usual with Princes. So valiant that his whole life almost was nothing but exercise of valour; and though performed amongst his Friends in jest, yet they prepared him against his Enemies in earnest, and they that durst be his Enemies found it. It may be said, the Complexion of his Government for the first twenty years was sanguine and jovial; for the rest, cholerick and bloody; and it may be doubted, whether in the former he were more prodigal of his own treasure, or in the latter of his Subjects blood: for as he spent more in Fictions, than any other King did in Realities; so in any distemper of his People, he had no other Physick but to open a Vein. But we shall do him extreme wrong, to think that all the blood shed in his time was of his shedding; there were the Bishops that were the *Drugs*, to make the bloody Laws; the Bishops that were the *Pallets*, to put them in execution; the King oftentimes scarce knowing what was done. Certain it is, when a great Lord put a Gentlewoman the second time on the Rack, the King hearing of it, exceedingly condemned him for such extreme cruelty. As for Religion, though he brought it not to a full Reformation, yet he gave it so great a beginning, that we may truly say of that he did, *Dimidium plus toto*. They who charge him with the vice of Lust let them shew such another Example of Continence as was seen in him, to lie six months by a young Lady, and use to touch her; for so did he with the Lady *Ann of Cleve*. But this is to make Nosegays: I like better to leave every Flower growing upon its stalk, that it be gathered fresh; which will be done by reading the story of his Life.

Of his Death and Burial.

IT is recorded of him, that in his latter time he grew so fat and slothful, that Engines were made to lift and remove him up and down. But howsoever, in the six and fiftieth year of his age, whether by a Dropsie, or by reason of an Ulcer in his Leg, he fell into a languishing Fever which brought him into such extremity, that his Physicians utterly dispaired of his life: whereof yet none durst speak a word to him, till Master *Denny*, one of his Privy-Chamber, took the boldness to go to him, telling him of the danger he was in, and withal putting him in mind to think of his souls health. To which he answered, that he confessed his sins to be exceeding great, yet had such confidence in the Mercy of God through Christ, that he doubted not of forgiveness, though they had been much greater. And being then asked by Master *Denny*, if he would have any Divine brought to him with whom to confer; he answered, he would willingly have the Archbishop *Cranmer*, but not yet a while, till he had taken a little rest. Whereupon the Archbishop being then at *Croydon*, was presently sent for: but before he could come, the King was grown speechless, only seeming to retain a little memory, so as putting out his hand, and the Archbishop desiring him to shew some sign of his faith in Christ; he then wrung the Archbishop hard by the hand, and immediatly gave up the ghost, the eight and twentieth of *January*, in the year 1547. the six and fiftieth of his age, and of his Reign the eight and thirtieth. His Body with great solemnity was buried at *Windsor*, under a most costly and stately Tomb, begun in copper and gilt, but never finished.

King *Henry's* religious carriage at his Death.

Men of Note, in his Time.

MEN famous for the Sword were many in his time, and in a manner all, that it is hard making choice without being partial; unless we shall prefer Dukes of equal valour before others of meaner calling; and then will the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* hold worthily the first place; and next to them the young Earl of *Surrey*, who had been more fortunate if he had been less valiant. Of men of Letters in his time, there were whole Armies in forein parts; the most famous were *Budæus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *John Reuchlin*, *Erasmus Rotrodamus*, *Ursinus*, *Corbarius*, *Sadolet*, *Martin Bucer*: In *England* were *John Colet* Dean of *Paul's*, and Founder of the School there: *William Lily*, born at *Odiham* in *Hampshire*, first School-Master of *Paul's* School: *Thomas Linacer*, a learned Physician; *John Skelton*, a pleasant Poet; *William Horman*, Vice-Provost of *Eaton*, who wrote divers works; Sir *Thomas More*; *William Tindal*; *John Rastal* a Citizen and Stationer of *London*; *Christopher Saint-Germain*, an excellent Lawyer; Sir *Thomas Elyot*; *John Leland*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities; Sir *John Bourchier* Knight, Lord *Berners*, who translated the Chronicles of *Froisard* out of *French* into *English*; *Henry Standish*, Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, who wrote a Book against *Erasmus* translation of the new Testament; *Arnold* of *London* who wrote certain Collections touching Historical matters; *Thomas Lupset* a *Londoner*, who wrote sundry vertuous Treatises; *Hugo Bradshaw*, a black-Monk, who wrote the life of Saint *Werburgh*, and also a certain Chronicle; *John Palsgrave* a *Londoner*, who wrote Instructions for the perfect understanding of the *French* tongue; *John Skyth* a *Cornishman*, who wrote certain Abbrevations

John Colles Dean of *Pauls*.

John Skelton the pleasant Poet.

Anthony Fitz-Herbert, who wrote an Abridgment of the Law.

of Chronicles, with a Treatise of the Wars of *Troy*; *Anthony Fitz-Herbert*, a Judge, who wrote an Abridgment of the Law; *Wilfred Holme*, who wrote a Treatise of the Rebellion in *Lincolnshire*; *Tho. Langton*, who wrote an Epitome of Chronicles, and also of the winning of *Bulloign*; *Thomas Soulman* of *Guernsey*, who wrote divers notes of History; *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham*; *Robert Whittington*, who wrote divers Treatises for the instructions of Grammatians; *John Russel*, who wrote a Treatise entituled, *Super Jure Cæsaris & Papæ*, also Commentaries in *Cantica*; *Simon Fish* a *Kentish*-man, who wrote a Book called the Supplication of Beggars; *George Bullen* Lord *Rochford*, Brother to Queen *Ann*, who wrote divers Songs and Sonnets; *Francis Bigod* Knight, born in *Yorkshire*, who wrote a Book against the Clergy, entituled *De Impropriationibus*; *Henry* Lord *Morley*, who wrote divers Treatises, as Comedies and Tragedies, of the Life of Sectaries, and certain Rymes; *William Bocevile alias Thynne*, who restored the Works of *Chaucer*; *Richard Turpin*, who serving in the Garrison of *Callice*, wrote a Chronicle of his time, and died in the year 1540. Sir *Thomas Wyat* Knight, who wrote divers matters in *English* Metre, and Translated the Seven Penitential Psalms, and (as some say) the whole Psalter; he died of the Pestilence, as he was going Ambassador to the Emperor, in the year 1541. *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, who wrote divers Treatises in *English* Metre; *John Field* a *Londoner*, who wrote a Treatise of mans Free-will, *De libero hominis Arbitrio*, and Collections of the Common Laws of *England*; *Robert Shingleton*, born in *Lancashire*, who wrote a Treatise of the Seven Churches, and certain Prophecies; *William Parry* a *Welsh*-man, who wrote a Book entituled *Speculum Juventutis*.

Sir Thomas Wyat Knight.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's time.*

In his first year,
Thomas Bradbery was Mayor for part of the year, Sir *William Capel* for the rest,
George Monox, *John Dogge*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *Henry Keble* was Mayor,
John Aschewin, *John Rest*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Roger Ackeley* was Mayor,
Nicholas Shelton, *Thomas Knowles*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *William Copinger* was Mayor for part of the year, Sir *Richard Haddon* for the rest,
Rob. Hollyrode or *Aldam*, *Rob. Fewmber*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *William Brown* was Mayor,
John Dawes, *John Milles*, *Roger Basford*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *Cuthb. Monox* was Mayor,
James Spensa, *John Allen*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *William Barlo* was Mayor,
Henry Warley, *Rich. Gray*, *William Baily*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *John Rest* was Mayor,
Thomas Seymour, *John* or *Rich. Thurston*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Thomas Exmewe* was Mayor,
Tho. Baldrie, *Ralph* or *Richard Simons*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *Thomas Mersine* was Mayor,
John Allen, *James Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir *James Tarford* was Mayor,
John Wilkinson, *Nicholas Patrick*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *John Burgo* was Mayor,
John Shevington, *John Kyme* alias *Keble*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *John Milborne*, was Mayor,
John Buston or *Britane*, *Tho. Pargiter*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir *John Munday* was Mayor,
John Aleyn, *John Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir *Thomas Baldrie*, was Mayor,
Michael English, *Nicholas Jennings*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Sir *William Bailly* was Mayor,
Ralph Dodmere, *William Roche*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir *John Aleyn* was Mayor,
John Cannon or *Calton*, *Christ. Aleyn*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Mayor,
Seagrave Peacock, *Nicholas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *John Spencer* was Mayor,
John Hardy, *William Hollys*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Sir *John Rudson* was Mayor,
Ralph Warren, *John Long*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth first year,
Sir *Ralph Dodmere* was Mayor,
Edmund Dormer, *Walter Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Sir *Thomas Pargiter* was Mayor,
Will. Damsey or *Dansey*, *Ralph Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Sir *Nicholas Lambert* was Mayor,
Richard Gresham, *Edward Altham*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
Sir *Stephen Peacock* was Mayor.
Richard Reynold, John Martin, Nicholas Pinchon, John Prieſt, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Sir *Chriſtopher Askew* was Mayor.
William Forman, Thomas Kuſon, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſixth year,
Sir *John Champneis* was Mayor.
Nicholas Leveſon, William Denham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſeventh year,
Sir *John Allen* was Mayor.
Humfrey Monmouth, John Cotes, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Sir *Ralph Warren* was Mayor.
Robert or *Richard Peger, William Bowyer*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Sir *Richard Gresham* was Mayor.
John Greſham, Thomas Lawſe, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Sir *William Foremen* was Mayor.
William Wilkinſon, Nicholas Gibſon, Sheriffs.

In his thirty firſt year,
Sir *William Hollys* was Mayor.
Thomas Ferrey, Thomas Huntlow, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſecond year,
Sir *William Roche* was Mayor.
William Laxton, Martin Bowe, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Sir *Michael Dormer* was Mayor.
Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Sir *John Cotes* was Mayor.
Henry Hobblethorn, Henry Amcoats, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
Sir *William Bowyer* was Mayor.
John Tholouſe, Richard Dobbes, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſixth year,
Sir *William Laxton* was Mayor.
John Wilford, Andrew Jud, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſeventh year,
Sir *Martin Bowe* was Mayor.
George Barne, Ralph Allen or *Alley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year.
Sir *Henry Hobblethorn* was Mayor.
Richard Jarvis, Thomas Curteis, Sheriffs.

The

The REIGN of KING EDWARD The SIXTH.

An. Dom. 1547.

IT was now in the Year 1547. when on the Eight and twentieth of *January*, King *Henry* dying, Prince *Edward* his Son by his third Wife, the Lady *Jane Seymour*, and the only Son he left behind him, as well by right of Inheritance, as by his last Will, succeeded him in the Kingdom; to whom, as being but Nine years Old, and therefore unripe for Government, he had assigned Eight and twenty Counsellors: a fit number, if agreeing amongst themselves, too many, if at variance; and at variance they would have been, if there were now a Moderator enjoyned concord. The first [illegible] necessary to be done in this new World, was to make choice of such a man as might be to the Counsellors a Moderator, [illegible] to the King, and in his minority to the Kingdom. To this place, by common consent of the King and Council, *Edward Seymour* Earl of [illegible] the King's Uncle, was chosen, to hold the same until the King should accomplish the age of Eighteen years. In which Office the first thing he did, was to make the young King Knight; who presently thereupon made *Henry Hobbie* Mayor of *London*, Knight. And then King *Henry*'s Obsequies being solemnly performed, on the Seventeenth of *February* were created in honour, the Earl of *Hartford* Protector, to be Duke of *Somerset*; *William Par* Earl of [illegible] Marquess of *Northampton*; *Dudley* Viscount *Lisle*, to be Earl of *Warwick*; *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, to be Earl of *Southampton*; Sir *Thomas Seymour*, the Protector's Brother, was made Lord *Seymour*, and Admiral of *England*; Sir *Richard Rich* was make Lord *Rich*; Sir *William Willoughby* was made Lord *Willoughby*; and Sir *Edmund Sheffield* was made Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick*. On the Nineteenth of *Febr.* the King in great State rode from the *Tower* to the Palace of *Westminster*, where the day following he was Crowned by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites accustomed, in great solemnity. At which time a general Pardon was proclaimed for all offenders six only excepted; namely, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, *Edward Courtney* eldest Son to the Marquess of *Exeter*, Master *Fortescue*, Master *Throgmorton*, and Doctor *Pate* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was fled to *Rome* to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy. All which six continued unpardoned till the first Year of Queen *Mary*, and then were restored. A few days after, the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord Chancellor, for being contumacious to the rest of the Lords in matters of Counsel, was removed both from his Office of being Chancellor, and from his place in Council, and the great Seal was delivered to Sir *William Paulet*, Lord [illegible], and Lord great Master of the King's Houshold.

The Earl of *Hartford* chosen Protector.

Advancement of divers in honour.

King *Edward* is Crowned.

Within two months after the death of King *Henry*, died *Francis* King of *France* also, for whom solemn Obsequies were kept in *Pauls* Church, as he likewise had kept before at *Paris* for King *Henry*. These two Kings were of so contenting natures, that they had certainly been great friends, while they lived, if they had not been Kings, and that jealousie of State had held them oftentimes not to be themselves.

Francis King of *France* dieth.

King *Henry*, before his death had left in charge with the Lords of his Council, by all means possible to procure a proceeding in the Marriage with the young Queen of *Scots*; and now in discharge thereof, the Lord Protector himself, with an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, besides Labourers and Pioneers thirteen hundred, entred *Scotland* the third of *September*; at which time also *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, with a [illegible] thereafore Sail, assisted by Sea. The [illegible] could do any hostile Act, he sailed [illegible] to be made, that his coming was only to [illegible] performance of the Articles heretofore agreed on for the Marriage, tending to the good of both Kingdoms; which if they would yield unto, he would then return in peaceable manner. And the more to draw them on, where before it was demanded to have the Queen brought into *England*, and there to be brought up, the Protector was content she should remain in *Scotland* till years of consent. This demand [illegible] more moderate sort of the *Scots* accounted very reasonable; but those of the *French* and Papal faction, who were the greatest persons, and the greatest number, strongly opposed. Whereupon the Lord Protector presently put his Army into Array. The Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Brian*, with eight hundred Light Horse, were sent before, to provide Lodging for the Army, and to give advertisement of the Enemies approaches: then followed the Avant-guard, in number between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light Horse, led by the Earl of *Warwick*: then followed the main Battel, consisting of above six thousand Foot, six hundred

The Protector enters *Scotland* with an Army, and why.

How he marshaled his Army.

dred men at Arms, and one thousand Light horse, led by the Protector himself: Lastly followed the Arrear, wherein were between three and four thousand Foot, four hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light horse, under the conduct of the Lord *Dacres*. Upon one Wing the Artillery was drawn, being sixteen Pieces of great Ordnance; the other Wing was made by men at Arms and Demilances: for the Avant-guard and half the Battel riding about two flight-shot from their side, the other half of the Battel and the whole flank of the Arrear was closed by the Carriages, being nine hundred Carts besides Waggons; the rest of the men at Arms and the Demilances marched behind. In this order they marched two days, taking in three Castles as they went, with little resistance. Where it is memorable, what a sudden device the Defendants of one of them used to save themselves by: for finding they were no longer able to defend themselves, and that their obstinacy had excluded all hope of pardon; they made suit, that they might not presently be slain, but have some time to commend their souls to God, and afterwards be hanged: which respite being obtained, their Pardon afterwards did more easily ensue. So much doth the winning of time oftentimes prevail, more than any other policy. The Governor of *Scotland*, hearing of the Protectors approach, and having no sufficient Army ready to resist him, sent his Heralds abroad into all parts of the Realm, and commanded the Fire-crosse to be carried (an ancient custom in cases of importance) which was two Fire-brands set in fashion of a Cross, and pitched upon the point of a Spear; and therewith Proclamation to be made that all above sixteen years of age, and under sixty, should resort forthwith to *Musselborough*, and bring convenient provision of victuals with them. By this means having gotten a sufficient Army, he set forward towards the *English*, who were now come to the River called *Lime*; and here the Earl of *Warwick*, being too venturous, was like to have been entrapped, but by his valour came off safely. And now the *Scottish* Horsemen began to hover about the *English* Army, and to come pricking towards them, sometimes within length of their staves, using provoking words, to draw the *English* from their strength: but the Protector, not moved with their provocations, maintained a close march till he came to *Salt-Preston* by the *Frith*, where he encamped within two Miles of the *Scottish* Army. And here the *Scots*, having gotten the advantage of a Hill, came upon the *English* with the number of twelve hundred Horse, besides five hundred Foot that lay in ambush behind the Hill: at which time the Lord *Gray* and *Francis Brian*, impatient of such braveries, obtained leave of the General to encounter them; and so as they came scattered upon the spur, within a stones cast of the *English*, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord *Gray* with some Troops of Light-horse-men charged them home, and was forthwith seconded by certain numbers of Demilances, and both of them backed with a thousand men at Arms: yet the *Scots* resolutely maintained the fight three hours and more; but in the end, overlaid with number, they were put to flight, and chased almost to the edge of their Camp. In this fight the chiefest force of the *Scottish* Horse-men was defeated, the Lord *Hume* by a fall from his Horse lost his life, his Son and Heir, with two Priests, and six Gentlemen, were taken Prisoners, and about fifteen hundred slain. The next day the Protector and the Earl of *Warwick* rode towards the place where the *Scottish* Army lay, to view their manner of incamping. As they returned, an Herald and a Trumpeter from the *Scots* overtook them, who having obtained Audience, the Trumpeter said, that the Lord *Huntley* his Master, to spare effusion of Christian blood, would fight upon the whole quarrel, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten, or else try it between the Lord General and himself. The Protector answered that for number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude any bargain; and as for himself, that being in Publick charge, it was not fit he should hazard himself against a man of private conditions, which otherwise he would most willingly accept. Here the Earl of *Warwick* intreated the Lord General that he might accept the Challenge; and, Trumpeter, (saith he) bring me word that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and thou shalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains. Nay, rather (saith the Lord General) bring me word, that thy Master will abide and give us battel, and thou shalt have a thousand Crowns for thy pains. And thereupon, when no other agreement could be made, a general Battel was resolved on. In the Army of the *Scots* were five or six and thirty thousand men: in the Avant-guard, commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, about fifteen thousand; in the Battel, over whom was the Lord Governor, about ten thousand; and in the Arrear as many, led by the valiant *Gordon*, Earl of *Huntley*. *Hackbuters* they had none, nor men at Arms, but about two thousand Horse-men, (Prickers as they term them;) the rest were all on foot, well furnished with Jacks and Scull, Pikes, Daggers, Bucklers made of board, and slicing Swords broad and thin. Every man had a long Kerchief folded twice or thrice about his neck, and many of them had Chains of Latin drawn three or four times about their Hoses or Doublet sleeves. They had also, to affright the enemies Horses, great Rattles covered with Parchment or Paper, and small stones within put upon staves three ells long. And now both Armies joyned in Battel, where after a long fight, and much variety of fortune on both sides, at length the Victory fell to the *English*. In this fight, divers of the nobility of *Scotland* were slain; of the inferiour sort about ten, or as some say, fourteen thousand: of the *English*, were slain one and fifty Horsemen, and one Footman, but many hurt. The Lord *Gray* was dangerously thrust with a Pike in the mouth, which struck two inches into his neck. The *Scottish* Prisoners, accounted by the Marshals Book, were about fifteen hundred; the chief wherof were the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lords *Yester*, *Hobby*, and *Humilton*, the Master of *Sowe-Poole*, and the Lord of *Weems*. The Earl of *Huntley* being asked, whilst he was a Prisoner, how

The profit of winning time.

The Fire-crosse erected in *Scotland*, and what it was.

The Battel of *Musselborough* Field.

The Lord *Huntley* challengeth the Protector to a Combate, and the Protectors Answer.

How the *Scots* Army was Marshalled.

The great number of *Scots* slain, and the small number of the *English*.

how he ſtood affected to the Marriage; made this anſwer, That he liked the Marriage well enough, but he liked not this kind of Wooing. This Victory of *Muſſelborough* againſt the *Scots* was on the Tenth of *December*, the very ſame day on which Thirty years before a Victory had been had againſt them at *Flodden* field: ſo as it ſeems this day was fatal to the *Scots*, and confirmed the Opinion of Aſtrologers, that there are days to ſome men fortunate, and unfortunate to others, if they could be known. This Victory ſtruck ſuch a terrour into many of the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Bothwel* and divers chief Gentlemen of *Twedale* and of *Mers* ſubmitted themſelves to the King of *England*, and were received by the Protector into his protection. After this, the *Engliſh* Army took many Towns and Caſtles, and then for want of Proviſion, returned into *England*, having not ſtayed above Five and twenty days in *Scotland*, and not loſt above threeſcore men. After the taking of *Muſſelborough*, the Duke of *Somerſet* made many Knights, but three eſpecially; namely, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Treaſurer, Sir *Francis Brian* Captain of the Light Horſe, and Sir *Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the Horſmen; he made Banerets, which is a dignity above a Knight, and next to a Baron: and theſe were the laſt that from that time to this did ever receive this dignity. But notwithſtanding this great overthrow at *Muſſelborough*, the Governours of *Scotland* would not yet be quiet, but aſſembling the People, made unto them an Oration, exhorting them to defend the liberty of their Country, and not to be daunted with any event of War.

Days to ſome men fortunate, and unfortunate to others.

In this time many diſtractions and troubles happened in *England*, partly in matter of Religion, and partly about Incloſures. And firſt for Incloſures, the Lord Protector cauſed Proclamation to be ſet forth, commanding that they who had incloſed any Lands accuſtomed to lie open, ſhould, upon a certain pain, before a day aſſigned, lay them open again. And then in matters of Religion, certain Injunctions were ſet forth, for removing of Images out of Churches: and divers Preachers were ſent with inſtructions to diſſuade the People from praying to Saints, or for the Dead, from uſe of Beads, Aſhes, and Proceſſions; from Maſſes, Dirges, praying in an unknown Tongue; and for defect of Preachers, Homilies, were appointed publickly to be read in Churches. And many, for offering to maintain theſe Ceremonies, were either puniſhed, or forced to recant. *Edmond Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, was committed to the Fleet, for refuſing to receive theſe Injunctions. *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, was likewiſe committed firſt to the Fleet, and after to the Tower, for that he had preached. It were well theſe changes in Religion ſhould be ſtayed until the King were of years to govern by himſelf. For the like cauſes *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Heath* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, were in like manner committed to Priſon, and all of them diſpoſſeſſed of their Biſhoprick; and that which was worſe, the Biſhopricks themſelves were diſpoſſeſſed of their Revenues, in ſuch ſort that a very ſmall part remained to the Biſhops that came after.

Ineloſures commanded to be laid open.

Injunctions ſet forth in matters of Religion.

Divers Biſhops committed to Priſon.

And now a Parliament was held in the firſt year of the King, and by Prorogation in the ſecond; wherein divers Chantries, Colleges, free Chapples, Fraternities and Guilds, with all their Lands and Goods, were given to the King: which being ſold at a low rate, enriched many, and ennobled ſome, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the Change. Alſo it was then ordered, that no Man ſhould ſpeak againſt receiving the Euchariſt in both kinds; and that Biſhops ſhould be placed by Collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any election preceeding, or confirmation enſuing; and that all Proceſſes Eccleſiaſtical ſhould be made in the King's name, as in Writs at the Common Law; and that all perſons exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction ſhould have the King's Arms in the Seals of their Office: and further, the Statute of the Six Articles, and other Statutes concerning puniſhment of Lollards, were repealed, and the King's Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirmed.

A Parliament in which many things ordered concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

All this while the War in *Scotland* continued, and were managed by the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* with variable ſucceſs: and now about this time was ſent to him in aid the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with Fifteen thouſand Men. Againſt him, in aid of the *Scots*, was ſent the *Ringrave* with Ten thouſand *French*, who entring into conſultation how to remove the young Queen out of the reach of the *Engliſh*, provided a Fleet and Sailing round about *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* fleet lay in wait to impeach their paſſage, ſafely conveyed her ſafely into *France*, being then but ſix years old, accompanied in the journey with *James* her baſe Brother, *John Erſkin*, and *Will. Levyſton*: and in *April* following ſhe was married to *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*.

The young Queen of *Scots* is conveyed in to *France*.

She is married at ſix years old to *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*.

1548.

You heard before the Alterations in Religion. Now hear the Troubles. For when the Injunctions were ſent abroad into the Country, and Commiſſioners appointed to ſee them executed; one Maſter *Body* a Commiſſioner, as he was pulling down Images in *Devonſhire*, was ſuddenly by a Prieſt ſtabbed in the body with a Knife. Hereupon the People aſſembled together in divers parts of the Shire, taking Arms, and beginning to commit outrages: and although the chief Offender was hanged and quartered in *Smithfield*, and many of his Complices executed in divers parts of the Realm, and withal a Pardon proclaimed to all that would lay down Arms; yet neither could that ſeverity, nor this lenity reſtrain them from their inſolencies; but in divers Countries, as *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Kent*, *Glocesterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, but ſpecially in *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire*, great Aſſemblies of People gathered to a head: whoſe chief Leaders were *Humphrey Arundel*, and about ſix others of inferior note, but many Prieſts. Some of theſe (we may ſay) were Common-wealth Mutineers, and ſome moved for Religion. They who were for the Common-wealth could agree upon nothing, ſome would have no Juſtices, ſome no Gentlemen, ſome no Lawyers, nor ordinary Courts of Juſtice; but above all, Incloſures muſt down; but whether all, or which, or how to be imployed, none could tell. The Religious Mutineers were not altogether ſo various in their voices, as having

The troubles that enſued upon the alteration of Religion.

ſome

ſome few amongſt them by whom they were guided: theſe in the name of the People hammered up theſe Articles following; upon granting of which, they profeſſed that both their bodies and goods ſhould be at the King's devotion.

1. *That Curates ſhould adminiſter Baptiſm at all times of neceſſity, as well on Week-days as on Holy-days.*
2. *That their Children might be confirmed by the Biſhop.*
3. *That the Maſs might be celebrated, no man communicating with the Prieſt.*
4. *That they might have reſervation of the Lords Body in their Churches.*
5. *That they might have holy Bread and holy Water, in remembrance of Chriſt's precious Body and Blood.*
6. *That Prieſts might live unmarried.*
7. *That the Six Articles, ſet forth by King Henry the Eighth, might be continued at leaſt till the King ſhould come to full age.*

1549

Upon theſe demands, although the King knew that Reaſons would little prevail with unreaſonable men, yet to diſcharge the place he held, he ſent them in writing Anſwers to them all, and withal a general Pardon, if they would deſiſt and lay down Arms. But the Seditious growing the more outrageous, the fairer they were intreated, and finding themſelves unable to ſubſiſt with their own eſtates, began to think upon the ſpoil of Cities. And firſt they came to *Exeter*, and demanded entrance: which the Citizens refuſing, they fell to ſet fire on the Gates: but the Citizens prevented this, by caſting in wood, and maintaining the fire, till they had caſt up a half Moon within; upon which when the Seditious attempted to enter, they were preſently hewn and cut in pieces. And after this they mined the Walls, laid Powder, and rammed the mouth: but the Citizens prevented this alſo, by making a Countermine, whereinto they poured ſuch plenty of water, that the wet powder could not be fired. All this while the Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord Privy-Seal, who had been ſent down to ſuppreſs the Commotion, lay at *Honyton*, expecting more Forces: whilſt the Citizens of *Exeter* for twelve days together endured ſo great a Famine that they were fain to eat Horſes, and make Bread of courſe Bran moulded in cloaths, for that otherwiſe it would not cleave together. At laſt the Lord *Gray* came to the Lord *Ruſſel* with ſupply of Forces; who after many conflicts with the Rebels, forced them to raiſe their ſiege at *Exeter*, and thereby freed the City from many miſeries: to whom the King afterward gave the Mannor of *Evyland*, in reward for their loyalty. After this, the Rebels rallying their Forces, were again ſet upon by the King's Army, and the greateſt part of them ſlain, the reſt fled; many were taken and executed by Martial Law: the chief Leaders were ſent to *London*, and there executed. The Sedition being thus ſuppreſſed, it is memorable what ſport Sir *William Kingſton* the Provoſt-Marſhal made, by virtue of his Office, upon men in miſery. One *Boyer*, Mayor of *Bodwin* in *Cornwall*, had been amongſt the Rebels, not willingly, but enforced: to him the Provoſt ſent word he would come and dine with him, for whom the Mayor made great proviſion. A little before Dinner, the Provoſt took the Mayor aſide, and whiſpered him in the Ear, that an execution muſt that day be done in the Town, and therefore required to have a pair of Gallows ſet up againſt dinner ſhould be done. The Mayor failed not of his charge. Preſently after dinner the Provoſt taking the Mayor by the hand, intreated him to lead him to the place where the Gallows was; which when he beheld, he asked the Mayor if he thought them to be ſtrong enough. Yes, (ſaid the Mayor) doubtleſs they are. Well then ſaid the Provoſt, get you up ſpeedily, for they are provided for you. I hope (anſwered the Mayor) you mean not as you ſpeak. In faith (ſaith the Provoſt) there is no remedy, for you have been a buſie Rebel. And ſo without reſpite or defence he was hanged to death: a moſt uncourteous part for a Gueſt to offer his Hoſt. Near the ſaid place dwelt a Miller, who had been a buſie actor in that Rebellion, who fearing the approach of the Marſhal, told a ſturdy fellow his ſervant, that he had occaſion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any man came to enquire after the Miller, he ſhould not ſpeak of him, but ſay that himſelf was the Miller, and had been ſo for three years before. So the Provoſt came and called for the Miller; when out comes the ſervant, and ſaith he was the man. The Provoſt demanded how long he had kept the Mill. *Theſe three years*, anſwered the ſervant. Then the Provoſt commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next Tree. At this the Fellow cried out, that he was not the Miller, but the Millers man. *Nay Sir* (ſaid the Provoſt) *I will take you at your word, and if thou beeſt the Miller, thou art a buſie Knave; if thou beeſt not, thou art a falſe lying Knave: and howſoever, thou canſt never do thy Maſter better ſervice than to hang for him.* And ſo without more ado he was diſpatched.

Exeter endured a ſiege of the Rebels to extreme famine.

For which loyalty the King gave them the Mannor of *Evyland*.

Sir *William Kingſton's* merry cruelty.

When this Sedition in *Devonſhire* was appeaſed, there aroſe another in *Norfolk*, and that ſpecially upon a grievance for Incloſures. The Rebels had got one *Robert Ket*, a Tanner of *Wimondham*, to be their Leader, and were grown to a Body of twenty thouſand, ſeating themſelves at *Mouſhold* near *Mount-Surrey*, where they carried a face as it were of Juſtice and Religion. For they had one *Conyers*, an idle fellow, to be their Chaplain, who morning and evening read ſolemn Prayers; alſo Sermons they had often: and as for Juſtice, they had a Bench under a Tree, where *Ket* uſually ſat, and with him two of every Hundred, whence their Companies had been raiſed, to hear complaints, and to give Judgment; and from hence were Warrants ſent in the King's Name, to bring in Powder, Shot, Victuals, and all things neceſſary. Which Tree hath ever ſince been called the *Tree of Reformation*. And now being grown to a height they preſented certain Complaints to the King, requiring he would ſend a Herald to them, to give them ſatisfaction. The King though he took it for a great indignity to have ſuch baſe Fellows to capitulate with him, yet framing himſelf to the time, he returned this anſwer, That in *October* following he would call a Parliament, wherein their Complaints ſhould be heard, and all their Grievances ſhould be redreſſed; requiring them in the mean time to lay down Arms, and return to their houſes, and thereupon granting them a

An Inſurrection in *Norfolk* about Incloſures, by *Ket* a Tanner.

Their ſhews of Religion.

general Pardon. But this was so far from satisfying the Seditious, that hereupon first they assaulted the Town of *Norwich*, took it, and made the Mayor attend them as their Servant, and then returned again to their station at *Mousehold*. Not long after, *William Parre*, Marquess of *Northampton*, with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, divers Knights and fifteen hundred horse, with a small Band of *Italians*, was sent against them; whom the Seditious so stoutly opposed, that much mischief was done on both sides. The Lord *Sheffield*, falling with his Horse in a Ditch, was taken prisoner; and as he pulled off his Helmet to shew who he was, he was by a Butcher strucken down with a Club and slain. So as the Marquess with his Forces not prevailing, there was afterward sent the Earl of *Warwick* with six thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, with whom were the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powis*, and *Bray*, his two Sons *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of name. When the Earl was come near to the Camp of the Seditious, he sent an Herald to them, offering them the King's Pardon, if they would desist: But they were so far from accepting it, that a lewd Boy turned up his naked breech towards the Herald, and bid him kiss it. Upon this many Skirmishes passed between the Earl and them, with loss sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another. At last they came to Battel, where the Rebels placed in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken Prisoners, meaning they should be the first slain; of whom yet very few were hurt, but of the Rebels were slain above two thousand. And now once again the Earl offered them pardon, if they would desist: but for all their losses, they continued obstinate still. At last, the Earl sent to know if they would entertain their Pardon in case he should come in person and assure them of it. This moved them much; and then they answered, They knew him to be so honourable, that from himself they would embrace it. Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and causing their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Weapons, wishing all joy and prosperity to the King. Nine of the principal Rebels were hanged upon the *Tree of Reformation*: *Ket* himself flying away was taken and hanged in Chains upon *Norwich* Castle. The day of this defeat of the Seditious was a long time after observed for a Festival day by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*. And thus ended the Sedition in *Norfolk*; when at the same time another rose in *York-shire*, whereof the chief movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish Clerk, and *Stephenson* a Post, to whom were assembled four or five thousand: who took their encouragement from a certain Prophecy, which did foretell, that the time should come when there should be no King; when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroyed; when the Realm should be ruled by four Governors elected by the Commons, holding a Perliament in Commotion, which should begin at the *South* and *North* Seas of *England*: and that time they understood to be the present, and that the Rebels of *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkshire*, should draw together to accomplish this Prophecy. But as soon as they heard that the Tumults of *Devonshire* and *Norfolk* were quieted, they found that they were deceived in the understanding of the Prophecy; and thereupon presently, upon the King's Pardon, they fell off and dispersed. Their chief Leaders, *Ombler*, *Dale*, and four others were executed at *York*; and with this, the Spirit of Sedition was quite laid in all places of the Kingdom.

They take the Town of *Norwich*.

They encounter the King's Forces.

They refuse Pardon offered to them.

At last they embrace Pardon, if the Earl of *Warwick* will bring it to them himself.

Ket is taken and hanged.

Another Insurrection at *Yorkshire*, upon the Conceit of a Prophesy.

But the like also upon the King's Pardon lay down their Arms.

The *French* King taking advantage of these Seditions in *England*, goes with an Army against *Bulloign*, which the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold* defended.

But the King of *France* taking advantage of these Seditions, though he had been in Treaty of Peace with *England* before, yet now he brake off the Treaty, proclaimed War, and denounced it by his Embassador to the King. Hereupon all *French*-men in *England*, not Denizens, were taken Prisoners, and all their Goods seized for the King: which the *French* King understanding he sent a Fleet of Ships to surprize *Gernsey* and *Jersey*, but was repelled with the loss of a thousand men. After this he levied an Army by Land, and went himself in Person against *Bulloign*, defended by the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold*. But being weary of the work, he left his Lieutenant *Chatillon* to pursue the Siege; who having made many fierce Batteries, and at last Assaults, and not prevaling, he then attempted to hinder the Town from supply of Victuals; and to this end charged a Galley with Gravel and Stones, meaning to sink it in the Haven. But the *English* took the Galley before it was sunk and made use of the Stones for their own defence. After this they made Faggots of light matter, mixed with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rozin, Powder, and Wild-fire, with intention to fire the Ships in the Haven: but that enterprize was defeated by the *Bulloigners*, and the Faggots taken from the *French*: and more than this there was little done in those parts at this time.

But in *England*, in the mean time, an unfortunate accident happened, which beginning upon a very light occasion, produced afterward very heavy effects; whereof though there were many concurrent circumstances, yet the Original cause was the Pride of a woman, upon a point indeed wherein the natures of Women are commonly most tender, Precedency of place. The Protector had married *Ann Stanhope*, a Woman of an haughty stomach; & the Lord Admiral, his Brother, the Queen *Dowager*, a Lady of great mildness. The nearness of the Husbands gave occasions of the Ladies often meeting, where the Dutchess would inwardly murmur, why she, being the Wife of the elder Brother, and the better man, should give place to her, who was the Wife of the younger Brother, and the meaner man. This envy of hers towards the Queen bred a malice in her towards the Admiral, as thinking the mischief she did to the Husband, to be a part of revenge upon the Wife; and though the Queen shortly after died in Child-bed, yet the malice of the Dutchess towards the Admiral lived still: (so hard a thing it is for malice once settled in a Womans heart, to be removed.) Out of this malice, she puts divers surmises into her Husband the Protector's head, against his Brother the Admiral, as though he went about to procure his death, to the end he might aspire to the place he held; but certainly, as misliking his Government, being a Protestant, who was himself a Papist: In this case causes of jealousie against the Admiral were obvious enough; for it was known

Contention for place between the Queen *Dowager*, Wife of the Lord Admiral, and the Lady *Ann Stanhope*, Wife of the Protector.

She makes variance between the two Brothers their Husbands.

known that in King *Henry*'s time, he had aimed at the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Henry*'s second Daughter; and now his Wife the Queen *Dowager* being dead, (and not without ſuſpicion of poyſon) he fell upon that Marriag afreſh, which could not be thought to tend but to ſome very high aſpiring end. The Protector, a plain man, and one that had not the deepeſt inſight into practices, whether too importunately provoked by his Wife, or whether out of an honeſt mind, not willing to patronize faults, though in a Brother, gave way to accuſations brought againſt him: ſo as in a Parliament then holden, he was accuſed for attempting to get into his cuſtody the Perſon of the King and Government of the Realm; for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's Siſter; for perſuading the King in his tender years to take upon him the rule and ordering of himſelf. Upon which points (though perhaps proved, yet not ſufficiently, againſt him, who was never called to his anſwer) he was by Act of Parliament condemned; and within few days after condemnation, a Warrant was ſent, under the hand of his Brother the Protector, to cut off his Head. Wherein (as after it proved) he did as much, as if he had laid his own Head down upon the Block: for whilſt theſe Brothers lived and held together, they were as a ſtrong Fortreſs one to the other; the Admirals courage ſupporting the Protectors Authority, and the Protectors Authority maintaining the Admirals ſtoutneſs; but the Admiral once gone, the Protectors Authority, as wanting ſupport, began to totter, and fell at laſt to utter ruine. Beſides, there was at this time, amongſt the Nobility, a kind of faction; Proteſtants, who favoured the Protector for his own ſake, and other of the Papal inclination, who favoured him for his Brothers ſake: but his Brother being gone, both ſides forſook him, even his own ſide, as thinking they could expect little aſſiſtance from him, who gave no more aſſiſtance to his own Brother. And perhaps more than all this, the Earl of *Warwick*, at this time, was the moſt powerful man both in Courage and Council amongſt all the Nobility, and none ſo near to watch him as the Admiral, while he lived; but he being gone, there was none left that either was able and durſt, or durſt and was able to ſtand againſt him. However it was not long after the Admirals death, the Protector was invaded with ſundry Accuſations; wherein the Earl of *Warwick* made not always the greateſt ſhow, but had yet always the greateſt hand. One thing the Protector had done, which, though a private act, yet gave a publick diſtaſte.

The Admiral in Parliament is accuſed of divers Crimes.

He is beheaded.

To make him a Manſion-houſe in the *Strand*, (the ſame which is now called *Somerſet-houſe*) he pulled down a Church, and two Biſhops Houſes by the *Strand-Bridge*; In digging the foundation whereof, the Bones of many who had been there buried were caſt out, and carried into the Fields: and becauſe the Stones of thoſe Houſes and the Church ſufficed not for his work, the Steeple and moſt part of the Church of St. *Johns* at *Jeruſalem* near *Smithfield*, was mined and overthrown with Powder, and the ſtones applied to this ſpacious Building: and more than this, the Cloyſter of *Pauls* on the North ſide of the Church, in a place called *Pardon* Church-yard, and the dance of Death very curiouſly wrought about the Cloyſter, and a Chappel that ſtood in midſt of the Church-yard, alſo the *Charnel* Houſe that ſtood on the South ſide of *Pauls*, (now a Carpenters Yard) with the Chappel, Timber, and Monuments, therein, were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into *Finsbury Fields*, and the Stones converted into this Building. This act of the Protectors did ſomething alienate the Peoples minds from him: which the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving, thought it now a fit time to be falling upon him; and thereupon drew eighteen of the Privy Council to joyn with him, who withdrawing themſelves from the Court, held ſecret conſultations together, and walked in the City with many Servants weaponed, and in new Liveries. Whereof when the *Protector* heard, he ſent Secretary *Peter* to them, to know the cauſes of their Aſſembly, requiring them to reſort to him peaceably, that they might commune together as Friends: but in the mean time he armed Five hundred men, and removed the King by Night from *Hampton-Court* to *Windſor*. On the other ſide the Lords at *London*, having firſt taken poſſeſſion of the Tower, ſent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City to the Earl of *Warwicks* Lodging at *Ely-Houſe* in *Holbourn*; to whom the Lord *Rich* then Lord Chancellor, made a long Oration wherein he ſhewed the ill Government of the Lord Protector, and the many miſchiefs that by it were come upon the Kingdom, and hereupon required them to joyn with the Lords there aſſembled to remove him. And preſently that day a Proclamation was made in divers parts of the City to that purpoſe, to which the Lords and Counſellors that ſubſcribed their Names were theſe; the Lord *Rich* Chancellor, the Lord *Saint-John* Lord great Maſter, the Marquels of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Warwick* Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundell* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Tho. Cheney* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, Sir *John Gage* Conſtable of the Tower, Sir *William Peter* Secretary, Sir *Edward North* Knight, Sir *Edward Montague* Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Sir *John Baker* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Knights, and Doctor *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*. In the afternoon of the ſame day the Lord Mayor aſſembled a Common Council in the *Guild-Hall*, where two Letters arrived almoſt in one inſtant, one from the King and the Lord Protector, for a thouſand men to be raiſed for defence of the King's Perſon; another from the Lords at *London*, for Two thouſand men to aid them in defence of the King's Perſon alſo; both pretending alike, and therefore hard how to pleaſe them both. The Recorder ſet forth the complaint of the Lords againſt the Protector in ſuch ſort, that he made many inclinable to favour that ſide: but one named *George Stadlow*, better adviſed, ſtept up, and in a long Speech ſhewed what miſchiefs had come to the City by oppoſing the King; and therefore gave his opinion, to ſuſpend giving aid to the Lords, at leaſt for a time. His advice was hearkened unto

After his death the Protector is accuſed.

The Earl of *Warwick* draws many of the Lords to joyn againſt the Protector.

and thereupon the Court resolved only to arm a hundred Horsemen, and four hundred Foot, in defence of the City; and to the Letters returned submissive, but dilatory Answers. After some other passages between the Protector and the Lords, Sir *Edward Winfield*, Captain of the Guard, was sent from the Lords to *Windsor*, who so well persuaded the King of the Lords loyal affection towards him, and of their moderate intention towards the Protector, that the King was contented to have him presently removed from him, and suffered him within two days after to be carried to the Tower. In whose absence, seven Lords of the Council, and four Knights were appointed by turns to attend the Kings Person; and for Affairs of State, the Government of them was referred to the whole Body of the Council. Soon after were sent to the Protector in the Tower certain Lords of the Council, with Articles against him, requiring his present answer, whether he would acknowledg them to be true, or else stand upon his justification. The cheif Article was this, that he took upon him the Office of Protector, with expres condition, that he should do nothing in the Kings Affairs but by assent of the late Kings Executors, or the greatest part of them; and that, contrary to this condition, he had hindered Justice, and subverted Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Command; and many other Articles, but all much to this purpose.

The Protector is sent to the Tower.

The Protector, whether thinking to speed better by submission than by contesting, or perhaps finding himself not altogether innocent, (for indeed in so great a place, who can bear himself with such sincerity, but he will commit errors with which he may be taxed?) subscribed an acknowledgement with his own hand; humbly submitting himself to the King's mercy, and desiring their Lordships favour towards him. Upon this submission, three months after he had been imprisoned, he was released, entertained, and feasted by the King, and sworn again to be a Privy Counsellor, but no more Protector. At which time, between him and the Lords a show at least of perfect amity was made; and to make it the more firm, the Dukes Daughter was afterwards married to the Lord *Lisle*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*; at which Marriage the King was present. And perhaps to broaden their reconcilement and this Marriage, the Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord Admiral of *England*; Sir *John Russel*, Lord Privy Seal, was created Earl of *Bedford*; the Lord *Saint John* was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, and soon after made Lord Treasurer; Sir *William Paget*, Comptroller of the Kings House, was made Lord *Paget*, Sir *Anthony Winfield*, Captain of the Guard, was made Comptroller; and Sir *Thomas Darcy* was made Captain of the Guard. But of the other side, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, were put off from the Council; of whom the Earl of *Southampton* died shortly after at *Lincoln-Place* in *Holbourn*, and was buried in St. *Andrew's* Church there.

Upon his submission he is released, but no more Protector.

Divers Lords made.

About this time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against unlawful Assemblies: but for fear of new Tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolved, and Gentlemen were commanded to retire to their Country Habitations; and for the same cause also, *Trinity* Term did not hold.

About this time also Pope *Paul* the Third died; after whose death the Cardinals being divided about the Election of a new Pope, the Imperial part, which was the greatest, gave their Voices for Cardinal *Pool*: which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to chose one that might be most for the glory of God, and good of the Church. Upon this stop, some that were no friends to *Pool*, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; amongst others, that he was not without suspition of *Lutheranism*, as having been very conversant with *Emanuel Tremillius*, and *Antonius Flaminius*, great *Lutherans*: and not altogether without blemish of Incontinency, there being a young Nun that was thought to be his Daughter. But of these Criminations *Pool* so cleared himself, that he was afterward more importuned to take that place than he was before: and thereupon one Night the Cardinals came unto him, being in bed, and sent him word they came to adore him, (which is one special kind of electing the Pope.) But he being awaked out of his sleep, and acquainted with it, made answer, that this was not a work of Darkness, and therefore required them to forbear till the next day, and then to do as God should put into their minds. But the *Italian* Cardinals, attributing this putting off to a kind of stupidity and sloth in *Pool*, looked no more after him, but the next day chose Cardinal *Montanus* Pope, who was afterward named *Julius* the Third.

Cardinal *Pool* is chosen Pope, but making excuses is rejected.

And now the King of *France*, upon many just Considerations, was grown desirous to have a Peace with *England*, and thereupon sent one *Guidotti*, a *Florentine*, into *England*, to make some overture of his desire to the Lords of the Council: who addressing himself to the Earl of *Warwick* whom he knew to be most prevalent, so prevailed, that it was concluded four Ambassadours should be sent from the King of *England*, into *France*, and four from the *French* King, to treat with them. The Commissioners for the *English* were *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Paget*, Sir *William Peter*, and Sir *John Mason*, Secretaries of State. For the *French*, were *Monsieur Rochpot*, *Monsieur Chastillon*, *Gouffart de Marsiac*, and *Rochelle de Dassie*. Much time was spent to agree about a place of Meeting; till at last the *English*, to satisfie the *French*, were contented it should be before *Bulloigne*: where were many Meetings, and many differences about Conditions. But in conclusion, a Peace was concluded upon certain Articles, the chief whereof was, that *Bulloigne*, and the places adjacent should be delivered up to the *French* within six Weeks after the Peace Proclaimed; and that the *French* should pay for the same Two hundred thousand Crowns, within three days after delivery of the Town, and other Two hundred thousand Crowns upon the fifth day of *August* following. Hostages were on both sides given for performance, and

A Peace between *England*, and *France*, upon payment of four hundred thousand Crowns.

to

to those Articles the *French* King was sworn at *Amiens*, and the King of *England* in *London*. The Lord *Clinton*, who had been Deputy of *Bulloigne*, was made Lord Admiral of *England*.

Presently after this Agreement, the Duke of *Brunswick* sent to the King of *England*, to offer his Service in the King's Wars with Ten thousand men, and to intreat a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, the King's eldest Sister. To his offer of Aid, Answer was made, that the King's Wars were ended: And touching the Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, that the King was in speech for her Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*; which if it succeeded not, he should then be favourably heard. Upon this, the Emperor's Ambassador demanded of the King, that the Lady *Mary* might have free exercise of the Mass; which the King not only constantly denied, but thereupon Sermons were exercised at the Court, and order taken that no man should have any Benefice from the King, but first he should Preach before him. And shortly after, under pretence of preparing for Sea-matters, Five thousand Pounds were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the Seas. At this time also an Ambassadour came from *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, to enter Leauge with the King for entercourse of Merchants; and charge was then also given, that the Laws of *England* should be administred in *Ireland*.

The Laws of *England* first administred in *Ireland*.

1551.

About this time the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, going from *France* to her Country, passed through *England*, having first obtained a safe conduct. She arrived at *Portsmouth*, and was there met by divers of the *English* Nobility; conducted to *London*, she was lodged in the Bishops Palace. After four days staying, having been feasted by the King at *White-Hall*, she departed, being waited on by the Sheriffs of Counties to the Borders of *Scotland*. And now was one *Stewart* a *Scot* apprehended in *England*, and imprisoned in the *Tower*, for intending to poyson the young Queen of *Scots*; whom the King delivered to the *French* King upon the Frontiers of *Calice*, to be by him Justiced at his pleasure.

At this time certain Ships were appointed by the Emperor, to transport the Lady *Mary* either by violence or by stealth out of *England* to *Antwerp*. Whereupon Sir *John Gates* was sent with Forces into *Essex*, where the Lady lay: and besides, the Duke of *Somerset* was sent with Two hundred men, the Lord Privy-Seal with other Two hundred, and Master *Sowdger* with Four hundred more, to several Coasts upon the Sea: and the Lord Chancellor and Secretary *Peter* were sent to the Lady *Mary*, who after some conference, brought her to the Lord Chancellors House at *Lye* in *Essex*, and from thence to the King at *Westminster*. Here the Council declared unto her, how long the King had permitted her the use of the Mass; and considering her obstinacy, was resolved now no longer to permit it, unless she would put him in hope of some conformity in short time. To which she answered, that her Soul was Gods: and touching her Faith, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made, that the King intended not to constrain her Faith, but to restrain the outward profession of it, in regard of the danger the Example might draw. After some like enterchanges of speeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King, when there arrived an Ambassadour from the Emperor, with a threatning Message of War, in case his Cousin the Lady *Mary* should be denied the free exercise of the Mass. Hereupon the King presently advised with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and with the Bishops of *London* and *Rochester*; who gave their Opinion that to give Licence to sin, was sin; but to connive at sin, might be allowed, so it were not too long, nor without hope of Reformation. Then Answer was given to the Ambassadors, that the King would send to the Emperor within a month or two, and give him such satisfaction as should be fit.

The Emperor seeks to get the Lady *Mary* by stealth out of *England*.

The Lady *Mary* is constant to her Religion.

To connive is less than to give Licence.

And now the King, being uncertain of the faith both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by Alliance to strengthen himself; and thereupon sent one *Barwick* to the King of *Denmark*, with private Instructions to treat of a Marriage between the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's youngest Sister, and the King of *Denmark*'s eldest Son: but when it came to the point, the Lady could not be induced to entertain Marriage with any.

The Lady *Elizabeth* cannot be induced to marry.

After this the Marquess of *Northampton* was sent Ambassador to the *French* King, as well to present him with the Order of the Garter, as to treat with him of other secret Affairs. With him were joyned in Commission the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, Sir *William Pickering*, Sir *John Mason*, and Master *Smith* Secretary of State; also the Earl of *Worcester*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*, were appointed to accompany them; as likewise the Lords *Lisle*, *Fitz-water*, *Bray*, *Abergavenny*, and *Evers*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of note, to the number of six and twenty. And for avoiding of an immoderate Train, order was given, that every Earl should have but four Attendants, every Baron but three, every Knight and Gentleman but two, only the Commissioners were not limited to any number. Being come to the Court of *France*, they were forthwith brought to the King, being then in his Bed-chamber: To whom the Marquess presented the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested. Then the Bishop of *Ely*, in a short Speech, declared how the King of *England*, out of his love and desire of Amity, had sent this Order to his Majesty; desiring withal, that some persons might be Authorized to treat with them about some other matters of Importance. Whereupon a Commission went forth to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, *Chastillon* the Constable, the Duke of *Guise*, and others. At first the *English* demanded, that the young Queen of *Scots* might be sent to *England*, for perfecting of a Marriage between King *Edward* and her. But to this the *French* answered, that conclusion had been made long before for her Marriage with the Dauphin of *France*. Then the *English* proposed a Marriage between King *Edward* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, the *French* King's eldest Daughter. To this the *French* did chearfully incline: but when they came to talk

Ambassadors are sent to *France*.

To treat of Marriage between King *Edward* and the *French* King's eldest Daughter, which is at last concluded.

talk of Portion, the *English* demanded at first fifteen hundred thousand Crowns, then fell to fourteen, and at last to Eight hundred thousand. The *French* offered at first One hundred Thousand Crowns, then rose to Two hundred thousand, and higher they would not be drawn, saying, It was more than ever had been given with a Daughter of *France*. Shortly after *Monsieur*, the Marshal and other Commissioners were sent by the *French* King to deliver to the King of *England* the Order of St. *Michael*; and then was further Treaty about the Marriage. And because the *French* would be served no higher than Two hundred thousand Crowns, it was at last accepted, and the Agreement was reduced into Writing, and delivered under Seal on both sides.

And now King *Edward* supposing his state to be most safe, when indeed it was most unsure, in testimony both of his Joy and Love, advanced many to New Titles of Honour. The Lord Marquess *Dorset*, who had married the eldest Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, was created Duke of *Suffolk*, : the Earl of *Warwick*, Duke of *Northumberland*; the Earl of *Wiltshire* was created Marquess of *Winchester*; Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Cardiffe*, and Master of the Horse, was created Earl of *Pembroke*: Also *William Cecill* the King's Secretary, *John Check* one of his Schoolmasters, *Henry Dudley* and *Henry Nevil* were made Knights; and (which perhaps it had been happy, if it had never been) Sir *Robert Dudley*, one of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Sons, (the same who was afterward the great Earl of *Leicester*) was sworn one of the six ordinary Gentlemen of the King's Chamber. After whose coming into a place so near about him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.

Dukes and Earls made.

The Lord *Robert Dudley* is made of the King's Bed-Chamber.

The aspiring thoughts of the Duke of *Northumberland* were now grown to be put in execution. He was advanced in title of Honour equal with the highest; in authority and power above the highest: he had placed his Politick Son near about the King's Person. The next thing was to remove the Duke of *Somerset* out of the way. And for this also, he had prepared Instruments, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, *Crane*, *Hammond*, *Cecill*, and others, who brought several Accusations against the Duke; some trenching upon the King and Kingdom, but one specially against the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Person. Whose practices when the Duke of *Somerset* found, and had cause to fear; he went one day into the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Chamber, with a purpose to kill him, but finding him in his Bed, and being received with much kind Complement by him, his heart relented, and thereupon came away without any thing done. At his coming out, one of his Company asked him if he had done the deed: Who answered, No. Then said he, you are your self undone. And indeed it so fell out; for when all other Accusations were refelled, this only stuck by him, and could not be denied. And so on the first of *December* he was Arraigned at *Westminster*; where the Lord *William Paulet*, Marquess of *Winchester*, & Lord Treasurer, sat as High Steward of *England*, and with him Peers to the number of seven and twenty; the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bath*, *Sussex*, *Worcester*, *Pembroke*, and *Hereford*, the Barons *Abergavenny*, *Audely*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Zouch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Wanfor*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*. The Lords being set, the Indictments were read, in number Five, containing a Charge for raising men in the North-parts of the Realm; and at his House, for assembling men to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*; for resisting his Attachment; for raising *London*; for assaulting the Lords, and devising of their deaths. To all which he pleaded, Not guilty, and made a satisfactory Answer to every Point, though the King's Learned Council pressed them hard against him. This done, the Lords went together, where exception was taken by some, as a thing unfit, that the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, should be of the Jury; seeing the Prisoner was chiefly charged with practices against them. But to this the Lawyers made answer, that a Peer of the Realm might not be challenged. So after much variation of Opinions, the Prisoner was acquit of Treason, but by most Voices was found guilty of Felony; and that by a Statute lately by his own procurement made, that if any should attempt to kill a Privy-Counsellor, although the Fact were not done, yet it should be Felony, and be punished with death. But upon his being acquit of Treason, the Ax at the Tower was presently laid down, which made people conceive he had been acquitted of all; who thereupon for Joy gave so great a Shout, that it was heard as far as *Charing-Cross*. But the Duke was little the better for being acquitted of Treason, seeing he was found guilty of Felony, and had Judgment to die. It is thought by some, he might have saved his Life, if he had demanded his Clergy: but it is rather thought that in that Statute Clergy was denied. Two months after his Condemnation, (much against the King's will) he was brought to the Tower-Hill to Execution: where being ascended the Scaffold, he entred into a speech, wherein though he justified himself for any matter tending to the hurt of the King or Kingdom, yet he confessed he was justly by the Law brought to his death; and thanked God, that had given him so large a time of repentance, especially that he had opened his Eyes, to see clearly the light of the Gospel. And going on in his Speech, a sudden noise arose of some crying, *Away, away*; which made some think a Pardon had been come; but it was indeed the voice of some that had been warned to be at the Execution, and were come somewhat late. But the Tumult being appeased, the Duke went on with his Speech; and at last commending his Soul to God, with a countenance not shewing any sign of fear or perturbation, only his Cheeks a little redder than they used to be, he peaceably laid down his head upon the Block, and in a moment, with one stroke of the Ax had it stricken off.

The Duke of *Northumberland* seeks Accusations against the Duke of *Somerset*.

Who being arraigned, is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

A Peer of the Realm not to be challenged in a Jury.

1552

The Duke of *Somerset* is beheaded & his patience suffering it.

The

The Death of this Duke made the Duke of *Northumberland* more odious to the People than he was before; and there were some that dipped Handkerchiefs in his Blood, and kept them to upbraid the Duke of *Northumberland* withal, when he came himself afterward to the like end. After execution of the Duke, Sir *Ralph Vane* and Sir *Miles Partridge* were hanged at the *Tower-Hill*, Sir *Michael Stanhope* and Sir *Thomas Arundel* were there beheaded.

George Ferrers Lord of misrule at *Christmass.*

After the Dukes condemnation, it was thought fit to have something done for averting the King's mind from taking thought; and to that end, one *George Ferrers*, a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inn*, was appointed in the Christmas-time to be Lord of Misrule; who so carried himself, that he gave great delight to many, and some to the King, but not in proportion to his heaviness.

A call of Serjeants.

About this time was a call of seven Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at *Grays-Inn*, of whom Master *Robert Brook*, Recorder of *London*, was the first; and the next Master *Dyer*, who was chosen Speaker the next Parliament.

The Lord *Paget* hath the Garter taken from him, and why.

About this time also the Lord *Paget* was committed to the Tower, for what cause is not certain; and being a Knight of the Order, his Garter was taken from him by Garter King at Arms, upon this pretence, that he was said to be no Gentleman, either by Father or Mother: and the Garter was then bestowed on the Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s eldest Son. And the Lord *Rich*, Lord Chancellor, was put off from his place, and the Seal then delivered to Doctor *Thomas Goodrick*, Bishop of *Ely*.

Sebastian Cabot sent to discover a passage to the *East-Indies.*

About this time also three great Ships were set forth at the King's Charge, for discovery of a Passage to the *East-Indies* by the North-Seas. The chief Pilot and Director in this Voyage was one *Sebastian Cabot*, an *English*man, born at *Bristol*, but the Son of a Venetian. These Ships at the last arrived in the Country of *Muscovia*, but not without loss of their Captain Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who being tossed and driven by tempest, was afterwards found in his Ship frozen to death, and all his people.

Sir *Hugh Willoughby* frozen to death.

At this time also the Duke of *Suffolk*'s three Daughters, which he had by *Frances*, Daughter of *Charles Brandon* and *Mary* Queen of *France*, were married at *Durham*-House: The eldest, *Jane*, to the Lord *Gilford Dudley*, fourth Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*; the second, *Katharine*, to *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Pembroke*; the youngest, *Mary*, being somewhat deformed, to *Martin Keyes*, the King's Gentleman-Porter. And then also *Katharine*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s youngest Daughter, to the Lord *Hastings*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Huntington*. And now had the Duke of *Northumberland* gone a great way in his design: it remained to persuade King *Edward* to exclude his two Sisters from Succession in the Crown; for that done, his Daughter-in-law, the Lady *Jane*, would come to have a right. For as for pretenders out of *Scotland*, or any other, he made no great matter. And now to work the King to this persuasion, (being in a languishing sickness not far from death) he inculcates to him, how much it concerned him to have a care of Religion, that it might be preserved in purity, not only in his own life, but as well after his death: which would not be, if his Sister the Lady *Mary* should succeed; and she could not be put by, unless her other Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, were put by also, seeing their rights depended one upon another. But if he pleased to appoint the Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s eldest Daughter, and his own next Kinswoman to his Sisters, to be his Successor, he might then be sure that the true Religion should be maintained, to God's great glory, and be a worthy Act of his own Religious Providence. This was to strike upon the right string of the young King's affection, with whom nothing was so dear as preservation of Religion; and thereupon his last Will was appointed to be drawn, (contrived chiefly by the Lord Chief Justice *Montague*, and Secretary *Cecil*:) by which Will, as far as in him lay, he excluded his two Sisters from the Succession, and all other but the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Daughters. And then causing it to be read before his Council, he required them all to assent unto it, and to subscribe their hands: which they all, both Nobility, and Bishops, and Judges, did. Only the Archbishop *Cranmer* refused at first; Sir *James Hales*, a Judge of the Common-Pleas, to the last; and with them also Sir *John Baker*, Chancellor of the Exchequer. And now remained nothing for the Duke of *Northumberland*'s purpose, but that the King should die: which soon after he did at *Greenwich*, the sixth of *July*, in the year 1553. One point of the Duke's policy must not be forgotten, that fearing what troubles the Lady *Mary* might raise after the King's decease, if she should be at liberty, he therefore, seeing the King drawing on, used all means possible to get her within his power: to which end Letters are directed to her in the King's name from the Council, willing her forthwith to repair to the King, as well to be a comfort to him in his sickness, as to see all matters well ordered about his Person. Whereupon the Lady, suspecting nothing, addressed her self with all speed to the Journey; till being upon the way, she was advertised of the Dukes design; and then she returned to her House at *Hoddesdon*, and so escaped the snare: by whose escape the whole Design of the Duke of *Northumberland* was disappointed; as soon after will be seen.

His Will drawn to that purpose.

King *Edward* dies.

1553

The Duke of *Northumberland* seeks to get the Lady *Mary* into his hands.

The Duke of *Northumberland* perswades King *Edward* to exclude his two Sisters Succession to the Crown: and by what reasons.

Of his Taxations.

IN no King's Reign were ever more Parliaments for the time, nor fewer Subsidies: the greatest was in his last year, when yet there was but one Subsidy, with two fifteens and Tenths, granted by the Temporality, and a Subsidy by this Clergy. And indeed, to shew how loth the King was to lay Impositions upon his People, this may be a sufficient argument; that though he were much in debt, yet he chose rather to deal with the Foulket in the Low-Countries for Money upon loan, at the interest of Fourteen pounds for a hundred for a Year. But his ways for raising of Money were, by selling

selling of Chantry Lands and Houses, given him by Parliament; and by enquiring after all Church-Goods, either remaining in Cathedral and Parish-Churches, or embezelled away, as Jewels, Gold and Silver Chalices, ready Money, Copes, and other Vestments; reserving to every Church one Chalice, and one Covering for the Communion-Table, the rest to be applied to his benefit. He also raised Money by enquiring after Offenders of Offices in great places; in which enquiry one *Beaumount*, Master of the Rolls, being convicted of many Crimes, surrendered all his Offices, Lands and Goods into the King's hands. Also one *Whaley*, Receiver of *Yorkshire*, being found a Delinquent, surrendred his Office, and paid a great Fine besides. Also the Lord *Paget*, Chancellor of the Dutchy, convicted that he had sold the King's Lands and Timber-woods without Commission, and had applied the King's Fines to his own use, for these and other Offences, surrendred his Office, and was fined at four thousand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time for raising of Money; Twenty thousand pounds weight of Bullion was appointed to be made so much baser, that the King might gain thereby a hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Delinquent Officers fined.

Bullion made baser to raise Money.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his Third year a Parliament was holden wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophesies; another against unlawful Assemblies. In his fourth year a Parliament was holden, wherein Priests Children were made legitimate; and Usury for loan of Money was forbidden. In his fifth Year it was ordained, that the Laws of *England* should be admitted in *Ireland*; and a King at Arms, named *Ulster*, was newly instituted for *Ireland*, whose Province was all *Ireland*; and he was the first fourth King at Arms, and first Herald appointed for *Ireland*. Also in his fifth Year base Moneys formerly Coined were cried down, so as the Shilling went but for Nine pence, and shortly after but for Six pence, the Groat but for Three pence, and shortly after but for Two pence.

Priests Children made legitimate.

Usury forbidden.

Ulster King at Arms, ordained for *Ireland*.

Base Monies cried down.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the first Year of this King's Reign, Injunctions were set forth for pulling down and removing all Images out of Churches, also certain Homilies were appointed to be made by Learned men, to be read in Churches for the peoples instruction. And at *Easter* this Year it was ordered, that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper should be ministred to the Lay-people in both kinds. Also Marriage was allowed to Clergy-men; Auricular Confession and Prayer for the dead were forbidden. And it is observable, that the very same day that Images were pulled down at *London*, the great overthrow was given to the *Scots* at *Musselborough*. Also at this time, by the Archbishop *Cranmer*'s means, divers learned Protestants came over into *England*, and had here entertainment, as *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*: of whom *Peter Martyr* was sent to read a Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, *Bucer* and *Fagius* in *Cambridge*. In this King's fourth Year all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken down, and Tables placed in their rooms. In his fifth year the Book of Common-Prayer was established.

The Book of Common-Prayer established.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN his second Year St. *Anns* Church within *Aldersgate* was burnt. In his fifth Year a Sweating-sickness infested first *Shrewsbury*, and then the North parts, and afterwards grew most extreme in *London*, so as the first Week there died Eight hundred persons; and was so violent, that it took men away in Four and twenty hours, sometimes in Twelve, and sometimes in less. Amongst others of Account that died of this Sickness, were the two Sons of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, who died within an hour after one another, in such order that both of them died Dukes. This Disease was proper to the *English* Nation, for it followed the *English* wheresoever they were in foreign Parts, but fixed upon none of any other Country. In this year one Mr. *Arden* of *Kent*, by procurement of his Wife, was murthered in his own house; being dead, his Body was carried out and laid upon the ground in a Close hard by: where this is memorable, that for Two years after, the ground where his Body lay, bore no grass, but represented still as it were a Picture of his Body, only in the space between his Legs and arms there grew grass, but where any part of his Body touched, none at all. Yet this Miraculous Accident was not so much for the Murder, as for the Curses of a Widow-woman out of whose hands the said Master *Arden* had uncharitably bought the said Close, to her undoing. And thus the Divine Justice, even in this World oftentimes works Miracles upon Offenders, for a merciful warning to men, if they would be so wise to take it. In his sixth Year the third of *August*, at *Middleton-stony*, Eleven miles from *Oxford*, a woman brought forth a Child which had two perfect bodies from the Navel upward, the Legs but from the bodies grew out in the midst where the bodies joyned, and it had but one issue for the Excrements of them both: they lived Eighteen days, and were Women-children. This year also were taken at *Quinborough* three Dolphins, and at *Black-Wall* six more, the least of which was bigger than any Horse.

A Sweating-sickness proper only to the *English* Nation.

A miraculous effect of a Murder.

A monstrous Birth.

Dolphins taken at *Black-Wall*.

Works of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

THis King gave three Houses to the Relief of the Poor. First, for the Fatherless and Beggar Children, he gave the late *Gray-Friers* in *London*, which is now called *Christs-Hospital*. Then for lame and diseased Persons, he gave the *Hospital* of St. *Thomas* in *South-wark*, and St. *Bartholomews* in *West-Smithfield*. Thirdly, For riotous and idle Persons he gave his House of *Bridewell*. And for their Maintenance, he took Six hundred pounds a year land from the House of the *Savoy*, (which had been long abused) and bestowed it upon these Houses; to which

Christs-Hospital: St. *Thomas Hospital*, St. *Bartholomews* and *Bridewell*, given by this King for Charitable uses.

which he added four thousand Marks a year more. By his example, Sir William Chester Alderman of London, and Sir Catsbrain Draper, at their own costs, made the Brick-walls and Way on the Back-side that leadeth from Holborn [illegible] and also covered and vaulted the Town-Ditch, which before was very noysome. In the second year of this King, Sir John Gresham, then Mayor of London, caused a Water-Conduit at [illegible] hill, by his decease he gave [illegible] pounds to be distributed [illegible] the poor, and to Maids Marriages [illegible] third year, Sir Rowland Hayward Mayor of London, caused to be made a Causey commonly called Ottoway pavement, in the High-way from Stone to Hounslow, being four miles, for the ease of Horses, and also caused the Causey to be made from Dame Cheard to Bradon in Wiltshire, two miles in length, and also towards the parishes of Kensington miles from Cornhill. He made likewise the High-way to Kilburn, from the Lane's End in Fleet-street, called Fleet-bridge, unto the Conduit in Holborn. A Free-School [illegible] free [illegible] gave [illegible] twenty [illegible] Windmill in [illegible] buried in the Parish [illegible] Monuments to the like [illegible]

Of his Piety and Godliness.

One [illegible] In [illegible] especially [illegible] Divinity [illegible] of Divine Scripture, [illegible] For, though his Years [illegible] mercies of learned Men, yet it was come to that forwardness, to [illegible] Blossoms. For proof of his [illegible] tion, this one example may be sufficient: when one *Joan Bocher* was to be burned for Blasphemy and Heresie, all the Council could not get him to sign the Warrant, till the Archbishop *Cranmer*, with much importunity, perswaded

King Edward's spiritual Disposition.

him [illegible] then he did it, but not without [illegible] his pregnancy [illegible] & Learning [illegible] answer [illegible] den, either [illegible] state of Foreign [illegible] more. He [illegible] this Kingdom [illegible] this which he had [illegible] of fifteen years, [illegible] soon hence we may [illegible] long life, when the [illegible]

Of his Sickness and Death.

[illegible] the [illegible] one [illegible] of [illegible] about [illegible] flo [illegible] that [illegible] Suspected to be poysoned.

[illegible] His Piety at the time of his death.

[illegible] *sake,* [illegible] *I* [illegible]

[illegible] Yes, said Doctor [illegible] we [illegible] said the King, *I was praying to God.* [illegible] and [illegible] in so saying, he gave up the Ghost, the [illegible] day of July, in the year 1553. and in the [illegible] year of his age, when he had reigned six years, five months, and nine daies. It is noted by some, that he died the same month, and the same day of the month, that his Father King *Henry* the Eighth had put Sir

Thomas More to death. His body [illegible] upon the sixth of *July*, [illegible] Councel of [illegible] and the same [illegible] to the [illegible] Commission [illegible] Queen [illegible] Commission was in force.

Men of Note in his time.

THis King's Reign being short; and having [illegible] Wars, had not many Sword-men famous [illegible] Acts done. Cecil there were [illegible] Lombard in the Law [illegible] wrote [illegible] the Union of the Two Houses [illegible] Lanca- [illegible] William [illegible] Yeoman, who wrote [illegible] treatise called *The Yeoman-man's* [illegible] in Southamp- [illegible] English Bibles seven and [illegible]

The Interregnum between the Death of King Edward, and the Proclaiming of Queen Mary.

1553

The Duke of Northumberland bears all the sway. He carries the Mayor and Aldermen to force allegiance to the Lady *Jane*.

She writes to the Lords, and claimeth the Crown. The Lords Answer.

Who is proclaimed Queen.

The Lady *Mary* rides post into *Norfolk*.

Takes upon her the name of Queen, and is assisted by the *Norfolk* men, upon her promise not to alter Religion.

Against whom the Duke of Northumberland is sent with an Army.

Arundel to testifie his resolution in the matter, said, he was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, at whose feet he would find in his heart to spend his blood. So the Duke, with the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Lord *Grey*, and divers others of account on the fourteenth of *July* following, set forward on the journey with eight hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse; and passing through *Stortford*, the Duke said to the Lord *Grey*, See how the people press to see us, but not one of them saith, God speed you. The Duke had every days march how far he should go appointed him by Commission: and its being very low, whether it were done of purpose by those that favoured the Lady *Mary*'s side, was certainly a great help to her proceedings; for by this means she had the longer time to make her preparations. And indeed in this time two Accidents happened of great benefit to her. One, that *Hastings*, the Earl of *Huntington*'s brother, having an Army of four thousand men committed to him by the Duke of *Northumberland*, as we now left the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Lord *Thomas Grey*, his brother, in the Castle of *Pomfret*, and the Lord *Thomas* in the Castle of *Sheriff-Hutton*, and the Lord *Guilford* in the Tower of *London*, and the Duke of *Northumberland* himself in the Field, he was not able to make head against the Lady *Mary*, but was forced to retire with his Army, which daily diminished, and came to nothing. The other, that the Duke of *Northumberland* coming to *Cambridge* with his Army, and finding the Town wholly affected to the Lady *Mary*, he was forced to retire with his Army, returning to *London*, he took the Mayor of the Town with him into the Market-place, and there publickly, in the name of his Master, Proclaimed the Lady *Mary* Queen, and himself her loyal subject, laying down his Coat, which he wore, and his Sword, and delivering them to the Mayor, desired him to keep them for him, for he should have occasion to use them no more. Which when the Duke of *Northumberland* hearing, he altered his course to *Cambridge*, and Proclaimed Queen *Mary*.

But soon after the Lords that came him, fell off from that side, and Proclaimed Queen *Mary*.

Yet is arrested by the Earl of *Arundel*.

Arrest you. And I (said the Duke) obey your Arrest; yet I beseech your Lordship to use mercy towards him, whose acts have been no other than were enjoyned by Commission. You should have thought of that sooner, (said the Earl) and thereupon committed him to a Gentleman and Yeoman of the Queens privy-chamber, and left him with the Queens mercy. Thus ended all that great Dukes designs in his own conception, and brought him to fall on his knees to them, who had a little before bowed their knees to him; and the Earl, who at the Dukes going out could have been contented to spend his blood at his feet, was now contented to be made an instrument of his fall. So sudden are the turns of mens Affections, and so unstable is the building upon their Asseverations, at least no man must look to have his case be of any weight against him, who hath his own cast put in the Balance. Together with the Duke, his three Sons, *John*, *Ambrose*, and *Robert*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *John* and *Henry*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Doctor *Yaud*, were conveyed to the Tower of *London*, and brought to one *Tower*, the same day the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *Robert Corbet*, before whom the Duke of *Suffolk* delivering his Daughter's the Lady *Jane*, Chaplet, and Set, she took how Royal Ribbon, and be contented with which she answered, She would much more willingly put them on, than she had put them on; and would never have done it, but in obedience to him and her Mother. And this was the end of the Lady *Jane*'s Ten Days Reign.

And with him divers more.

The Lady *Jane* hearing hereof was nothing troubled at it. And thus ended her ten days Reign.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this King's time.*

In his first year,
Sir *John Gresham* was Mayor.
Thomas White, *Robert Chertsey*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Henry Amcotts was Mayor.
William Locke, Sir *John Aylph*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Edmund Hill* was Mayor.
John York, *Richard Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *Andrew Judd* was Mayor.
Augustine Hynde, *John Lee*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *Richard Dobbs*, was Mayor,
John Lambert, *John Cotton*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *George Barne*, was Mayor.
William Harper, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of QUEEN MARY.

1553.

The Lady Mary having been proclaimed Queen, comes to *London*, and so to the Tower.

THE Lady *Mary*, having [illegible] been proclaimed Queen [illegible] *London*, and other parts of the Realm; [illegible] her Council [illegible] towards [illegible] coming to *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, [illegible] by the Lady *Elizabeth* [illegible] of a thousand Horse, [illegible] the Queen to come [illegible] the Queen rode through [illegible] where at her Entrance [illegible] Duke of *Norfolk*, [illegible] Stephen Gardiner, [illegible] the Emperor's Ambassador, [illegible] she kissed them, and [illegible] and then caused them presently to be set at liberty. The next day the [illegible] Courtney to the Marquisate of [illegible] the same day also she sent [illegible] Peter Gardiner to his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, but a few days after made him Chancellor of *England*. Yet this was the man that had subscribed to her Brother's Will, and had written Books against the Lawfulness of her Marriage. The first of [illegible] Master Bourn, late Bishop of [illegible] Sister in the Monastery, and Cardinal Pole, the old Bishop of *Durham*, Feckenham, and Abbot of *Westminster*, were sent to the King's Bench, had their Pardons [illegible] restored to their Sees. Thereupon all the Bishops which had been deprived [illegible] of *Edward* the Sixth were restored to their Bishopricks, and the men removed [illegible] by was removed from *London*, and placed; *Story* from *Chichester*, and placed; *Bonner* *Coverdale* from *Exeter*, and placed; *John Harper* from *Hereford*, and placed. All or [illegible] fled, or would not [illegible] put out of their Livings, and other [illegible] ry opinion put in their rooms.

Where she sets divers Lords at liberty.

And restores the Bishops who had been deprived.

On the [illegible] Master [illegible] Citizen of *London*, preached [illegible] Cross, not only prayed for [illegible] declared that Doctor *Ridley* [illegible] and therefore [illegible] a Sermon [illegible] made [illegible] in the same place, and on the same Text, [illegible] weakly hath cast into the vile Prison of the *Marshalsey*. Which speech so offended some of the Auditory that they cried, *Pull him down, Pull him down*, and had certainly done him violence, (for a Dagger was thrown at him,) if Master *Bradford*, a Protestant Preacher, had [illegible] and appeased the Tu- [illegible] Protestant [illegible] both shewed himself for [illegible] shifted away [illegible] Into [illegible] Queen *Mary* [illegible] had been [illegible] and the Council [illegible]

The Duke of Northumberland is arraigned.

[illegible] Duke of *Northumberland* [illegible] was brought [illegible] the Tower, and there beheaded. Being set upon the Scaffold in a Gown of green-coloured Damask, he put it off, and then made a long Speech, wherein he asked the Queen forgiveness,

And beheaded.

ness whom he acknowledged to have grievously offended: and then making profession of his Faith, that he died a true Catholick, (meaning a Papist) he said the Psalms of *Miserere* & *De Profundis*, the *Pater Noster*, & six of the first verses of the Psalm *In te Domine speravi*, ending with this verse, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit.* And this said, he looked about him, as looking for a Pardon; but none coming, he laid his head down upon the Block, and at one blow had it stricken off. His Body with the Head was buried in the Tower, by the body of *Edward* late Duke of *Somerset*, (mortal enemies while they lived, but now lying together as good friends,) so as there lieth before the high Altar in St. *Peters* Church, two Dukes between two Queens, namely, the Duke of *Somerset* and the Duke of *Northumberland*, between Queen *Anne* and Queen *Katherine*, all four beheaded. Of which Religion this Duke was, may well be suspected, being at his death so ready to have turned a Papist, when lately before he had importuned King *Edward* to make the Lady *Mary* his Successor, left the Papal Religion should here prevail. It seems he was not greatly addicted to any ends, a Protestant then, when it was to make his Daughter-in-law Queen, now a Papist, when it was to save his life, (for it was thought he had a Pardon promised, if he would recant.) At the same time and place were beheaded Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who were no such Temporizers, but persisted and died in the Protestant Religion, which they had always professed.

After this, a fresh shower of Mercy came from the Queen; but on the third of *September*, the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, the two Chief Justices, Sir *Roger Cholmley* and Mr. *Morgan*, Sir *John Gates*, and others were delivered out of the Tower, whither they had been but newly remanded but a shower of severity followed soon after; for on the fifteenth of *September* Doctor *Latimer*, and Doctor *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, were sent to the Tower, and on the third of *November* following, the Lord Archbishop *Cranmer*, the Lady *Jane* (late Queen) and the Lord *Guilford* her Husband, with the Lords *Ambrose* and *Henry*, Sons to the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were arraigned in the *Guild-hall*, found guilty, and had Judgment to die.

Latimer and *Cranmer* sent to the Tower. *Cranmer* and the late Queen *Jane*, with the Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland*, arraigned and condemned.

All this while Queen *Mary* had continued her Title to be Queen by proclamation; but now that things were something settled, she proceeds to her Coronation, for on the 1st of *September* she rode in her Chariot through *London* towards *Westminster*, and after her rode a number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Bishops, then Lords, then the Council; after which followed the Knights of the *Bath*, thirteen in number, in their Robes, then the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellor, and the Marquess of *Winchester*, Lord High Treasurer: next came the Duke of *Norfolk*, and after him the Earl of *Oxford*, who bore the Sword, then the Mayor of *London* in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, who bore the Sceptre of Gold: after came the Queens Chariot, and then followed another Chariot, wherein sat the Lady *Elizabeth* her Sister, and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, and then came Ladies and Gentlewomen riding on Horses, trapped with red Velvet, &c. In this order they came through *London* to *Westminster*, where in many places by the way were Pageants and stately Shews, and many rich Presents given to the Queen. The next day she went by Water to the Palace, and remained there till eleven of the clock, and then went on foot upon blue Cloth, being railed on either side, to St. *Peters* Church, where she was Crowned and Anointed by the Bishop of *Winchester*, the two Archbishops being then in the Tower, with all Rites and Ceremonies of old accustomed.

Queen *Mary* is Crowned, and in what order.

After her Coronation, a general Pardon was published in her name, but interlaced with so many exceptions of matters and persons, that very few took benefit by it: for after the Pardon published, there were Commissioners assigned to compound with such persons as were excepted, from some of whom they took away their Fees and Offices, some they fined, and some they deprived of their Estates and Livings.

A pardon granted but full of exceptions.

About this time, Sir *James Hales*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, who in the time of King *Edward* had refused to sign a Writing for limiting the Crown to the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, (for which worthy at least of a kind remembrance from the Lady *Mary* now Queen) yet now, for that at a Quarter-Sessions in *Kent*, he gave charge upon the Statutes of King *Henry* the Eighth and King *Edward* the Sixth, in derogation of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, he was first committed to the *Kings-Bench*, then to the *Compter*, and lastly to the *Fleet*, where he grew so troubled in mind, that he attempted with a Penknife to kill himself; and being afterward recovered of that hurt, and brought to the Queens presence, who gave him very comfortable words, yet could he never come to be quiet in his mind; but in the end drowned himself in a River not half a mile from his House, the River being so shallow, that he was fain to lie groveling before he could dispatch himself of life.

Sir *James Hales* Justice of the Common Pleas drowns himself, and why.

And now another sprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen, for the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Lady *Mary Grey*, lately before condemned, were now pardoned, and set at liberty. The Lady *Jane* also was allowed the liberty of the Tower, not without hope of life and liberty hereafter, if her Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not the second time been cause of her destruction.

The Lady *Jane*, though condemned, is allowed the liberty of the Tower.

About this time also a Synod was assembled for consulting about matters of Religion, and the point specially of the Real Presence in the Sacrament. The Prolocutor was Doctor *Weston*; and of the Protestant side were *John Aylmer* and *Richard Cheny*, both Bishops afterward in Queen *Elizabeths* time, also *John Philpot*, afterward burnt, *James Haddon*, and others. After a long disputation, where reasons were not so much weighed, as voices numbered, the Papist side, as having most voices, carried it: and thereupon was that Religion again restored, and the Mass commanded in all Churches to be celebrated, after the ancient manner.

Upon a conference about Religion, the Mass is again restored.

It was now the year 1553, when Queen *Mary* was come to the age of seven and thirty years, and therefore high time now to think of Marriage,

Marriage, at least if she meant to have issue of her body: but hard matter it was to find a Husband in all points fitting for her: yet three at this time in common fame were taken into consideration. One was the Lord *Courtney*, Marquess of [illegible], a goodly Gentleman, and of [illegible] was an exception against him, [illegible] ing (as it was thought) [illegible] ther was Cardinal *Pole*, a Widower and [illegible] inferiour to Kings, [illegible] ed from Rome: [illegible] against him [illegible] old, (by said Merchaler in Queen *Anne* was a Maid) and to the [illegible] them. But the third of the number [illegible] was without exception, and that was *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, the Emperour's eldest Son, with whom, being a *Spaniard* she was the utterly reached, as being for the [illegible] a *Spaniard* her self. And now very [illegible] ly came in the Wedding of *Ja[illegible]* dors into *England* about it, amongst others, the Count of *Egmond*, Admiral of the [illegible] Count [illegible] and [illegible] Councellors: whole [illegible] kindly entertained, that the Marriage [illegible] was absolutely concluded; though [illegible] thing strange to many, that the [illegible] the Wife to the Son, and thirty years [illegible] should have been the Wife to the Father [illegible] it is. Queen [illegible] and to bring [illegible] with [illegible] the [illegible] far more [illegible] Queen [illegible] would [illegible] into [illegible] Spaniards [illegible] *Wyat*, [illegible] ly in the [illegible] chose to [illegible] present. For it was agreed [illegible] Marriage, [illegible] all the Queens Dominions and [illegible] into subjection of the Government [illegible] with reservation to the Queen of [illegible] leges and [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] should inherit the *Low-Countries* and King *Philip*'s Son *Charles* [illegible] by a former Wife, should inherit [illegible] minions in *Italy* and *Spain*: [illegible] *Charles* should fail without [illegible] he should have by Queen *Mary* should inherit his Kingdoms of *Italy* and *Spain* also. And the like good provision was [illegible] Daughters. But notwithstanding [illegible] advantages of the match, [illegible] the people conceived rashness of Queen, that thinking themselves wiser than the Queen and the Council, they sought by [illegible] to oppose the match; giving out that it was to bring *England* under the yoke of *Spain*, and to make the Country a slave to strangers. This was the general murmuring of the people: but the first that shewed himself in Arms, was Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*, who having communicated the matter with the Duke of *Suffolk* the Lady *Jane*'s Father, with *Peter Carew* a Knight of *Devonshire*, and divers others, intended only to make secret preparations, but not to stir till Prince *Philip* should be come, that so their cause of raising Arms might have the better colour. On the fifteenth of *January*, Robert Dudley, Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was arraigned at the *Guild-Hall* of London, where confessing the Indictment, and [illegible] given by the Lord of *Sturie*, he was drawn, hanged, [illegible] and quartered.

Matches propounded for Queen *Mary*.

The Lord Robert Dudley is arraigned and condemned.

The Match is concluded with *Philip* Prince of *Spain*.

With greater Condicions of advantage to her than to him.

Yet is opposed by divers, especially Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*.

Wyat with his Army marcheth towards *London*.

The Duke of *Suffolk* raiseth Forces to assist *Wyat*.

ſtances, having with all his industry gotten together but only fifty men he became himſelf to a Tenant of his, one *Underwood*, with whom he hoped, and had promiſe, to remain undiſcovered, till he might have opportunity to eſcape, as ſome ſay, to others, to a Keeper of his Park, called *Anthony Knevet*, who kept him in a houſe [illegible] days. [illegible] either out of fear of diſcovery, or hope of reward, he betrayed him; whereupon he was taken, and [illegible] the Tower. Upon this, Queen *Mary* herſelf came into *London*, where being met by the Lord Mayor and chief of the City together, ſhe made an Oration, wherein ſhe ſhewed the inſolence of *Wyat*, who though he pretended but only the croſſing of the Marriage, yet was now grown to ſuch preſumption, that he required to have the cuſtody of her Perſon, and to have Counſellors retained or removed at his pleaſure. And as for the Marriage, ſhe there ſurely affirmed, that nothing of it but by the advice of her Council; and for her ſelf, that ſhe was not ſo longing for a Husband, but that if it were not more for the good of the Kingdom, than for her own ſatisfaction, ſhe would never once think of entertaining it. Having by her Speech confirmed the minds of the Citizens, Forces were preſently raiſed and placed about the Bridg, and other fit places of the City. The third of *February*, *Wyat* with an Army of three or four thouſand came to *London* [illegible] finding the Bridg [illegible] ced to reſiſt him, [illegible] two days lay at *Southwark*, he removed to *Kingſton*, where he found likewiſe the Bridg broken; yet with great induſtry ſuddenly repairing it, [illegible] his men, and means with all [illegible] the Court, before [illegible] have got tice of his coming: [illegible] miſchance, had not [illegible] had not hindred [illegible] for [illegible] miles of *London* the [illegible] great Ordnance [illegible] ſo much time was ſpent, (and *Wyat* ſwallows would go forward [illegible] the time was paſt in which [illegible] dow expected his coming; which diſappointment made many in thoſe parts to fall off, being perceived by thoſe about him, many of them alſo; ſo as one half of his Army [illegible] denly gone and left him, amongſt others, *George Harper*, the moſt intimate of all his Counſel, went to the *Queen* and diſcovered all his purpoſes. Whereupon the Earl of [illegible] with a Company levied upon the ſudden, was ſent againſt him, which made *Wyat* ſlack his pace, ſo as it was Noon before he came to the Suburbs of the City; and then placing his Ordnance upon a Hill, and leaving there the greateſt part of his Army, he only with five Enſigns marched towards *Ludgate*, and being encountred at *Charing-Croſs* by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir *John Gage*, after a ſmall fight put them to flight in ſuch ſort, that word was carried to the *Queen* how near *Wyat* approacht, and how wonderfully he prevailed all the way he came; with which nothing diſmayed, well then, (ſaid ſhe) I will go in perſon againſt him my ſelf; and was preparing to do ſo indeed, (ſo much was her Father's [illegible] running in her veins) but it needed [illegible] this time Sir *Henry Jernigham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* maſter of the Ordnance, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* [illegible] him Battel, and ſtain many of his men. And they which were more coming to *Ludgate* [illegible] denied entrance; and *Wyat* being thus hunting to enter, he heard the Earl of [illegible] with the reſt of his Forces were behind at *Charing-Croſs*, [illegible] neither able to go forward [illegible] yet backward, he was at a ſtand: and in [illegible] amazement, and there leaning a little upon a Stall by one Sir *Thomas Saunders*, after a little muſing, he returned toward *Temple-Bare*: where *Devereux* that [illegible] meeting him, ſeeing perſuade him not to be a cauſe of more effuſion of blood, nor by perſiſting in obſtinacy to exclude all hopes of the *Queens* mercy. The Soldiers [illegible] were earneſt with him to have fought it out, but *Wyat* as fully ceding, as he had unadviſedly begun, yielded himſelf to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, and getting up upon his Horſe behind him, in this manner rode to *Court*, where he had not the entertainment he expected, for without more ado he was preſently ſent away to the *Tower*. The Captain taken, the reſt made no reſiſtance, few fled, and of the others, many were taken and laid in Priſon: and this was [illegible] the ſixth of *February*. And now conſultations were held what Delinquents ſhould be puniſhed. Where the firſt that was thought on was the Lady *Jane*, as [illegible] *The Author of the Chronicle of Queen Jane*; but innocent Lady muſt ſuffer for her Father's [illegible] Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not this ſecond time made [illegible] rank of Royalty, his Daughter perhaps had never ruined the [illegible] the Queens diſpleaſure. For [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

She is beheaded.

Her Piety and Learning.

Judg Morgan who had given Sentence upon her, falls mad.

The Duke of Suffolk is beheaded.

Wyatt beheaded.

Stephen Gardiner practices against the Lady Elizabeth.

Norfolk and Courtney to Fotheringay, under the custody of Sir Thomas Tresham, who after some time

He procures a warrant to put her to death.

And how she was preserved.

Thomas Lord Grey the Duke of Suffolk's Brother beheaded.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton arraigned, and by the Jury acquitted.

Christ was the Word that spake it:
He took the Bread, and brake it:
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe, and take it.

On the Seventeenth of February, Thomas

Lord Chief Justice of England,

Master of the Rolls, Sir

Master of the Wards, Sir Ri-

and Sir Edward Waldgrave Privy

Sir Roger Cholmley, Sir William

one of the Justices of the King's

Sir Edward Saunders, one of the Justices

Common Pleas, Mr. Stamford and

Serjeants at Law, Mr. Edward Griffin

Attorney General, Mr. Serjeant and Rowe Tich-

borne Clerks of the Crown, where the said Sir

Nicholas Throgmorton so fully and discreetly

answered all Objections brought against him,

that he was found by the Jury Not guilty

and was clearly acquitted. But the Jury not-

withstanding was afterward troubled for ac-

quitting him, and fine Prisoners some of them

to the Tower, and there to the Rack, and after-

ward forced to pay a thousand Marks apiece

at least, some three two thousand pounds,

though those fines were afterward something

mitigated.

More

Divers of Wyat's Complices pardoned.

More of *Wyat*'s Complices had been taken, arraigned, and adjudged to die; but in Judgment the Queen remembred Mercy, and gave them their Pardons: of which number were Master *Rudston* of *Kent*, Sir *James Crofts*, the Lord *John Gray* Brother to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and some others.

Divers Lords created.

About this time, a little before and after, were advanced in Honour, the Lord *William Howard*, Lord Admiral of *England*, who was created Baron *Howard* of *Effingham*; Sir *John Williams* was created Baron of *Thame*; Sir *Edward North* was created Baron of *Chartleigh*, Sir *John Bridges* was created Baron *Chandoys* of *Sudeley*; *Gerard Fitz-Garret*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Baron of *Opheily*; and not long after Sir *Anthony Brown*, Master of the Horse, was created Viscount *Mountague*.

The Impoſture of *Elizabeth Croſt*, called the Spirit in the Wall.

It is scarce worth remembring, that in the end of this first Year of the Queens Reign, one *Elizabeth Croft*, a Wench of Eighteen years old, was by practice put into a Wall, and thereupon called *The Spirit in the Wall*, who, with a Whistle made for the purpose, whistled out many seditious words against the *Queen*, the Prince of *Spain*, the Mass, Confession, and such other points; for which she did Penance, standing upon a Scaffold at *Paul*'s Cross all the Sermon-time, where she made open confession of her fault.

Cranmer, *Ridley* and *Latimer* adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to die.

There had been good store of Lay-mens blood shed already, and now the time is coming to have Clergy-mens shed: and for a preparative to it, on the tenth of *April*, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* late Bishop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* late Bishop of *Worcester*, are conveyed from the *Tower* to *Oxford*, there to dispute with *Oxford* and *Cambridge*-men in Points of Religion, but especially of the Eucharist. The *Oxford*-men were *Cole*, *Chadsey*, *Pye*, *Harpsfield*, *Smith*, and Doctor *Weston* Prolocutor; the *Cambridg*-men, *Young*, *Seaton*, *Watson*, *Atkinson*, *Feckenam*, and *Sedgewick*. The Disputation ended, which (we may well think as the matter was carried) went against the Prisoners; on the twentieth of *April* they were brought again on the Stage; and then demanded, whether they would persist in their Opinion, or else recant. And affirming they would persist, they were all three adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to the Fire: but their Execution we must not look for till a Year or two hence. But in the mean time we have *John Rogers*, the first Martyr of these Times, burnt at *London* the fourth of *February*: after whom, the ninth of *February*, *John Hooper*, late Bishop of *Worcester*, burnt at *Gloucester*: after him *Rawe Ferrar*, Bishop of *Man*, burnt at *Carmarthen*: after him, *John Bradford*, with many others; and then the two famous men, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, no less famous for their constant deaths than their Religious lives, both burnt at *Oxford* the 16th of *October*.

The first that suffered for Religion in Queen *Mary*'s time.

This Rising of *Wyat* had been a Remora to the Queen's Marriage, and now to avoid all such obstacles hereafter, the Queen in *April* called a Parliament, wherein were propounded two things; one for Confirmation of the Marriage, the other for restoration of the Popes Primacy. This latter was not assented to but with great difficulty; for the six years Reign of King *Edward* had spread a plantation of the Protestant Religion in the hearts of many: but the Proposition for the Marriage was assented to readily, but yet with the adding of some conditions, which had not been thought of in the former Articles. 1. That King *Philip* should admit of no Strangers in any Office, but only Natives. 2. That he should innovate nothing in the Laws & Customs of the Kingdom. 3. That he should not carry the *Queen* out of the Realm, without her consent, nor any of her Children, without consent of the Council. 4. That surviving the Queen, he should challenge no right in the Kingdom, but suffer it to descend to the next Heir. 5. That he should carry none of the Jewels of the Realm out of the Kingdom, nor licence any Ship or Ordnance to be removed out of the Realm. And lastly, That neither directly nor indirectly, he should cause the Realm of *England* to be intangled with the War between *Spain* and *France*.

The Conditions of the Queens Marriage with Prince *Philip*.

All things being thus agreed on, the Earl of *Bedford* Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord *Paget*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, are sent into *Spain*, to fetch over Prince *Philip*, who arrived at *Southampton* the Twentieth of the Year 1554. and the Three and Twentieth came to *Winchester*, where the Queen met him, and the Five and Twentieth the Marriage between them was openly solemnized: (the disparity of years, as in Princes, not much regarded, though he were then but Seven and twenty years of age, she Eight and thirty.) At which time the Emperors Ambassadors being present, openly declared, that in Consideration of that Marriage, the Emperor had given to Prince *Philip* his Son, the Kingdoms of *Naples*, and *Hierusalem*. And thereupon (the solemnity of Marriage being ended) *Garter* King of Heralds openly in the Church, in the presence of the King and Queen, and the Lords both of *England* and *Spain*, solemnly proclamed the Title and Style of these two Princes, as followeth: *Philip* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Hierusalem*, and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of *Spain*, and *Sicily*; Arch-Dukes of *Austria*; Dukes of *Milain*, *Burgundy* and *Brabant*; Counts of *Habspurg*, *Flanders* and *Tyrol*. After this, the King and Queen by easie journeys came to *Windsor-Castle*, where the King was Installed Knight of the Garter, and the Earl of *Sussex* with him. The Eleventh of *August* they removed to *Richmond*, the Seven and twentieth to *Suffolk-Place* in *Southwark*, and the next day to *London*, (where the Jousts Shews that were made may well enough be conceived without relating:) from hence after Four days they removed again to *Richmond*, where all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countries: and indeed so many departed, that there remained not an *English* Lord at the Court but the Bishop of *Winchester*. From *Richmond* they removed to *Hampton-Court*, where the Hall door within the Court was continually kept shut, so as no man might enter, unless his Errand were first known, which might perhaps be the fashion of *Spain*, but to *Englishmen* seemed very strange.

1554

The Earl of *Bedford* is sent into *Spain*, to fetch over Prince *Philip*.

The Marriage between him and the Queen Solemnized.

Their Style.

A bare and close Court.

Above this time Cardinal *Pool*, sent for by

Cardinal Pool is sent for by the King and Queen to come into England.

the King and Queen, came over into *England*; and had come sooner, but that the Emperor, fearing he might prove a Corrival with his Son *Philip*, had used means to stop his passage; but now that his Son's Marriage was past, he was content to let him pass; who though he came from *Rome* with the great authority of a Legate a Latere, yet he would not but come privately into *England*, because his Attainder was yet upon Record. An Act therefore was presently passed to take off, and to restore him in blood. For passing which Act, the King & Queen in Person came to the Parliament House, whither a few days after the Cardinal came himself; which was then kept in the great Chamber of *White Hall*, because the Queen, by reason of sickness was not well able to go abroad. And here the King and Queen sitting under the Cloath of State, and the Cardinal on their right hand, the Lords, Knights and Burgesses being [illegible] the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor, made a fore Speech unto them, signifying the presence of the Lord Cardinal, and [illegible] from the Pope as his Legate, to do a work tending to the glory of God, and the benefit of them all; which [illegible] you may much better hear from his own mouth. Then the Cardinal rose up, and made a solemn Oration, wherein he first gave them thanks for his restoring, by which he was enabled to be a Member of their Society: Then exhorting them to return into the bosom of the Church, for which end he was come; not to condemn, but to reconcile; not to compel, but to call and require. And for their first work of Reconcilement, requiring them to repeal and abrogate all such Laws as had formerly been made in derogation of the Catholick Religion. After which Speech, the Parliament, going together, drew up a Supplication, which within two days after they presented to the King and Queen; wherein they shewed themselves to be very penitent for their former Errors, and humbly desired their Majesties to intercede for them to the Lord Cardinal and the See Apostolick, that they might be Pardoned of all they had done amiss, and be received into the bosom of the Church, being themselves most ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of *Rome*. This Supplication being delivered to the Cardinal, he then gave them Absolution in these words; ¶ We, by the Apostolick Authority given unto Us, by the most Holy Lord Pope *Julius* the Third, (Christs Vicegerent on Earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, from all Heresie and Schism, and from all Judgements, Censures and Pains for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you again to the Unity of our Mother the Holy Church. ¶ The report hereof coming to *Rome*, was cause that a solemn Procession was made for joy of this Conversion of *England* to the Church of *Rome*. And now the Queen had a great desire to have King *Philip* Crowned, but the Parliament would by no means assent.

Being come, he makes a long speech to the Parliament, exhorting them to return to the bosom of the Church. The Parliament desires Pardon of their former Errors.

And thereupon the Cardinal gives the whole Realm Absolution.

The Parliament will not yield that King *Philip* should be Crowned.

1555.

In *October* this second Year of her Reign a rumour was spread of the Queens being with Child, and so forward, that she was quickly and thereupon were Letters sent from the Lords of the Council to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, that Prayers and Thanksgiving should be made in all Churches; and the Parliament it self was so credulous of it, that they entred into consideration of the Education of the Child, and made an Act, desiring the King, (out of the confidence they had in him,) that if the Queen should fail, he would be pleased to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Child. But after all this, in *June* following, it came to be known that it was but a Tympany; or at least the Queen so miscarried, that there was no Child, nor the Queen likely ever after to have any. But howsoever, in hope of the joy that was expected, in *January* this Year, divers of the Council, as the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Comptroller of the Queens House, Secretary *Bourne*, and Sir *Richard Sombwell* Master of the Ordnance, were sent to the *Tower*, to discharge and set at liberty a great part of the Prisoners in the *Tower*; as namely, the late Duke of *Northumberland's* Sons, *Ambrose*, *Robert*, and *Henry*; also Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *William Semlow*, Sir *Gowen Carew*, *William Gybbs* Esquire, *Cuthbert Vaughan*, and some others.

The Queen is preached in Church to be with Child, and prayers made for her safe delivery; but proved no such thing.

Divers that were in the *Tower* condemned are set at liberty.

About this time one *William Fetherstone*, a Millers Son, of the age of eighteen years, named and bruited himself to be King *Edward* the Sixth: for which being apprehended and examined, he answered as one Lunatick, and thereupon was whipped at the Carts tail, and banished into the North. But the Year after, spreading abroad again that King *Edward* was alive, and that he had talked with him, he was arraigned and condemned of Treason, and at *Tyburn* hanged and quartered.

One *Fetherstone*, a Millers Son, takes upon him to be King *Edward* the Sixth.

Is taken and hanged at *Tyburn*.

In the month of *March* the Queen was taken with a fit of Devotion, and thereupon called unto her four of her Privy Council, namely, *William* Marquess of *Winchester* Lord Treasurer, Sir *Robert Rochester* Comptroller, Sir *William Peter* Secretary, and Sir *Francis Englefield* Master of the Wards, and signified unto them, That it went against her Conscience to hold the Lands and Possessions, as well of Monasteries and Abbeys, as of other Churches, and therefore she did freely relinquish them, and leave them to be disposed as the Pope and the Lord Cardinal should think fit; and thereupon charged them to acquaint the Cardinal with her purpose. And shortly after, in performance hereof, *John Feckenham*, late Dean of *Pauls*, was made Abbot of *Westminster*, and had possession delivered him, and with him fourteen Monks received the Habit at the same time: and on the twentieth of *November*, Sir *Thomas* was installed Lord of *St. Johns of Hierusalem*, and was put in possession of the Lands belonging to it. And when it was told her, that this would be a great diminution of the Revenues of her Crown, she answered, She more valued the salvation of her Soul than a thousand Crowns. A most religious speech, and enough, if there were but this, to shew her to be a most Pious Princess.

The Queen delivers up all the Lands of Monasteries that were in her hands.

The

King *Philip* goes into *Flanders*, where he ſtays eighteen months.

The fourth of *September* this year King *Philip*, waited on with the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Steward, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Huntington*, and others, went over to *Calice*, and from thence to *Bruſſels* in *Brabant* to viſit the Emperor his Father; who delivering him poſſeſſion of the *Low-Countries*, in *March* following he returned into *England*; but on the ſixth of *July* following, by reaſon of Wars with *France*, he paſſed again over to *Calice*, and ſo into *Flanders*, from whence he returned not till eighteen Months after. Which made great muttering amongſt the common People, as though he took any little occaſion to be abſent, for the little love he bore to the Queen.

1556

In the third year of the Queen died *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, at his houſe in *Southwark*. Of whoſe death it is memorable, that the ſame day in which Biſhop *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* ſuffered at *Oxford*, he would not go to Dinner till four a Clock in the afternoon, though the old Duke of *Norfolk* was come to dine with him: the reaſon was, becauſe he would firſt hear of their being burnt; and as ſoon as word of that was brought him, he preſently ſaid, Now let us go to Dinner; where ſitting down, and eating merrily, upon a ſudden he fell into ſuch extremity, that he was fain to be taken from the Table and carried to his Bed; where he continued fifteen days, without voiding any thing either by Urine or otherwiſe; which cauſed his Tongue to ſwell in his mouth, and ſo he died. After whoſe death, *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York* was made Lord Chancellor.

Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter* dies a ſtrange death.

And now comes the time of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Execution, who the year before had been condemned, and degraded by Commiſſion from the Pope: after which, being by the ſubtilty of ſome put in hope of life, out of frailty he ſubſcribed to a Recantation, which yet did him no good; for whether it were that Cardinal *Pool* would no longer be kept from being Archbiſhop, (which he could not be as long as he lived) or that the Queen could not be gotten to forget his being the chief Inſtrument of her Mothers Divorce, his Execution was reſolved to be the fourteenth of *February*, in the ſame place at *Oxford*, where *Ridley* and *Latimer* five months before had died. Before the Execution, Doctor *Cole* preached, who, to make uſe of *Cranmer*'s Recantation, told the People, they ſhould do well to hearken to this Learned mans Confeſſion, who now at his death, and with his death, would teſtifie which was the true Religion; never thinking that *Cranmer* would have denied his former Recantation. But *Cranmer* being brought to the Stake, (contrary to expectation) acknowledged, that through frailty he had ſubſcribed it, praying God heartily to forgive it; and now for a puniſhment, that Hand which had done it, ſhould firſt ſuffer: and therewithal thruſting his right Hand into the fire, he there held it, till it firſt, and then his whole body was conſumed; only (which was no ſmall Miracle) his Heart remained whole, and not once touched with the fire. The ſame year alſo, no fewer than Eighty four of both Sexes were burnt for Religion. And it was a cruelty very far extended, that the bones of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, ſome time before dead and buried, were taken up, and publickly burnt in *Cambridge*. No ſooner was *Cranmer* dead, but the very ſame day Cardinal *Pool* was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Biſhop *Cranmer* upon hope of life recants.

Yet is brought to the ſtake & burnt: where he burnt his hand firſt. When his whole body was burnt, his heart remained untoucht of the fire.

In the fourth year of the Queen, exemplary Juſtice was done upon a great Perſon: for the Lord *Stourton*, a man much in the Queens favour, as being an earneſt Papiſt, was for a Murder committed by him, arraigned and condemned, and he (with four of his Servants) carried to *Salisbury*, was there in the Market-place hanged, having this favour, to be hanged in a ſilken Halter; his Servants in places near adjoyning to the place where the Murder was committed.

1557

The Lord *Stourton* for a Murther is hanged in a ſilken halter.

The four and twentieth of *April*, *Thomas Stafford*, ſecond Son to the Lord *Stafford*, with others to the number of two and thirty Perſons, (ſet on by the *French* King) attempted to raiſe Sedition againſt the Queen, for marrying with King *Philip*; and coming out of *France*, arrived at *Scarborough* in *Yorkſhire*, where they took the Caſtle, but within two days were driven out by the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and then taken and arraigned. The Eight and twentieth of *May*, *Stafford* was beheaded on the *Tower-Hill*; and the next day three of his Aſſociates, *Strelly*, *Bradford*, and *Proctor* were drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, and there executed. The firſt of *May* *Thomas Percy* was firſt made Knight, after Lord, and the next day was created Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom the Queen gave all the Lands that had been his Anceſtors.

Thomas Stafford for raiſing Sedition arraigned & beheaded.

Thomas Percy, made Earl of *Northumberland*.

At this time the Queen intangled her ſelf (contrary to her promiſe) in her Husbands Quarrel; ſent a defiance to the *French* King, by *Clarenceaux* King at Arms; and after on the *Monday* on the *Whitſun-Week*, by ſound of Trumpet, proclaimed open War againſt him in *Cheapſide*, and other places of the City; and ſhortly after, cauſed an Army of a thouſand Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, to be tranſported over, to the aid of her Husband King *Philip*, under the leading of the Earl of *Pembroke* Captain-General, Sir *Anth. Brown* Viſcount *Montague* Lieutenant-General, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* Lord Marſhal, the Earl of *Rutland* General of the Horſe, the Earl of *Lincoln* Colonel of the Foot, the Lord *Robert Dudley* Maſter of the Ordnance, the Lord *Tho. Howard*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Bray*, the Lord *Chandoys*, the Lord *Ambroſe Dudley*, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, with divers Knights and Gentlemen; who joining with King *Philip*'s Forces, they all ſet down before St. *Quintins*, a Town of the *French* Kings of great importance. To the reſcue whereof, the *French* King ſent an Army, under the leading of the Conſtable of *France*, which conſiſted of nine hundred men at Arms, with as many light Horſe, eight hundred Reyſters, two and twenty Enſigns of Lanceqenets, and ſixteen Enſigns of *French* Footmen. Their purpoſe was not to give battel, but to put more Succours into the Town; which the *Philippians* perceiving, encountred them, and in the fight ſlew *John* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Anguin*, the Viſcount of *Torrain*, the Lord of *Chadenier*, with many Gentlemen of account. They took priſoners the Duke of *Memorancy* Conſtable of *France*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, Duke *Longuevill*,

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Queen *Mary* ſends aid to King *Philip*, with which he beſieges and takes S. *Quintins*.

the Marſhal of *Saint Andrews*, the Lord *Lewis* Brother to the Duke of *Mantoua*, the Baron of *Courton*, the *Rhinegrave* Colonel of the *Almanes*, Monſieur *de Obigny*, Monſieur *de Biron*, and many others; and then purſuing the Victory, under the Government of the Earl of *Pembroke*, on the ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt*, they took the Town of St. *Quintins*: in the aſſault whereof, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, youngeſt Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was with a piece of great Ordnance ſlain, and ſome other of account. The Saccage of the Town K. *Philip* gave to the *Engliſh*, as by whoſe valour chiefly it was won.

The joy was not ſo great for the winning of *St. Quintins*, but there will be a greater ſorrow preſently for other loſſes. Many of the Garriſon of *Callice* had been drawn from thence for ſervice of *St. Quintins*, and no new ſupply ſent: which being perceived by the *French* King, a Plot is laid how to ſurprize it; which yet was not ſo ſecretly carried, but that the Officers of *Callice* had intelligence thereof; who thereupon ſignified it to the Council of *England*, requiring ſpeedy ſuccours, without which againſt ſo great an Army as was raiſed againſt them, they ſhould not be able to hold out. But whether they gave no credit to the relations, or whether they apprehended not the danger ſo eminent as indeed it was, they neglected to ſend ſupplies till it was too late. For the Duke of *Guiſe*, with no leſs ſpeed than Policy, took ſuch a courſe, that at one and the ſame time he ſet both upon *Newnham*-Bridge, and alſo upon *Ricebank*, (the two main *Sconces* for defence of the Town) and took them both; and then fell preſently to batter the Walls of the Caſtle it ſelf, and that with ſuch violence of great Ordnance, that the noiſe was heard to *Antwerp*, being a hundred Miles off. But having made the Walls aſſaultable, the *Engliſh* uſed this Stratagem, they laid trains of Powder to blow them up, when they ſhould offer to enter: but this Stratagem ſucceeded not; for the *French* in paſſing the Ditch had ſo wet their cloths, that dropping upon the Train, the Powder would take no fire, (ſo all things ſeemed to concur againſt the *Engliſh*.) And thereupon the Caſtle was taken alſo; and with it the Town alſo had been taken, but that Sir *Anthony Ager*, with the loſs of his own life, and his eldeſt Sons, valiantly defended it, and for that time repelled the *French*. But their number increaſed ſo faſt upon the Town, that the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, ſeeing no other way of ſafety, demanded Parlee: where a Compoſition was made, That the Town ſhould preſently be yielded to the *French* King, the lives of the Inhabitants only ſaved, and ſafe conduct to paſs away, ſaving the Lord Deputy, with fifty other, ſuch as the Duke ſhould name. And here to be quit with the *Engliſh* for their hard uſage at *St. Quintins*, the Duke cauſed Proclamation to be made, that all and every Perſon of the Town ſhould bring their Money, Jewels and Plate, to the value of a Groat, and lay it down upon the high Altar of the Church; by which means, an ineſtimable ſum of treaſure was there offered, enough to inrich an Army, which had before inriched a Town. and now to make it appear how unable the Town was to hold out againſt ſo great an Army, it is ſaid, there were in it but only five hundred Soldiers of ordinary, and ſcarce two hundred more of able fighting men; but of other people, men, women and children, four thouſand and two hundred: all which were ſuffered to depart, ſaving the Lord *Wentworth* the Depuuy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlain* Captain of the Caſtle, *John Hurlſtone* Captain of *Ricebank*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captain of *Newnham-bridge*, *Edward Grimſton* the Comptroller, *John Rogers* the Surveyor, with others to the number of fifty, who were all carried priſoners into *France*. And thus *Callice*, which had been in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* above two hundred years, was won from the *Engliſh* in eight days, which King *Edward* the Third had not won from the *French* in leſs than a year. The Lord *Wentworth* was ſuſpected, and in Queen *Elizabeths* time arraigned for betraying it, but was acquitted by his Peers. *Callice* thus won, the Duke with his Army marched to *Guiſnes*, five Miles diſtant, whereof was Captain the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, who held out the ſiege and batteries five or ſix days, with ſo great valour and reſolution, that he appeared in nothing inferiour to the Enemy, but in Multitude: yet at laſt overlaid with their numbers, and importuned by his Soldiers, much againſt his own will, he made compoſition, that the Town and Caſtle ſhould be wholly rendred, himſelf and all Officers remain priſoners, all others to depart with their Armour and Baggage. The Lord *Gray* was afterward ranſomed for four and twenty thouſand Crowns. And now the Duke of *Guiſe* conſidering that *Guiſnes* would be too coſtly a Caſtle to be kept, and too dangerous a Neighbour to *Callice*, if it ſhould be recovered, razed it with the Bulwarks and Fortifications to the ground. *Guiſnes* thus won, there remained nothing within the *Engliſh* Pale, but the little Caſtle of *Hammes*, whereof was Captain the Lord *Edward Dudley*, who conſidering, that though it were naturally ſtrongly ſituate, as being invironed with Fens and Marſhes, yet it had but little helps by Art or Fortification, and being aſſured that the Duke of *Guiſe* would ſpeedily come upon him, he ſecretly in the night with all his Garriſon departed into *Elanders*; ſo as the Caſtle was not won, but taken by the Duke of *Guiſe*; and with the loſs of this Caſtle the *Engliſh* loſt all their footing in *Terra Firma*, and the Kings of *England* all the reality of their Title in *France*, having nothing left but *nudum nomen*.

Preſently after this, the *French* King cauſed the Marriage between his eldeſt Son *Francis* the Dauphin, and *Mary Stuart*, ſole Heir of *James* the fifth King of *Scotland*, to be ſolemnized: Whereupon great Wars enſued ſoon after between *England* and *Scotland*.

Queen *Mary* being infinitely troubled in mind for the loſs of *Callice*, ſent preſently forth her Admiral the Lord *Clinton*, with a Fleet of more than a hundred Sail, to recover at leaſt reparation in honour, by doing ſome exploit upon *France*; who not finding opportunity to ſet upon *Breſt*, as he was appointed, fell upon the Town of *Conqueſt*, which he took and burnt, and alſo divers Villages thereabouts, and then returned. In which mean time many great Conflicts having

The cauſes and means of loſing *Callice*.

1558

Guiſnes alſo won by the *French*.

And ſo the *Engliſh* loſt all their footing in *France*.

The Dauphin of *France* marries *Mary Stuart* Heir of *Scotland*.

An agreement of Peace between King *Philip* and the King of *France*; but only want of reſtitution of *Callice*.

having been between King *Philip* and the King of *France*; at laſt, by mediation of the Dutcheſs of *Lorrain*, a Treaty of Peace is agreed on, where all things ſeemed to be well accorded, but only that King *Philip* by all means required reſtitution of *Callice*, to which by no means the *French* would aſſent. But whilſt they ſtood upon theſe terms, it hapned that firſt the Emperor *Charles*, King *Philips* Father, died, and ſhortly after Queen *Mary*, and the day after Cardinal *Pool*, and ſhortly after Sir *John Baker* of *Siſſingherſt* in *Kent*, who had been a Privy Counſellor to *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*. And ſo our Story hath no further relation to either War or Peace, between the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*.

Queen *Mary* dies.

Of her Taxations.

SHE began with a rare example; for in the firſt year of her Reign, was pardoned, by Proclamation, the Subſidy of four ſhillings the pound of Land, and two ſhillings the pound of Goods, granted in the laſt Parliament of King *Edward* the Sixth. In her ſecond year, in a Parliament then holden, was granted to the King and Queen a Subſidy of the Laity, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound; and from twenty pounds upwards, ſixteen pence in the pound: all Strangers double, and the Clergy ſix ſhillings in the pound. If this were all, then upon the matter, in all her time, there came no new charge upon her people; for one Subſidy remitted, and one received, made but even. In her laſt year ſhe borrowed twenty thouſand pounds of the City of *London*; and paid twelve pounds a year Intereſt for every hundred pound.

Laws and Ordinances in her time.

New Coins of Gold and Silver.

IN her firſt Year, on the fourth of *September*, were proclaimed certain new Coins of Gold and Silver; a Sovereign of Gold of thirty ſhillings, the half Sovereign fifteen ſhillings, an Angel of ten ſhillings, the half Angel five ſhillings: of Silver, the groat, the half groat, and penny. All theſe Coins to be currant as before. In her ſecond year, Proclamation was made, forbidding the ſhooting in Hand-guns, and bearing of weapons. The year in which ſhe was married to King *Philip*, a ſtraight charge was to all Victuallers, Taverners and Alehouſe-keepers, that they ſhould ſell no meat nor drink, nor any kind of victuals, to any Serving-man whatſoever, unleſs he brought a teſtimonial to ſhew whoſe ſervant he was. Alſo in a Parliament holden this year, amongſt other Acts, the Statute *Ex Officio* and other Laws made for the puniſhment of Hereſies, were revived; but chiefly the Popes Bull of Diſpenſation of Abbey-Lands was there confirmed. In her ſecond year, on *Michaelmas* even, the Priſoners that lay in the Compter in *Breadſtreet* were removed to a new Compter made in *Woodſtreet*, of the Citys purchaſe and building; the which removing was confirmed by the common Councel of the City.

Meat & Drink forbidden to be ſold to any Serving-man, without a Teſtimonial whom he ſerved.

The Compter in *Woodſtreet* firſt made a Priſon.

Affairs of the Church in her time.

IN the firſt year of this Queen's Reign, all Biſhops which had been deprived in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth were reſtored to their Biſhopricks, and the new removed; alſo all benificed men that were Married, or would not forſake their opinion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms. Alſo this year, on the ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the Service begun to be ſung in *Latin* in *Paul's* Church. Alſo this year the Pope's Authority was by Act of Parliament reſtored in *England*, and the Maſs comanded in all Churches to be uſed. In her ſecond year the Realm was Abſolved, and reconciled to the Church of *Rome* by Cardinal *Pool*; and firſt-fruits and Tenths were reſtored to the Clergy; but this was ſoon revoked, the Council finding the neceſſity of it for the Queens ſupport. In her fourth year Monaſteries were begun to be re-edified; of which number were that of *Weſtminſter*, that of *Sheen* and *Sion*, that of the *Black-Fryers*, and the Fryers of *Greenwich*. Of the number of thoſe that died for Religion in her time, there are recorded five Biſhops, one and twenty Divines; and of all ſorts of Men and Women, two hundred threeſcore and ſeventeen.

The number of thoſe that died for Religion in Queen *Maries* days.

Works of Piety done by her, or others, in her time.

THis Queen reſtored a great part of Abbey-lands that were in her poſſeſſion, and if ſhe had lived longer, very likely ſhe would have reſtored more. In her firſt year, Sir *Thomas White*, then Mayor, erected a College in *Oxford*, now called St. *John's* College; before, *Bernard* College. He alſo erected Schools at *Briſtow* and *Reading*, and gave two thouſand pounds to the City of *Briſtow* to purchaſe Lands, the profits whereof to be employed for the benefit of young Clothiers for ten years, and after that to be imployed in like manner to the benefit of two and twenty other Shires and Cities. In her third year died Sir *John Greſham*, late Mayor of *London*, who founded a Free School at *Holt* in *Norfolk*, and gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds to be diſtributed to the Poor; alſo to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. *Cuthbert Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham* erected a goodly Library in *Cambridge*, ſtoring it with many excellent both Printed and Written Books: he alſo beſtowed much upon building at *Durham*, at *Alenwick*, and at *Tunbridge*.

S. John's College in *Oxford* founded.

Caſualties happening in her time.

IN her firſt year, on the ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the goodlieſt Ship in *England*, called *The Great Harry*, being of the burthen of a thouſand Tun, was burnt at *Woolwich* by negligence of the Mariners. In her ſecond year, on the fifteenth of *February*, appeared in the Skie a Rainbow reverſed, the Bow turned downward and the two ends ſtanding upward; alſo two Suns ſhined at one time a good diſtance aſunder;

asunder: Which were taken for ill signs. This year also in the month of *August*, at a place in *Suffolk* by the Sea-side, all of hard stone and pebble, lying between the Towns of *Orford* and *Alborough*, where never Grass grew, nor any earth was ever seen, there chanced suddenly to spring up, without any tillage or sowing, so great abundance of Peason, that the Poor gathered above a hundred Quarters; yet there remained some ripe, and some blossoming, as many as were before. In her fourth year, hot burning Agues and other strange Diseases took away much People: So as between the twentieth of *October* and the last of *December*, there died seven Aldermen, namely, *Henry Heardson*, Sir *Richard Dobbs* late Mayor, Sir *William Laxton* late Mayor, Sir *Henry Hobbletborn* late Mayor, Sir *John Champneys* late Mayor, Sir *John Aylesb* late Mayor, and Sir *John Gresham* late Mayor. In her fourth year, before Harvest, Wheat was sold for four Marks the quarter, Malt at four and forty shillings the quarter, and Pease at six and forty shillings and eight pence, where after Harvest, Wheat was sold for five shillings the quarter, Malt at six shillings eight pence, Rye at three shilling four pence the quarter. In the Country, Wheat was sold for four shillings the quarter, Malt at four shillings eight pence, and in some places a bushel of Rye for a pound of Candles, which was four pence. In her fifth year, within a Mile of *Nottingham*, so marvellous a Tempest of Thunder happened, that it beat down all the Houses and Churches in two Towns thereabouts, cast the Bells to the outside of the Church-yard, and some webs of Lead four hundred foot into the field, writhen as it had been Leather; the River of *Trent* running between the two Towns, the Water with the Mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a Mile, and cast against Trees, with the violence whereof the Trees were pulled up by the Roots, and cast twelve score off: Also a Child was taken forth of a mans hand, and carried two Spears length high, and then let fall two hundred foot off, of which Fall it died: five or six men thereabouts were slain, and neither flesh nor skin perished: Also there fell some Hail-stones that were fifteen inches about. This year also in Harvest-time was a great Mortality, and especially of Priests, so as many Churches were unserved, and much Corn was lost in the field for want of Workmen; whereupon ensued a great scarcity, so that Corn was sold for fourteen shillings a quarter, and Wood sold in *London* for thirteen shillings a thousand of Billets, and Coals ten pence a sack. Also this year, on the last of *September*, fell so great store of Rain, that *Westminster-Hall* was full of Water, and Boats were rowed over *Westminster*-Bridge into *Kings*-street.

Pease growing plentifully where never sowed.

The price of Wheat and Malt in a dearth and in a plenty.

A marvellous Tempest.

Of her Personage and Conditions.

OF her Personage we can make no particular description; only we may say, she was none of the most amiable, but yet without Deformity. But of her Conditions we may say, she was not without Deformity, and yet was very amiable. If we account her Religion a deformity, yet her constancy and devotion in it we must needs count a beauty. If it were a deformity to promise the *Suffolk*-men, not to alter the Religion which King *Edward* had established; yet it was certainly a pious dissembling, *Cretizare cum Cretensibus*; and Equivocation (will some say) was there a virtue, where she deceived them into truth, and did them good against their wills. And as for her Sister *Elizabeth*, if she did not love her, it was but a quality hereditary in her; for their Mothers did not love one another before: And indeed not without some cause in both; for as those upbraided each others Marriage, so these each others Birth. We shall not do her right, if we deny her to be of a merciful disposition, seeing oftentimes she pitied the Person, where she shed the blood. She could have found in her heart to have spared the Lady *Jane*'s life, if *Reason di stato* had not been against it; and she did spare her Father the Duke of *Suffolk*'s life, till his second offence gave her just provocation. The goodness of her nature might be seen in the badness of her fortune, who took nothing so much to heart, as unkindness of friends; the revolt of *Callice*, and the absence of King *Philip*, being the two chief Causes that brought her to her end.

Of her Death and Burial.

THE Conceit of her being with Child had kept Physicians from looking into the state of her body, so as her first Distemper at first neglected, brought her by degrees into a Dropsie, to which was added a burning Fever, brought upon her by a double grief, one for the long absence of King *Philip*, (who had now been away a year and a half) the other, and perhaps the greater, for the loss of *Callice*; as she forbore not to say to some about her, that if they looked into her Heart, being dead, they should find *Callice* there. She began to fall sick in *September*, and died at her Mannor of *Saint James* on the seventeenth of *November*, in the year 1558. when she had reigned five years, four months, and eleven days; lived three and forty years. Her Body was interred in a Chappel in the Minster of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Westminster*, without any Monument or other Remembrance.

Men of Note in her time.

OF Men of Valour in her time there were many, as may be seen in the Story of her Reign: but to name some for example, there was *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the chief assistant of King *Philip* in the winning of St. *Quintins*; there was *William* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Captain of *Guysnes*, who though he yielded the Town, yet more out of tenderness to his Soldiers, than out of fear of his Enemies, which he never else would have yielded up: And to speak of one of a meaner rank, there was Sir *Anthony Ager*, who in defence of the Town of *Callice* lost his life, but not till he made the Enemy turn their backs and flie. Of Learned men also there were very many: As *John Rogers*, born in *Lancashire*, who translated the Bible into *English* with Notes; *Richard Maryson* Knight, born in *Oxfordshire*, who wrote divers

divers Treatiſes, *Robert Record*, a Doctor of Phyſick, who wrote a Book of Arithmetick; *Cuthbert Tunſtall*, of a Worſhipful Family in *Lancaſhire*, though baſe born, whoſe Anceſtor came into *England* with the Conqueror as his Barber, and therefore hath three Combs in his Arms, Biſhop firſt of *London*, and after of *Durham*, who wrote divers learned Works; *Richard Sampſon* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who wrote certain Treatiſes; *Lucas Sheepherd*, born at *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex*, an *Engliſh* Poet; *Jane Dudley*, Daughter to *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk*, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes; *William Thomas* a *Welſhman*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Italy*, and other things; *James Brooks* and *John Standiſh*, both of them Writers in defence of the Pope's Doctrine; *William Peryn* a black Fryer, who wrote in defence of the Maſs, and alſo divers Sermons; *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, Son to *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, who, amongſt other things which he wrote, tranſlated a Book out of *Latin* into *Engliſh*, entituled *Utriuſque Poteſtatis Differentia*, which Book (as ſome think) was firſt compiled by *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*; *John Hopkins* who tranſlated divers of *David's* Pſalms into *Engliſh* Metre, which are to be found amongſt thoſe appointed to be ſung in the Church.

Cuthbert Tunſtall Biſhop of *Durham*, whoſe Anceſtor was Barber to the Conqueror.

John Hopkins tranſlated divers of *David's* Pſalms into *Engliſh* Metre.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in her Reign.*

In her firſt year,
Sir *Thomas White* was Mayor.
Thomas Offley, *William Hewet*, Sheriffs.

In her ſecond year,
Sir *John Lion* was Mayor.
David Woodroffe, *William Cheſter*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,
Sir *William Garret*, or *Gerrard*, was Mayor.
Thomas Lee, or *Leigh*, *John Machel*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,
Sir *Thomas Offley* was Mayor.
William Harper, *John White*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,
Sir *Thomas Curteis* was Mayor.
Richard Mallory, *James Altham*, Sheriffs.

In her ſixth year,
Sir *Thomas Lee*, or *Leigh*, was Mayor.
John Halſey, *Richard Champion*, Sheriffs.

The

THE REIGN OF Queen ELIZABETH.

1558. QUEEN *Mary* dying on *Thursday* the Seventeenth of *November*, in the Year 1558. her Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, of the Age of Five and twenty Years, the only surviving Child of King *Henry* the Eighth, by undoubted Right succeeded her in the Crown: Which happening in a time of Parliament, *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor, sent to the Knights and Burgesses in the Lower House, to repair immediately to the Lords of the Upper House; to whom he signified, that Queen *Mary* was that Morning Dead, and therefore required their Assents to join with the Lords in Proclaiming Queen *Elizabeth*: which accordingly was done by the sound of Trumpet, first at *Westminster*, and after in the City of *London*. The Queen was then at *Hatfield*, from whence on *Wednesday* the Three and twentieth of *November* she removed to the Lord *North*'s House in the *Charter-House*, where she stayed till *Monday* the Eight and twentieth of *November*, and then rode in her Chariot through *London* to the *Tower*: where she continued till the fifth of *December*, and then removed to *Somerset-House* in the *Strand*; from whence she went to her Palace at *Westminster*, and from thence, on the twelfth of *January*, to the *Tower*, and on the fourteenth of *January* to *Westminster* to her Coronation: Whither as she went, she said this Prayer;

Queen *Elizabeth* is proclaimed.

O Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast spared me to this joyful Day: And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy faithful servant Daniel *whom thou deliveredst out of the Den, from the cruelty of the raging Lions; even so was I overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered. To thee therefore only be Thanks, Honour and Praise for ever.*

And it is incredible, what Pageants and Shews were made in the City as she passed. On *Sunday*, the Five and twentieth of *January*, she was Crowned in the Abbey-Church at *Westminster*, by Doctor *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, with all Solemnities and Ceremonies in such case accustomed. At this time, to honour her Coronation, she conferred more Honour, than in all her time after. *William Parre*, degraded by Queen *Mary*, she made Marquess of *Northampton*; *Edward Seymour*, whose Father had been Attainted, she made Earl of *Hartford*; *Thomas Howard*, second Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, she made Viscount *Bindon*; Sir *Henry Cary*, her Cousin-german, she made Baron of *Hunsdon*; and Sir *Oliver Saint-John* she made Baron of *Blemsho*.

She is Crowned.

Divers Lords created.

And now the Queen, though she were her self very wise, yet would not trust (and it was a great point of Wisdom that she would not trust) to her own Wisdom; and therefore she chose Counsellors to assist her. In which number she took *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York*, *William Paulet* Marquess of *Winchester*, Lord High Treasurer, *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundell*, *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admiral, and *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Sir *Thomas Cheiney*, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *Richard Sackville*, and *Nicholas Winton* Dean of *Canterbury*; all which had been Counsellors to Queen *Mary* and were of her Religion. But then to make a counterpoise of Counsellors of her own Religion, she joined with them, *William Parre* Marquess of *Northampton*; *Francis Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas Parrey*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, late Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth; and a little after Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, whom she made Keeper of the Great Seal. And having thus provided for her State at home, she seeks Correspondence with Princes abroad. To the Emperour *Ferdinand*, she sent in Embassage Sir *Thomas Chaloner*; to the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, the

She makes of her Privy Council as well Papists as Protestants.

She sends Ambassadors to all Princes abroad.

Lord *Cobham*; to the Princes of *Germany*, Sir *Henry Killigrew*, Sir *Armigill Waad* to the Duke of *Holstein*, and another Ambassador to the King of *Denmark*. There were also Ambassadors sent to the Pope, to the State of *Venice*, and to the *French* King: with whom at this time there was a Treaty of Peace holden at *Cambray*, between the Kingdoms of *France*, *England* and *Spain*: where for *England*, were imployed the Earl of *Arundel*, *Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*; with whom *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was joined by a new Commission.

King *Philip* solicites Queen *Elizabeth* for Marriage.

As soon as King *Philip* heard of the death of his Wife Queen *Mary*, partly out of considerations of State, and partly out of affection of love, he solicited Queen *Elizabeth* by his Ambassador, the Earl of *Feria*, to join in Marriage with himself; it being no more for two Sisters to have successively one Husband, than was done before for two Brothers to have successively one Wife; and for this he promis'd to procure a Dispensation from the Pope. To which Motion the Queen, though she well knew, that to allow a Dispensation in this case to be sufficient, were to make her own Birth illegitimate; yet to so great a Prince, and who in her Sisters time had done her many favours, she would not return so blunt an Answer; but putting the Ambassador off for the present in modest terms, she conceived there would be no better way to take him off clean from further suit, than by bringing in an alteration of Religion: Which yet she would not do all at once, and upon the sudden, (as knowing the great danger of sudden changes,) but by little and little, and by degrees. As at first she permitted only Epistles and Gospels, the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Creed, to be read to the People in the *English* Tongue; in all other matters they were to follow the *Roman* Rite and Custom, until order could be taken for establishment of Religion by Authority of Parliament; and a severe Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting all Points of Controversie to be medled with. By which means, she both put the Protestants in hope, and put not the Papists out of hope. Yet privately she committed the correcting of the Book of Common-Prayer, set forth in the *English* Tongue under King *Edw.* the Sixth, to the care and diligence of Dr. *Parker*, *Bill*, *May*, *Cox*, *Grindall*, *Whitehead* and *Pilkington*, Divines of great Learning, with whom she joined Sir *Thomas Smith*, a learned Knight: but the matter carried so closely, that it was not communicated to any, but to the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and Sir *William Cecill*. The two and twentieth of *March*, the use of the Lords Supper in both kinds was by Parliament allowed. The four and twentieth of *June*, the Sacrifice of the Mass was abolished; and the Liturgy in the *English* Tongue established, though, as some say, but with the difference of six Voices. In *July* the Oath of Supremacy was propounded to the Bishops and others; And in *August*, Images were removed out of Churches, and broken or burnt. By these degrees Religion was changed; and yet the Change, to the wonder of the World, bred no disturbance; which if it had been done at once, and on the sudden, would hardly, at least not without dangerous opposition, have been admitted.

Whom she puts off, by bringing in an alteration of Religion: which yet she doth by degrees.

The alteration of Religion by Parliament, by the difference only of six voices.

During this time, a Parliament had been summoned to begin at *Westminster* upon the 15th. of *January*, and now the Queen for satisfaction of the People appointed a Conference to be held between the Prelates of the Realm, & Protestant Divines now newly returned, who had fled the Realm in the time of Queen *Mary*. For the Prelates were chosen *John White*, Bishop of *Winchester*; *Ralph Bayne*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*; *Thomas Watson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Doctor *Cole*, Dean of *Pauls*; Doctor *Langdell*, Archdeacon of *Lewis*; Doctor *Harpsfield*, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*; and Doctor *Chadsey*, Archdeacon of *Middlesex*. For the Protestant side were appointed Doctor *Scory*, Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Sands*, Doctor *Whitehead*, Doctor *Grindall*, Master *Horne*, Master *Guest*, Master *Elmer*, and Master *Jewel*. The place was prepared in *Westminster-Church*: Where, besides the Disputants, were present the Lords of the Queen's Council, with other of the Nobility; as also many of the Lower House of Parliament. The Articles propounded against the Prelates and their Adherents, were these. First, That it is against the Word of God, and the Custom of the Ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People in Common-Prayer, and in the Administration of the Sacrament. Secondly, That every Church hath Authority to appoint and change Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Rites, so they be to Edification. Thirdly, That it cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Mass a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the dead. For the manner of their Conference, it was agreed it should be performed in Writing, and that the Bishops should deliver their Reasons in writing first. The last of *March* was the first day of their meeting; where, contrary to the Order, the Bishops brought nothing in Writing; but said they would deliver their minds only by Speech. This breaking of Order much displeased the Lords, yet they had it granted. Then rose up Doctor *Cole*, and made a large Declaration concerning the first point. When he had ended, the Lords demanded if any of them had more to say: who answered, No. Then the Protestant Party exhibited a written Book, which was distinctly read by Master *Horne*. This done, some of the Bishops began to affirm, they had much more to say in the first Article. This again much displeased the Lords; yet this also was granted them, to do at their next meeting on *Monday* next; but when *Monday* came so many other differences arose between them that the Conference broke off, & nothing was determin'd. But in the Parliament there was better agreement; for there it was Enacted; That Queen *Elizabeth* was the lawful and undoubted Qu. of *England*, notwithstanding a Law made by her Father King *Henry* the Eighth, that excluded both her & her Sister *Mary* from the Crown, seeing, though the Law be not repealed, yet it is a principle in Law, that the Crown once gained taketh away all defects. Also in this Parliament, First-fruits & Tenths were restor'd to the Crown; and the Title of Supream Head of the Church of *England* was confirm'd to the Queen, with so universal consent, that in the upper House none opposed these Laws, but only the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, Viscount *Montagu*:

1559.

A Conference of Papists and Protestants about matters of Religion.

But broken off, and why.

The Crown once gained, taketh away all defects.

The Title of Supreme Head of the Church is confirmed to the Queen.

Montague. And in the Lower-House only some few of Popish inclination murmured, saying, that the Parliament was packed; and that the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and Sir *William Cecil*, for their own ends, had cunningly begged Votes, to make up their Party.

The Oath of Supremacy readily taken by all, but only some few, and who they were.

Supremacy then confirmed to the Queen, the Oath was soon after tendred to the Bishops and Clergy, of which if any refused to take it, were presently deprived of their Livings. And now we may see how the Kingdom in that time stood affected in Religion. It is said, that in the whole Realm, (wherein are reckoned above sixty thousand Spiritual Preists) there were no more that refused to take the Oath, but only four score Parsons, fifty Prebendaries, 14 Heads of Colledges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, 8 Abbots, and thirteen Bishops. (Indeed all these were of that time, ex-cept *Anthony Kitchin* of *Landaff*) as *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York*, *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, *Cardinal Pool* Bishop of *Durham*, *Thomas Thirlby* Bishop of *Ely*, *Gilbert Bourn* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *John Christopherson* Bishop of *Chichester*, *John White* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas Watson* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Roger Kemp* Bishop of *Gevenry* and *Lichfield*, *Owen Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, *James Turberville* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *David Pool* Bishop of *Peterborough*, and with these Dr. *Feckenham* Abbot of *Westminster*. All which were at first committed to prison, but soon after delivered to their own houses, suspecting their fidelity to the Queen. These only, namely, the Bishop of *Chester*, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *Thomas* Bishop of *Landaff* changed their Religion, and continued their Bishoprics still, as also did the Bishop of *Carlisle*, *Sir Francis Inglefield*, and *Sir Edward Hastings*, (Husband to Queen *Mary*'s Sister) *Sir Thomas Shirley*, and *Sir John Mason*.

Popish Bishops removed, and Protestants placed in their rooms.

[illegible] three [illegible]

[illegible] Bishops [illegible]

[illegible] Bishop [illegible]

[illegible] Bishop [illegible]

[illegible] Bishop

heritance, the Pope hath a quarrel to her, for excluding his Authority; the King of *Sweden* hath a quarrel to her, for slighting his Son in the way of Marriage. And all these being against her, whom hath she on her side, but only her own Subjects, Papists yesterday, and to day Protestants? who being scarce settled in their Religion, how shall they be settled in their Loyalty? and not being Loyal, where can she find to call Anchor for her safety? But it is a true saying, *Madius tuenda absit, si sit Prudentia*: Wisdom is a supply for all defects. And indeed, the Queen being very wise in her self, and having a wise Council about her, she passed all these difficulties, though not without danger, yet with little or no hazard.

It happened (if at least it happened, and were not rather plotted of purpose) that a Reformation of Religion was pretended in *Scotland*; but was indeed an incroachment upon the Prince's Authority: for at the preaching of *John Knox*, and other head-strong Ministers, not only Images and Altars were cast down and burnt, the Monasteries of *Saint Andrews*, of *Stone*, of *Strivelling*, and of *Lythithgow* were overthrown; but it was further put into the heads of the Nobility, that it pertained to them, of their own Authority to take away Idolatry, and by force reduce the Prince to the prescript of Laws. Whereupon there was presently a bandying of the Lords of *Scotland* against the Queen Dowager, Regent of the Country, and in this case each of them sought for aid. The Queen Dowager had aid out of *France*, the Lords of *Scotland* sent for aid to the Queen of *England*, but this was matter for Consideration. It seemed a bad example, for a Prince to give aid to the Rebellious Subjects of another Prince. On the other side, it seemed no less than impiety, not to give aid to the Professors of the true Religion. But both of all it seemed plain wisdom, to foment adversaries to her former Neighbours, and let the *French* settle in *Scotland*, who pretend Title to *England*. Upon such considerations, it was resolved to lend them aid. And thereupon an Army of six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, was sent under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Grey of Wilton Lieutenant General, Sir *James Croftes*, Assistant to him, the Lord Gomes, Lord Marshal, Sir *George Howard*, General of the Horse, Sir *Henry Percy*, General of the Light Horse, *Thomas Knyvet*, Provost Marshal, Sir *Thomas Gorges*, Master of the Ordnance, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Captain of the Pioners, Sir *Edward Randal*, Sergeant Major, and [illegible] coming into *Scotland*, [illegible] and sat down before [illegible] many (small skirmishes, many [illegible] Assaults: to whom, after [illegible] time a new supply came of above two thousand [illegible] were Captains, Sir *Andrew* [illegible] Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Hen-* [illegible] Sir *Lawrence Smith*, and others. With this new supply there was little more done than before; many fights skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Alarums so long, till at last the young French King, [illegible] these broils of *Scotland* to be too furious for him to appease, he sent to the Queen of *England*, desiring that Commissioners might be sent to reconcile these differences. Whereupon were dispatched into *Scotland*, Sir *William Cecil*, her principal Secretary, with Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*, who concluded a Peace between *England* and *France*, upon these Conditions: That neither the King of *France*, nor the Queen of *Scotland*, should thenceforth use the Arms or Titles of *England* or *Ireland*; and that both the English and the *French* should depart out of *Scotland*, and a general Pardon should be enacted by Parliament, for all such as had been actors in those stirs. This Peace was scarce concluded, when *Francis* the young King of *France* died, leaving the Crown to his younger Brother *Charles*, who was guided altogether by the Queen-Mother, and nourished with the Civil Dissentions between the Princes of *Guise* and *Conde*; for whose reconcilement, the Queen sent Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord President of *Wales*, and shortly after an Army under the leading of the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, who arriving at *Newhaven*, was received into the Town, which having kept eleven Months, he was then constrained, by reason of a Pestilence to surrender again upon Composition, and so returned.

Knox in *Scotland* preaches against the Prince's Authority.

The Lords of *Scotland* send for aid to Qu. *Elizabeth*.

1560.

The Q. sends an Army to assist the Lords of *Scotland*.

A Peace is concluded between the King of *France* and the Queen, and upon what terms.

Francis King of *France* dieth, & leaveth *Mary* Queen of *Scots* a Widow.

Newhaven taken by the *English*, but soon surrendred.

About this time, when the Parliament was upon dissolving, it was agreed upon by the Heads of Commons to move the Queen to marry, that she might have Issue to succeed her. To which purpose *Thomas Gargrave*, Speaker of the House, with some few other chosen men, had access to the Queen, who humbly made the motion to her, as a thing which the Kingdom infinitely desired, seeing they could never hope to have a better Prince, than one of her Loins. Whereunto the Queen answered in effect thus; That she was already married, namely, to the Kingdom of *England*; and behold (saith she) the Ring of the Covenant with my Husband, and therewith she held out her finger, and shewed the Ring, wherewith, at the time of her Coronation, she gave her self in Wedlock to the Kingdom. And if (said she) I keep my self to this Husband, and take no other, yet I doubt not but God will send you as good Kings, as if they were born of me; for which (as we say by daily experience) that the Issue of the best Princes do often degenerate. And for my self, it shall be sufficient that a Queen Regnant of Spain declared, that a Queen having assigned such a thing, lived and died a Virgin. Besides, before this time, many Matches had been offered her. First, King *Philip*, and when he was out of hope of watching with her himself, he laboured with the Emperor Ferdinand his Uncle, to commend his younger Son *Charles* Duke of *Austria*, to her for a Husband. And when this succeeded not, then John Duke of *Finland*, [illegible] Eldest Son of *Gustavus* King of Sweden, was sent by his Father, to solicit the same, with great Train and Gallantry; but he arrived when the Queen was busied about the Execution of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and so departed without Success. Then Adolphus Duke of *Holstein*, Uncle to Frederick King of Denmark, came into *England*, upon a great Train, and had Audience; but the Queen answered him in the Presence of the Council, and openly Protested, that she would not change her Estate. Then *James* Earl of *Arran* was sent hither by the Protestants of *Scotland*, but neither the man nor the motion was accepted. Of greater fortunes, there were some at home

The many matches that had been offered to her.

And her Answer.

The Parliament moves the Queen to marry.

home that pleased themselves with hopes of her Marriage. First, Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a good House, and a good Estate; but what most commended him was his studiousness of Letters, and sweet demeanor. Then *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining age. Then *Robert Dudley*, youngest Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, of an excellent feature of Face, and now in the flower of his age. But these might please themselves with their own conceit, but were not considerable in her apprehension: they might receive from her good Testimonies of her Princely favour, but never pledges of her Nuptial love.

Great offers made by the Pope to the Queen, if she would become a Papist.

About this time the Earl of *Pembroke*, (who had married the Daughter of Sir *William Dormer*) being denied leave of the Queen for some of his Wifes friends to live out of *England*, grew so incensed, that he made means to *Pius* the fourth, then Pope, to have her excommunicated as an Heretick and Usurper. But the Pope inclining rather to save than to destroy, and knowing that gentle courses prevail more with generous minds, than roughness and violence, in most loving manner wrote unto her, exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church; and, as it is said, made her great offers, if she would hear him to his Counsel: particularly, that he would recal the Sentence pronounced against her Mothers Marriage, confirm the Book of Common-Prayer in *English*, and permit to her People the use of the Sacrament in both kinds. But Queen *Elizabeth*, neither terrified with the Popes practices, nor allured with the great offers, according to her Motto, *Semper eadem*, persisted constant in her resolution, to maintain that Religion which in her Conscience she was perswaded to be most agreeable to the Word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church.

But she persisted constant in her Religion.

John Oneal, Earl of *Tyrone*, begin to rebel.

Whilst these grounds of troubles are sowing in *England*, *France* and *Scotland*, it is not likely that *Ireland* will be fallow; though indeed it be a Country that will bring forth troubles of it self, without sowing: but however, to make the more plentiful Harvest of troubles at this time, *John Oneal* (whose Father K. *Henry* the Eighth made Earl of *Tyrone*) to prevent the punishment of a private outrage upon a Brother, broke into open Rebellion against the Prince: and though his attempts were seasonably made fruitless by timely opposition, yet this was he that lit the beginning of the Queens Reign toward the fires of that trouble in *Ireland*, which afterward took so deep root, that all the ending of her Reign it could never throughly be rooted out; though this Man a year or two after came into *England*, and falling himself at the Queens feet, acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon.

Queen *Eliz.* requires the Treaty of *Edenburgh* to be confirmed by the Queen Dowager. And her Answer.

The Treaty of *Edenburgh* should by promise have been confirmed by *Francis* the *French* King while he lived, but he not having done it, Queen *Elizabeth* requires his Dowager, the Queen of *Scots*, to confirm it: but she, solicited often to it by *Throgmorton* the Queens Leiger in *France*, made always answer, she could not do it without the Counsel of her Nobility in *Scotland*. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* suspecting that this Answer was but to hold her in amazement, while some mischief was practising against her, sent Sir *Thomas Randal* into *Scotland*, to perswade the Lords there to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her and other Protestant Princes; and further, by no means to permit their Queen, now a Widow, to marry again to any Foreign Prince; for which she alledged many great Reasons. In the mean while the Queen of *Scots*, purposing to return into *Scotland*, sent before-hand D. *Oysele* a *French* Lord, to intreat Queen *Elizabeth*, that with her leave she her self might pass by Sea into *Scotland*, & D. *Oysele* might pass by Land. But Queen *Elizabeth* openly denied both the one and the other, unless she would confirm the Treaty at *Edenburgh*; saying, It was no reason she should do the Queen of *Scots* curtesie, if the Queen of *Scots* would not do her right.

The Queen of *Scots*, much troubled with this Answer, expostulates the matter with her Leiger *Throgmorton*, and much complains of the unthankfulness: but in the mean time providing Ships, she stole from *Calice* and under covert of a mist, notwithstanding that Ships were laid to intercept her, she arrived safe in *Scotland*; where she intreated her Subjects in so loving a manner that she gave great contentment to the whole Kingdom, as well to the Protestant Party, as the other; and then sent Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, proffering all observance and readiness to enter League with her, so she might by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor, which was but her right. To this Queen *Elizabeth* answered, that though she would no way derogate from her Right; yet she should be loth to endanger her own security, and as it were to cover her own eyes with a Grave-cloth while she was alive; and then fell to her old Admonition, requiring her to confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*. And now, to shew the respect she bore her, when her Uncles the Dukes *D'Aumale*, *D'Albanay*, and other Lords of *France* that had brought her home, returned through *England*, she gave them most bountiful and kingly entertainment.

The Queen of *Scots* passeth safely into *Scotland*, though laid wait for to be intercepted. She offered all observance to Qu. *Elizabeth*, so she might be declared her Successor, Qu. *Elizabeths* Answer.

These two Queens (cousins) were both of great spirits, and both very wise; but there grew such jealousies of State between them, (the Queen of *Scots* doubting that Queen *Elizabeth* meant to frustrate her Succession, Qu. *Eliz.* doubting least the Qu. of *Scots* meant to prevent her Succession) that it kept them more asunder in love than they were near in blood, and was cause of many unkind passages between them: in all which, tho the Q. of *Scots* were every way match to the Q. of *England* in the abilities of her mind, yet in the favours of fortune she was much her inferiour.

But now for all the courtesie which Queen *Elizabeth* shewed to the Queen of *Scots* Uncles, at their returning through *England*, yet new practices were again set on foot against her at *Rome*; the Duke of *Guise* especially laboring to have her be Excommunicated. But *Pius*, still averse from such roughness, meaning only to try the Q. another way; and therefore sent the Abbot *Martigne*; and when he might not be admitted to enter *England*, then called the Bishop of *Vaux*, his Nuncio in *France*, to deal earnestly with the Queens Leiger *Throgmorton*, that she (as other Princes had done) would send her Orators to the Council at *Trent*, which he before had called. But the Queen, nothing tendring this point made a peremptory answer, That a Popish

The Pope invites Qu. *Eliz.* to send her Orators to the Council of *Trent*.

The Queens Answer.

pish Assembly she did not acknowledg to be a General Council; nor did she think the Pope to have any more right or power to call it, than any other Prince. This answer not only exasperated the Pope, but also alienated the [illegible] mind from her; their [illegible] was never [illegible] a friend to her [illegible] Ambassadors [illegible] be employed [illegible] the [illegible] ever [illegible] the Pope had [illegible] Edward Carne, now [illegible] last [illegible] the [illegible]

All base Moneys called in.

[illegible] Reign, [illegible] question. King [illegible] her [illegible] secret [illegible] Scots, [illegible] Succ[illegible] a w[illegible] By the [illegible] Duke [illegible] fourth, [illegible] Sister, [illegible] to [illegible] Fr[illegible] my [illegible] Quee[illegible] Clare[illegible] Bar[illegible] had [illegible] Duk[illegible] eld[illegible] mer[illegible] eld[illegible] vore[illegible] child by [illegible] being [illegible] for [illegible] of Canterbury, and affirming [illegible] matried [illegible] to prod[illegible] their marria[illegible] both com[illegible] the Tower, [illegible] was brought [illegible] by the [illegible] corru[illegible] being [illegible] some-time [illegible] time [illegible] him [illegible] this before [illegible] nam[illegible] the Earl was fined [illegible] thousand pounds [illegible] after. Though in [illegible] Cranmer and Hales argued they were lawful Man and Wife.

1563

Divers great persons questioned and condemned, but had their lives spared.

by virtue of their own bare consent, without any Ecclesiastical Ceremony. The Lady a [illegible] after, falling through grief into a mortal [illegible] humble desired the Queens Pardon. [illegible] married [illegible] acknowledg, & [illegible] Children [illegible] dyed in the [illegible]

A [illegible] of which [illegible] Duke [illegible] the other, the [illegible] Princes; while [illegible] ces are in Arms, the people suffer for it, and [illegible] the weaker [illegible] Whereupon [illegible] having [illegible] Lords [illegible] but [illegible] made [illegible] for his [illegible] Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales, [illegible] Queen Elizabeth sends over an Army to assist the Protestants in France.

The Prince of Condé concludes a Peace with the King of France.

Northumberland stirred up to aid the French with the Queens leave.

Which

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Which Queen *Elizabeth* hearing of, ſhe ſent a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Warwick* to yield it up, if upon honourable Conditions; which ſoon after was accordingly done, after the *Engliſh* had held it eleven months: and then the Earl, without any diſhonour for yielding up a Town, which the Peſtilence made him no leſs unwilling than unable to hold, returned into *England*. But that which was more doleful than the loſs of *Newhaven*, he brought the Peſtilence with him into *England*. The recovery of this Town not only made the *French* to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellor of *France* pronounced openly, that by this War the *Engliſh* had loſt all their Right to *Callice*, and were not to require it any more, ſeeing it was one of the Conditions that neither of the Nations ſhould make War upon the other: which was the Point ſtood upon by the King of *France* and his Mother, when Queen *Elizabeth* ſent Sir *Thomas Smith* to demand *Callice* to be reſtored.

At this time there was ſuch croſs deſigns amongſt the Princes of Chriſtendom, that a very good Politician could hardly underſtand their aims. The Duke of *Guiſe* being ſlain in the Civil War, the Queen of *Scots* Dowry was not paid her in *France*, and the *Scots* were put off from being the King's Guard. This exceedingly diſpleaſed the Queen of *Scots*. But then to pleaſe her again, and for fear leſt hereupon ſhe ſhould apply her ſelf to the friendſhip of the *Engliſh*, her Uncle the Cardinal of *Lorrain* ſolicites her afreſh, to marry *Charles* Duke of *Auſtria*; offering her for her Dowry the County of *Tyrol*.

The Queen of *Scots*, to make uſe of her Uncels fear, and perhaps to bring Q. *Elizabeth* into an opinion of depending upon her, acquaints her with this motion: and therein requires her advice. Queen *Elizabeth*, not willing ſhe ſhould marry with any foreign Prince, perſuades her to take a Husband out of *England*, and particularly commended to her the Lord *Robert Dudly*, (whoſe Wife a little before had with a fall broke her neck;) promiſing withal, that if ſhe would marry him, ſhe ſhould then by Authority of Parliament be declared her Succeſſor, in caſe ſhe died without Iſſue. But when her Uncles and the Queen Mother were informed of this motion, they ſo much diſdained the Marriage with *Dudley*, that ſo ſhe would refuſe that Match, and perſevere in the Friendſhip of the *French*, they offered to pay her the Dowry-mony that was behind, and to reſtore the *Scots* to all their former liberties in *France*. And as for the King of *Spain*, he had indeed a Leiger Ambaſſador here in *England*, but rather by way of Complement, and to watch advantages, than for any ſincere love; which he began to withdraw from the *Engliſh*, as ſuſpecting them to intend a Trade to the *Weſt-Indies*.

The Queen of *Scots* requires Q. *Elizabeths* advice about her Marriage. Who perſwades her to marry the Ld. *Robert Dudley*. But this motion was ſcorned by her *French* friends.

And now the *French* Proteſtants may ſee what they brought upon themſelves, by leaving the *Engliſh* at *Newhaven*, and by truſting to their Country-men the *French* Papiſts; for their Peace was but a ſnare, and the Marriage of *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Navarre*, with *Margaret* of *Valois*, the *French* King's Siſter, was but a bait to entrap them. For upon the confidence of this Marriage, being drawn together into *Paris*, they were the readier for the ſlaughter: And a few days after the Marriage, which were all ſpent in Feaſts and Masks, to make them the more ſecure, upon a Watch-word given, the bloody Faction fell upon the Proteſtants, and neither ſpared age, nor Sex, nor condition, but without mercy, and ſenſe of humanity, ſlaughtered as many as they could meet with, to the number of many thouſands.

At the Marriage of the Prince of *Navarre* was the great Maſſacre of the Proteſtants in *France*.

1564. Many great Perſonages die.

It was now the ſixth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, a Year fatal for the death of many great Perſonages. Firſt died *William* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Governor of *Barwick*, a Man famous for his great Services in War: then *William* Lord *Paget*, a man of as great Services in Peace, who by his great deſervings had wrought his advancement to ſundry Dignities and Honourable places: and though zealous in the *Roman* Religion, yet held by Queen *Elizabeth* in great eſtimation to his dying day: then *Henry Mannors* Earl of *Rutland*, deſcended by his Mother from King *Edward* the fourth: and laſtly, *Frances* the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, and Mother to Queen *Jane*.

A Peace made with the King of *France*, and upon what Conditions.

And now Queen *Elizabeth*, finding how fickle the *French* Proteſtants had carried themſelves towards her, intended to make a Peace; and to that end ſent Sir *Thomas Smith* into *France*, joining *Throgmorton* in Commiſſion with him. And in concluſion, a Peace was agreed on; whereof, amongſt other Articles, this was one, That the Hoſtages in *England*, ſhould be freed, upon the payment of Six hundred thouſand Crowns. And this Peace was ratified by the Oath both of the Queen of *England* and the King of *France*.

About this time the *Engliſh* Merchants were harſhly uſed both in *Spain* and in the *Netherlands*, upon pretence of Civil differences, but indeed out of hatred to the Proteſtant Religion: whereupon the *Engliſh* removed the Seat of their Trading to *Embden* in *Frieſland*. But *Guſman*, the *Spaniſh* Leiger newly come into *England*, finding the great damages that the *Netherlands* ſuſtained by theſe differences, endeavoured by all means to compoſe them: And thereupon Viſcount *Montague*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *Walter Haddon* Maſter of the Requeſts, were ſent to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; who after many interruptions brought the matter at laſt to ſome indifferent agreement.

1565. Qu. *Elizabeth* makes a Progreſs to *Cambridge*. She makes the Ld. *Robert Dudley*, firſt, Baron of *Denbigh*, and then Earl of *Leiceſter*.

It was now the ſeventh Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, when making a Progreſs, ſhe went to ſee *Cambridge*; where after ſhe had viewed the Colleges, and been entertained with Comedies and Scholaſtical diſputations, ſhe made her ſelf a *Latine* Oration, to the great Encouragement of the Scholars, and then returned. Preſently after her return, ſhe made the Lord *Robert Dudley*, Maſter of her Horſe, firſt, Baron of *Denbigh*, (giving him *Denbigh* and all the Lands belonging to it) and then, Earl of *Leiceſter*, to him and the Heirs-males of his body lawfully begotten: which Honour was confer'd upon him with the greateſt State and Solemnity that ever was known. And now *Leiceſter*, to endear himſelf to the Queen of *Scots*, accuſed Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, for being privy to the Libel of *Hales*, who affirmed the Right of the Crown to belong to the Family of *Suffolk* in caſe the Qu. ſhould die without Iſſue: and thereupon was *Bacon* caſt into Priſon;

soon; till afterward, upon his purgation, and the mediation of Sir *William Cecil*, he was set at liberty, and restored to his place.

And now for a while we must cast our eyes upon *Scotland*, for that was now the Stage where all great businesses of State were acted. *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, who had married *Margaret Douglas* King *Henry* the Eighth's Neece by his eldest Sister, had been kept as an Exile in *England* now twenty years. Him the Queen of *Scots* invites to come into *Scotland*, under pretence of restoring to him his ancient Patrimony; but indeed to confer with him about a Marriage with his Son the Lord *Darley*; for he being reputed Heir of the Crown of *England*, next after her self, she thought, by matching with his Son, to strengthen her own Title, and to prevent the hope of any other. Queen *Elizabeth*, upon suit made by his Wife, gave the Earl leave to go; but soon after, suspecting what the Queen of *Scots* intent was in sending for him, she, to hinder the proceeding, sent Sir *Tho. Randall* to her, to let her know, that if she proceeded in this Match, she would exceedingly wrong her self; for that it was a Match so much disliked by all the *English*, that she was fain to Prorogue the Parliament, lest upon dislike thereof there should something be Enacted against her Right of Succession: But if she would marry the Earl of *Leicester*, she should then by Parliament be declar'd her next Heir. Hereupon, in the Month of *November*, the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *Thomas Randoll* for Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Murray* and *Liddington* for the Queen of *Scots*, at *Barwick* entred into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of *Leicester*. The *English* Commissioners urg'd the great benefits that by this Match would accrew both to the Queen of *Scots* her self, and to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*: The *Scottish*, on the other side, urg'd the great disparagement it would be to the Qu. of *Scots*, if, refusing the offers made her of divers great Princes, she should match her self with so mean a Person as the Earl of *Leicester*. This matter held long debate, partly for that the *English* Commissioners were so appointed by Qu. *Elizabeth*; and partly for that the *Scottish* Commissioners had a good mind to hinder her from marrying at all: and perhaps not the least, for that the Earl of *Leicester*, being verily persuaded he should at last obtain Queen *Elizabeth* her self, by secret Letters warned the Earl of *Bedford* not to urge the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots* too far; and was thought for this cause to favour *Darley* under-hand. The matter being in this manner protracted for two whole years together; the Queen of *Scots*, impatient of longer delay, and being resolved in her mind what she would do, used means, that the Lord *Darley* got leave of Queen *Elizabeth* to go into *Scotland* for three Months only, under colour to be put in possession of his Father's Lands. (Though it be strange, the Queen upon any terms would let him go, if she really intended to hinder the marriage: But such was the destiny, if there were not a Plot in it.) And so in *February* he came to *Edenburgh*: who being a young man, of not above nineteen Years of age, of a comely countenance, and most Princely presence, the Queen of *Scots*, as soon as she saw him, fell in love with him; yet modestly dissembling it for the present, she thought to get a Dispensation from *Rome*, because of their nearness in Consanguinity. And now, her inclination being grown so apparent, that there was no concealing it, she sent *Liddington* to Qu. *Eliz.*, desiring her consent. But she through the suggestions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induced to believe that the Qu. of *Scots* intention was, by this Marriage to get the Crown of *England*, and to bring in Popery, entred into consultation with her Privy Council, what was fit to be done to hinder the Marriage: who all concluded that these were the best ways; First, to have a Company of Soldiers levied for terror sake about the borders towards *Scotland*; then to commit to Prison the Countess of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darley*'s Mother; and to recal from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox*, and his Son *Darley*, upon pain of the loss of all their Goods in *England*; then that the *Scots*, who were known to be averse from the Marriage, should be reliev'd and assisted; and lastly, that *Katherine Gray*, with the Earl of *Hartford*, should be received into some grace, about whom only (it was thought) the Queen of *Scots* was most solicitous, as being her Rival to the *English* Crown. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to counsel her in the Queens name not to proceed in this Marriage; and to shew her the many inconveniences that would accrew unto her by it. But she returned answer, that the matter was too far passed to be resalled; and that Queen *Elizabeth* had no cause to be displeased with it, seeing herein she followed her advice, not to match with a stranger, but with an *English*-man born.

Queen *Elizabeth*, being informed of her Answer, calleth home the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darley* his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return. The Father modestly by Letters excuseth himself: the Son humbly intreateth her not to be a hinderance to his preferment; which he vows to employ in her Majesties Service, to the utmost of his power.

And now, to make him the fitter Match for her, the Queen of *Scots* honoured him first with Knighthood, then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armanack*, Earl of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothsay*; which Dukdom by Birth pertaineth to the eldest Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. After this, when he had not been above five months in *Scotland*, she married him; and, with the consent of most of the Peers, declared him King. At this the Earl of *Murray*, and others whom he drew to his party, extremely fretted, and fell to moving of turbulent questions, Whether it were lawful to admit a Papist King; Whether the Queen of *Scots* might choose a Husband at her own pleasure: and, Whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not out of their own Authority impose one upon her. But however, they raised Arms, and had disturbed the Nuptials, but that the Queen levied an Army to encounter them: with which she pursu'd them so closely, that they were fain to fly into *England* for Protection. Where Queen *Elizabeth* made no scruple to receive them, seeing the Queen of *Scots* had received *Turdly*, *Standon* and *Walsh*, that were fled out of *England*; but the Earl of *Murray* especially, who had always been found addicted to the

The Queen of *Scots* seeks to marry the Lord *Darley*, Son to the Earl of *Lenox*.

Queen *Elizabeth* dissuades her from it, and perswades her to marry the Earl of *Leicester*.

Hereupon Commissioners are sent to treat of this Marriage.

But the Commissioners cannot agree.

The Queen of *Scots* impatient of delay, sets the Lord *Darley* to come into *Scotland*.

At first sight she falls in love with him.

And then sends to Qu. *Elizabeth* for her consent to Marry him.

Qu. *Elizabeth* opposeth it.

The Queen of *Scots* makes the Lord *Darley* Duke of *Rothsey*, and Marries him.

The Earl of *Murray* raiseth an Army against him.

But being encountred, he flies into *England*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* receives.

the *English*. Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps was not much troubled at the Marriage, partly as knowing the mild disposition of the Lord *Darley*, and how little access of strength it brought to the Queen of *Scots*; but most of all, as plainly seeing there would troubles arise in *Scotland* upon it, and the troubles of *Scotland* would be the quietness of *England*, which as a good Mother of her Country, was the Mark she aimed at: Yet she made a show of being offended with it; but rather to conceal her aim, than that she was offended with it indeed.

Queen *Elizabeth* is moved again to marry *Charles* the Emperor's Brother.

At this time the Emperor *Maximilian* sent to Queen *Elizabeth* his Ambassador, *Adam Swaricote*, renewing the former suit for his Brother *Charles* of *Austria*; for which Marriage the Earl of *Sussex* was very earnest; the Earl of *Leicester* as much against it: So as it grew to a quarrel between them, and the Court was divided into factions about it: But the Queen, who never liked the dissention of her Peers (though it be a Rule with some, *Divide* and *Reign*) made them Friends, at least in countenance.

We may now leave *Scotland* a while, and see the Honour done at this time to Queen *Elizabeth*, not much inferior to the Honour done to *Solomon* by the Queen of *Sheba*; for now *Cecill*, the Sister of *Eric* King of *Sweden*, and Wife of *Christopher* Marquess of *Baden*, being great with Child, came from the farthest part of the North (a long Journey) thorow *Germany*, of purpose to see her, for the great fame she had heard of her Wisdom. At her being here, she was delivered of a Child, to whom, in regard of her kindness, Q. *Elizabeth* was God-mother, and named him *Edwardus Fortunatus*; giving to her and her Husband, besides Royal Entertainment, a yearly Pension. At this time also, for the great Fame of her Wisdom, *Donald Mac Carti More*, a great Potentate of *Ireland*, came and delivered up into her hands all his most ample Territories; and then receiving them again from her, to hold them to him and his Heirs males lawfully begotten; and for want of such Issue, to remain to the Crown of *England*. The Queen in regard invested him with the honour of Earl of *Glenkary*, and Baron of *Valentry*; and besides many Presents given him, paid the charges of his Journey.

Cecil Sister of the King of *Sweden*, comes into *England* of purpose to see the Queen.

Alis MacCarti a great Potentate of *Ireland*.

An. Reg. 8. 1566.

It was now the eighth Year of *Elizabeths* Reign, when Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, a Knight of *Glocestershire*, governing *Ireland* under the Title of a Justice, was called home, and Sir *Henry Sidney* placed in his room. And here by the way it is to be noted, That the Governours of *Ireland*, after it came under the *English*, were at first called Justices of *Ireland*; afterwards, Lieutenants, and their Vice-gerents were called Deputies. Afterwards as the Princes pleasure, sometimes Deputies, sometimes Justices, and sometimes Lieutenants, which last Title, though it be of greatest honour, yet in power is in a manner but the same. Sir *Henry Sidney* at his coming into *Ireland*, found the Province of *Munster* in much disorder, by reason of strife between *Gerald* Earl of *Desmond*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*: Whereupon the Queen sending for the Earl of *Desmond* into *England*, ordained a new Government in that Province, appointed a President to administer Justice, together with an Assistant on the Bench, two Lawyers and a Notary: And the first President she made in this place, was Sir *William Stanley*.

The Governours of *Ireland* what Titles they had.

A President of *Munster* when first ordained.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* in a Progress went to *Oxford*, where she took pleasure in viewing the Colledges, in hearing Orations, in seeing of Comedies, till the Comedy of *Ecclesiastes* and *Love* turned into a Tragedy; for by the fall of a Wall, through the multitude of people that pressed in to see it, three men were slain. At her coming away, she made an Oration in *Latin* to the Scholars, a sufficient recompence for all the Orations they had made to her. And this Year was a call of seven new Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at *Greenlow* in *Holborn*.

Queen *Elizabeth* makes a Progress to *Oxford*.

A call of seven Serjeants at Law.

Upon the Queens return from *Oxford*, the Parliament began, where they presently fell upon the matter of succession, and moving the Q. to marry, in which points some went so far, that they spared not to accuse the Queen, as one careless of Posterity; to defame *Cecill* with Libels and reproaches, as if he were her Counsellour in this matter; but above all, to curse Doctor *Huic*, her Physitian, who was thought to dissuade her from Marriage, by reason of I know not what womanish insufficiency. At least in the Upper-House it was agreed, That Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper, their Orator, should in all their names beseech the Queen to marry; and withal, to declare a Successour to the Crown, if she should happen to die without Issue; for which he gave many Reasons, declaring what mischiefs were likely to befal the Kingdom, if she should die before a Successour were designed. But in the Lower-House there were some, amongst whom were *Bell* and *Mounson*, (two Lawyers of great account) *Dalton*, Sir *Paul Wentworth*, and others who grew to far higher terms, disparging the Q. Authority, and saying, That Princes were bound to design a Successour; and that in not doing it, the Queen should shew her self no better than a parricide of her Country. The Queen was contented to bear with words spoken in Parliament, which spoken out of Parliament, she would never have endured; but not willing to expostulate the matter with the whole number, She commanded that 30 of the Higher House, and as many of the Lower, should appear before her, to whom She delivered her mind to this effect; That she knew what danger hangeth over a Princes Head, when a Successour is once declared; She knew that even Children themselves, out of a hasty desire of bearing Rule, had taken up Arms against their own Fathers, and how could better Condition be expected from Kindred? She had by reading observed, That Successors in a collateral Line have seldom been declared; and that *Lewis* of *Orleans*, and *Francis* of *Angoulesme*, were never declared Successors, and yet obtained the Crown without any noise.

In a Parliament at this time, the Queen is moved again to marry.

And to declare a Successor.

The Queen's answer to their motions.

Lastly, She said, Though I have been content to forbear debate the matter of Succession, yet I advise you to beware, that you be not injurious to your Princes patience. With these and the like Reasons, she gave so great satisfaction, that they never after troubled her with making any such motion. And though she consented not in plain terms to declare a Successor, yet soon after

She gave some intimation of it, for one *Thornton*, a Reader of the Civil Law in *London*, who in his Lectures called the Q. of *Scots* Right in question, was clapped up in Prison for his labour.

1567.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Leicester* made Kts. of the Order of St. *Michael*.

In the beginning of her Ninth Year, *Charles* the 9th King of *France*, sent his Ambassadour *Rambouliet* into *England* to the Queen, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of Saint *Michael*, to bestow upon which two of her Nobility she pleased; and she making choice of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, they were by *Rambouliet* invested with them; an Honour that had never been conferred upon any *English*, but only King *Henry* the 8th, King *Edward* the 6th, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, though afterward prostituted almost to any, without difference.

The Queen of *Scots* is delivered of a Son.

And now to return to the affairs of *Scotland*. The Nineteenth of *June* last past, the Queen of *Scots*, in a happy hour, was at *Edenburgh* Castle delivered of a Son, that was afterward *James* the sixth of *Scotland*, and the first Monarch of *Great Britain*, whereof She presently sent word to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *James Melvyne*, who thereupon sent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to congratulate her safe deliverance, and her young Son, with all demonstration of love and amity. But now the love of the Queen of *Scots* to her Husband the L. *Darley*, was not so hot at first, but it was now grown to be as cold; and she had not heaped honours on him so fast before, but now as fast she taketh them off: for where before in publick Acts, she had used to place her Husbands Name first, now she caused it to be placed last, and in the Coyning of Money began to leave it quite out.

She grows cold in her love to the King.

David Rizio an *Italian*, grows a great Favourite to the Queen of *Scots*.

This unkindness between them, was fomented by one *David Rizio* an *Italian*, whom the Queen had taken into her Service, first, as a Musician, and then taking a liking to him, made him her Secretary for the *French* Tongue, by means whereof, he had oftentimes secret conference with her, when the King her Husband might not be admitted. This indignity the King himself being given to his pleasures of Hunting and Hawking, resented not so much, as some Lords that were his friends; who told him plainly, that it stood not with his Honour to suffer this fellow to live. By whose instigation, the King drawn to plot his death, one day taking with him the Earl of *Ruthen*, and others, he rushed into the Queens Chamber at her Supper time, where finding *David Rizio* at a Cupboard casting some meat that had been taken from the Table, he seized upon him, dragged him forth into an outer Chamber, and there murthered him, the Queen at that time being great with Child, and like by that affright to have miscarried. But the Fact being done, the King came in to her again, assuring her there was no hurt at all intended to her Person. The Man that had animated the King to do this Fact, was especially the Earl of *Murray*, of whom it is necessary to say something, because his part will be the greatest of all the *Scottish* Actions of this time. He was the base Son of King *James* the Fifth, and so the base Brother of the Queen, made at first Prior of Saint *Andrews*: But not liking that Religious Title, he affected rather some Temporal Honour, which when the Queen, being then in *Sweden*, denied him, then in an angry mood he returned into *Scotland*, where by the advice of *Knox*, whom he held for a great Patriarch, he brought the matter so to pass, that in an Assembly of the States, the Religion was altered, and the *French* were banished out of *Scotland*. Yet afterward, as soon as the Q. was a Widow, he posted into *France*, and so insinuated with her, that she created him Earl of *Murray*, and promoted him to an Honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he returned into *Scotland*, where, for the growth of his ambitious designs, he sowed seeds of Sedition, affirming often, what a misery it was to be under the Command of a Woman; and that Royalty was not to be tied to any Stock or Kindred, but to Vertue only, whether the Parties were legitimate or no: By this course, making way to the Kingdom for himself. To this end, he used all the means he could to keep the Queen from marrying again; which when he could not effect, he then sought ways how to make discord between her and her Husband; for which cause he had caused the King to murther *Rizio*. Of the foulness of which Fact, when the King after a while grew sensible, he meant to be revenged of *Murray*, who had counselled him to do it: Which *Murray* understanding, prevented it with causing the like to be done to him, as will presently be seen. For the Q. having been delivered of a Son, and the day appointed for the Christning being come, where the Godfathers were *Charles* King of *France*, and *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*; Queen *Elizabeth* being requested to be God-mother, sent thither the Earl of *Bedford* as her Deputy, and a Font Masse Gold for a present, in value 1000 *l.* but gave him express Command, That he should not honour *Darley* with the Title of King. But before a Month or two, after the Christning, were passed, the King in a stormy and tempestuous Night was strangled in his Bed, and then cast forth into the Garden, and the House immediately blown up with Gun-powder.

The King intends to be revenged on him.

But the Earl prevents him, and the King is strangled in his Bed.

The death of the King is by common fame laid upon *Murray*, and *Morton*, by them upon the Queen.

The rumour of this Murther being spread abroad, the common Fame laid it upon *Murray* and *Morton*, and their Confederates; *Murray* and *Morton* upon the Queen. But we must not here give ear to that which *Buchanan* writes, who to curry favour with the Earl of *Murray*, lays most impudent scandals upon the Queen; whereof, before his death, he repented himself extreamly. The King thus murthered, and the Q. left alone to her self, she is counselled to marry with some that might be able to assist her against all her opposites: *James Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell* being then greatly in her favour, and of great eminency for his valour, and though he were the Man that had acted the Murder, yet is he by *Murray* and his Confederates commended to the Queen: To which motion, as being destitute of friends, and not knowing whom to trust, she at last consents, but upon these Conditions, That above all things, respect might be had to her young Son; and that *Bothwell* might be legally quieted, both from the bond of his former marriage, and also of the Kings Murder. Hereupon a course is plotted, by which *Bothwell* is called to the Bar; and *Morton* being is Advocate, by the Sentence of the Judges he is clearly acquitted. Upon this he is created Duke of *Orkney*, and by consent of many of the Nobility, he is married to the Queen; which bred a suspicion in many,

Who to strengthen her self, marries the Earl *Bothwell*.

Especially by the animation of the Earl of *Murray*.

The Earls Rising and Carriage.

Against whom Murray takes Arms, and forceth him to fly, and then seizeth upon the Queen.

Queen Elizabeth hearing of it, sends to expostulate with the Confederates about it, and their Answer.

The Queen of Scots out of fear, sets her hand to three Instruments to her own prejudice.

Exchequer, a man both Prudent and Provident, and allied to the Queen by her Mother's Sister. In his room succeeded *Walter Haddon*, a man of Wisdom and Integrity; by Master Office came Sir *Francis Knolles*, who married Mistress *Mary Carey*, the Daughter of Mistress Boleyn, the Queen's Mother's Sister.

The Marriage of Queen *Elizabeth* with the Emperor's Brother is again treated of; but after seven years breaks utterly off.

It was now the year 1567, and the tenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when the Earl of Sussex came into England from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of the Marriage of the Queen with the Arch-Duke *Charles*, upon which very occasion the Queen a little before had made the Earl of Sussex to the Emperor, with the Order of the Garter. But in the treaty of Marriage there fell out so many difficulties about Religion, Maintenance of the Duke, [illegible] Privileges, Titles and Conditions, [illegible] given to and been treated [illegible] Ambassadors, it came at last to nothing, and the Duke [illegible] after in marriage Mary Countess to the Fifth Duke of Bavaria, yet both he and the Emperor continued very [illegible] and Correspondence with the Queen.

The Muscovia Company have their Privileges enlarged by the Emperor of Muscovia.

About this time there came from *John Basil* Emperor of *Russia*, Ambassadors [illegible] and *Theodore Pogorella*, with a Present of rich Furs of Sables, Minivers, and other like things, and offering all service and amity to the Queen and Kingdom. The Virtue of a Grant from [illegible] Company [illegible] Muscovia Company [illegible] Queen [illegible] Privileges [illegible] Company [illegible] Navigation [illegible] Observations [illegible] Description [illegible] that passed [illegible] the eighth [illegible] Earldom [illegible] Baron [illegible] Buckhurst [illegible] Brother [illegible] from *Loch* [illegible] in a meeting [illegible] there was drawn [illegible] the Grant extorted [illegible] Queen is *Jesus* [illegible] the beginning [illegible] multitudes flocked to her [illegible] were soon [illegible] Queen [illegible] to have her [illegible] Houle [illegible] Lord *Herris* [illegible] sent *John Beton* to Queen *Elizabeth*, with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly received from her, as a Pledge of mutual amity; intimating that she would come into *England*, and implore her aid against her Subjects, desiring to prosecute no further. Queen *Elizabeth* returned an answer, that she should expect from him in [illegible] dutiful manner, all loving and friendly Offices.

Sir *Thomas Sackville* is created Baron of *Buckhurst*.

The Queen of *Scots* after eleven Months Imprisonment escapes and raiseth an Army, but is defeated by *Murray*.

But for this Message was sent, that the contrary to the advice of her Friends, entered into a small Barke, and with the Lords *Herris* and *Flemming*, and a few others, landed at *Workington* in *Cumberland*, upon the South of the River of *Derwent*, the 16th day of *May*, and the same day wrote Letters to the Queen in *French* with her own hand, the effect whereof was, That having made an escape from the hands of her insolent and [illegible] Subjects, she was now come into *England* upon certain hope of her approved clemency, earnestly desiring, that might [illegible] Presence Queen [illegible] Letters by Sir *Francis Knolles*, confirmed [illegible] promised her aid and defence, [illegible] the equity of his cause; but denied [illegible] for that she was held guilty of many Crimes, giving command to have her brought to *Carlisle*, a place of better safety. The Queen of Scots receiving this answer, and finding access to the Queen denied her, making request again by Letter, that she might have leave both [illegible] and to [illegible] Crimes objected, in her own presence, [illegible] intreating her, that either she might [illegible] have conference and [illegible] or else have leave to depart out of [illegible] elsewhere, and not to be [illegible] Castel at *Carlisle*, for as much as [illegible] unwillingly into *England*, relying [illegible] have so often confessed Queen these [illegible] exceedingly commiserated her [illegible] have found in her Heart to advise her Privy Councellors [illegible] consultation, what [illegible] her in *England*, [illegible] among Subjects standing on it, to send her [illegible] Enemies, as many as [illegible] to send her back into *Scot.* [illegible] as in conclusion, the most [illegible] of opinion, to have her detained, as one taken by right of War, and not to be dismissed, till [illegible] for the death of *Darnley* her [illegible] was done out of the Queen's Subjects [illegible] of opinion Queen *Elizabeth* [illegible] judgment, sent word by *Middlemore* [illegible] Regent of *Scotland*, that he should [illegible] Person, or else depute some [illegible] to answer the Complaints of the Queen of *Scots* against him and his Confederates, and [illegible] cause, wherefore they had detained her, otherwise she would forthwith dismiss her, and withstand the forces she should send [illegible] her Kingdom. To this summons *Murray* [illegible] and came to *York*, the place appointed for [illegible] Treaty, accompanied with seven more of his [illegible] Queen *Elizabeth* [illegible] the [illegible] King, namely, *Thomas* Earl of *Murray*, *A-* [illegible] Bishop of *Orkney*, *Robert* of *Dunfermline*, *Pa-* [illegible] Lord of *Lindsey*, *James Mackgill*, and [illegible] *Ratonay*, and with them *Lidington* the Secretary, and *George Buchanan*. And the very same day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Sussex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* a Privy Counsellour, appointed Com-

Whereupon she flies into *England*, and requires access to Queen *Elizabeth*'s presence.

1568.

Queen *Elizabeth* promiseth her aid, but denieth access, yet commands her to be brought to *Carlisle*.

Reasons for detaining the Queen of *Scots*.

Queen *Elizabeth* appoints Commissioners to hear the cause of the Queen of *Scots*.

Commissioners for Queen *Elizabeth*. For the Queen of *Scots* (who took it haimously that Queen *Elizabeth* would not hear the cause herself, but refer her to Subjects, being an absolute Prince, and not tied to their proceedings) there appeared *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross*, *William* Lord *Levyngton*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, *Gawen* of *Kilwynnin*, *John Gourdon*, and *James Cockburn*. Being met, *Lesington* running himself to the *Scots* in a wondrous liberty of speech gave them this advice, Maturely to consider, what prejudice they should draw upon themselves, by agitating the Queen of *Scots*, and calling her reputation in question, publickly before the English, professed enemies of the *Scots* Nation; likewise, what account they shall be able to give hereof to the King, when he shall grow to riper years, and shall see what an injury this was to the Kingdom, his Mother, and his own person. Whereto (said he) it seemeth unwilling to submit himselfe altogether, unless the Queen of *England* will enter into a mutual League of Offence and Defence, against all those, which under this pretence, shall go about to molest us. Upon this Speech of his, the Delegates of the Queen of *Scots* made Protestation, That altho' it pleased the Queen of *Scots* to have the cause between her and her disloyal Subjects debated before the English, yet she being a free Prince, and obnoxious to no earthly Prince whatsoever, did not thereby yield her self subject to the Jurisdiction and Command of any Person. On the contrary, the *English* protested, that they did in no wise admit that Protestation, in prejudice of the right which the King of *England* hereby openly challenged as superiour Lords of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. The day after, the Queen of *Scots* Delegates set forth at large the infamous slanders of *Morton*, *Murray*, *Marre*, *Glencarne*, *Hames*, and others against the Queen; and how they had compelled her, for fear of death, to resign her Crown; which therefore (they said) was of no force. *Murray* and his Confederates made answer, That they had done nothing but by consent of the Peers in Parliament, and that in prosecuting of *Bothwell*, the Author of the King's murther, whom the Queen favoured, and in for her resignation, that it was voluntarily and freely done. All this the Queen of *Scots* Delegates answered and confuted, insisting in particular, That in fact there were but three Earls, Bishops and Barons (more or less) that had Voices in the Parliament of *Scotland*, there were but in that tumultuous assembly there were above four Earls, one Bishop or Abbot or two, and six Barons; whereas there were present, was, that the Queen of *Scots* would be sensible of these indignities offered her, and take some course for a speedy redress.

The Queen of *Scots* requires to have the Queen and Council's Answer to be added to the Commissioners.

After this, some new Commissioners from Queen *Elizabeth* were added to the former, to some of whom the Queen of *Scots* took exception; unless the French and Spanish Embassadors might be present, and her self admitted into the presence of the Queen and them, publickly to defend her own innocency; and that *Murray* might be examined and cast, whom she affirmed, she was able to prove to have been the chief Plotter of the murther of her Husband *Darley*. This was held to be a just demand by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, and the Lord *Canon*. But Queen *Elizabeth* waxing somewhat angry, openly said, that the Queen of *Scots* should never want an Advocate as long as *Norfolk* lived. It was then here, which is said, that the Heart of the King is incredible, for how Queen *Elizabeth* stood affected at this case of the Queen of *Scots*, no Man could well discern; she detested the insolency of her Subjects in deposing her, and yet gave no assistance to relieve her.

After long agitation of this business, and nothing concluded, *Murray* a little before his return into *Scotland*, first propounded the marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which he with a modest answer rejected, as a thing full of danger. But withal, *Murray* the more to alienate Queen *Elizabeth*'s mind from the Queen of *Scots*, gave out, that she had passed away to the Duke of *Anjou* her Right to the Crown of *England*; and that the translation was confirmed at *Rome*; he shewed Letters also which the Queen of *Scots* had written to some Friends whom she trusted; wherein she accused the Queen for not dealing with her according to promise, and hastning of succours, expecting from some others. This last clause, something troubled Queen *Elizabeth*, neither could she easily suffer such succour [illegible] the Civil Wars, and the Duke of *Guise* in the Low-Countries, and the Duke of *Guise* in *France*, and the Duke of *Alva* in the Low-Countries began so enraged the three reformation of the Protestant Religion in *France*, the Ministers of the Gospel are commanded to depart the Kingdom; when Queen *Elizabeth* forbidding the inclination of the Protestants of *Normandy*, sent upon her their assistance, supplying them with two hundred thousand Crowns in money, besides Munition in abundance, and withall humanely receives the *French* Protestants, the rather, for that they [illegible] their Religion, they took not up Arms against their Prince, but only stood upon their own defence. In the Low-Countries likewise the Duke *D'Alva* breathing nothing but slaughter and blood, made the People come flocking into *England*, as into a Sanctuary, where with all courtesie they were received.

Murray propounds the Marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to the Duke of *Norfolk*.

Ridolph a Florentine, incited the Papists in the behalf of the Queen of *Scots*.

The Protestants persecuted in *France* by the *Guises*, fly into *England*.

How the War in the Low-Countries first began.

And here it will be fit to shew how the War in the Low-Countries began first, which was thus: At what time the King of *Spain* brought in the *Spanish* Inquisition, a great number of the meaner sort of people, in tumultuous manner, cast the Images out of Churches, and brake them in pieces; and although that tumult was soon quieted, yet the King of *Spain* taking advantage at the rash-

rashness of a few, to charge the whole Nation with Rebellion, thus brought them [illegible] Enemies, [illegible] Duke D'Alva, a bloody and fierce Man, who [illegible] the Government [illegible] floms of his Country, [illegible] away all [illegible] from [illegible] on [illegible] and [illegible] placed Garrisons of Spaniards [illegible] their Cities and Villages [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] at that time [illegible] rous [illegible] Merchants [illegible] Commodities [illegible] being [illegible] Trading, was [illegible] French, and [illegible] Harbours of England, [illegible] ed to be accounted [illegible] be the King of [illegible] at the same time [illegible] of France into [illegible] Queen, [illegible] Spain [illegible] Genoa from [illegible] taxed [illegible] ploy'd [illegible] nation [illegible] propose [illegible] terr[illegible] M[illegible] if the [illegible] in the [illegible] had [illegible] ing [illegible] G[illegible] in [illegible] of the [illegible] me[illegible] th[illegible] M[illegible] to [illegible] ing [illegible] it [illegible] Inv[illegible] al[illegible]

Letters of Mart granted against Spain.

1569.

Sir William Cecil scouted by the Duke of Norfolk and others, is protected by the Queen.

P[illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the Queen with it himself. This Counsel *Leicester* opposed, promising to open it to the Qu. as she went in Progress. At length, at *Farnham*, the Duke standing by as the Queen sate at Table, she gave him a tart Admonition, That he were best take heed upon what Pillow he rested his Head. After this, at *Titchfield*, *Leicester* fell sick, or at least counterfeited, to whom the Qu. coming, and bidding him to be of good cheer, he with sighs and tears craved pardon for his fault, and unfolded to her the whole story from the very beginning. Whereupon, the Queen called the Duke into the Gallery, reproving him sharply for going about the Marriage, without acquainting her; & commanding him, upon his Allegiance, to desist. The Duke made her a free and hearty promise of obedience, and spared not to say (as if he little regarded the Queen of *Scots*) that his Revenues in *England* were not much less than hers in *Scotland*; and that when he was at his House in *Norwich*, he thought himself in a sort not inferior to some Kings; but notwithstanding, finding the Queens anger by her countenance, and perceiving *Leicester* to be in a manner quite alienated, and most of the Nobility also, as scarcely saluting him when they met him; he grew extreamly dejected, and prepared presently to leave the Court, meaning to stay at *Norwich*, till by his friends intercession, and his own submissive Letters, the Queens Heart might be mollified towards him: Mean while, the Court was suspiciously fearful, lest he should raise Rebellion, and (they say) it was concluded, that if he did so, the Queen of *Scots* should presently be made away. And now the Duke, who held secret commerce by Letters with the Bishop of *Rosse*, *Throgmorton* and *Leicester* (for they were sent to and fro in Bottles) being examined touching the Marriage of the Qu. of *Scots*, and certain secret conferences with the Bishop of *Rosse*, confessed most of the Objections, and was thereupon committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir *Henry Nevill*; within two days after the Bishop of *Rosse* likewise is examined, and together with the Florentine *Robert Ridolph* is delivered to the custody of Sir *Francis Walsingham*; the Earl of *Pembroke* is confined to his House, and examined privately; but his confession was not committed to writing: It being his Request, because he could not write himself. At this time, the rumour of Insurrection in the North begun in Autumn before, grew very strong, by reason of some frequent meetings of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, and others, who thereupon being upon their Allegiance, sent for to repair presently to the Queen, make delays (for they stayed waiting for supplies, both from the *Scots*, and from the Duke *D' Alva*) when the Earl of *Northumberland* doubting what to do, was frighted of purpose by his servants, telling him, that men in Arms were near at hand to apprehend him; Who thereupon in a tempestuous Night, riseth out of his Bed, and in great fear gets into his Park at *Topcliffe*, and the Night following to *Brancepith*, to the Earl of *Westmerland*'s House, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the Enterprise: Here they brake forth in an open Rebellion, being pressed forward by one *Nicholas Morton* a *Romish* Priest, sent by the Pope to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick; and therefore to have utterly lost all Right of Sovereignty: By and by they send forth a Writing, wherein they declare that they had taken Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of their fore-Fathers might be restored, wicked Counsellors removed from the Queen, the Duke of *Norfolk* and others of the loyal Nobility relieved, who were now in disgrace; but towards the Queen, professing themselves most dutiful Subjects; withal they send Letters to the Papists all the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to their assistance; but they were so far from joyning with them, that many sent both the Letters and the Bearers of them to the Queen, and afforded their aids and purses against them no less than the best Protestants; even the Duke of *Norfolk* himself was not backward in it.

These Rebels go first to *Durham*, where they tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Common Prayer they could find in Churches of the *English* Tongue: when they had been twelve days in Rebellion, they numbred their Army, and could not reckon above six hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot: whereupon being certainly informed, that the Earl of *Sussex* with seven thousand, and the Earl of *Warwick* with twelve, were setting out against them, they betook themselves to *Raby*, the chief House of the Earl of *Westmerland*; going from thence, they besieged *Bernard* Castle, which for lack of Provision, was yielded to them. At which time being proclaimed Traytors, and hearing a fresh of the great Forces that were coming against them, the two Earls with a small Company got presently into *Scotland*, land by whom the Earl of *Northumberland* hid himself at *Harden* in a poor Cottage, amongst the *Grahams* (happy Robbers) who after wards betrayed him to the Earl of *Murray*: *Westmerland* made a shift to get into the *Low-Countries*, where he had a Yearly Pension from the King of *Spain*, & there lived even to old age. Of the rest, for terror and examples sake, there were hanged at *Durham* threescore and six of the chief; amongst whom, *Plaintree* a noted Priest. At *York* were executed, *Simon Digby*, *John Fulthorp*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Robert Pemyman*; and at *London* a few months after, *Christopher* and *Thomas*; and some other in other places. After this, the Heads of the Rebels being convicted of High-Treason, were proscribed; namely *Charles* Earl of *Westmerland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ann* Countess of *Northumberland*, *Edward Dacres* of *Morton*, *John Nevill* of *Leversedge*, *John Swinburn*, *Thomas Markenfield*, *Egremond Ratcliff*, Brother to the Earl of *Sussex*, *Christopher Nevill*, *Richard Norton*, *Christopher Marmaduke*, *Robert* and *Michael Tempest*, *George Stafford*, and forty others of good account. Out of the ashes of this Rebellion, a new fire was kindled at *Naworth* in *Cumberland* by *Leonard Dacres*, second Son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gylsland*, he was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking forth sooner than he expected, and he at that time being at the Court, and there admitted to kiss the Queens hand, tendred his service to go against them, & to that purpose, was sent home; but in his Journey (branding himself with a double disloyalty) he consulted with the Rebels, and encouraged

But coming at last to her knowledg, she commands the Duke upon his Allegiance to desist; which he promiseth.

He is committed to the Tower.

The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* raise Arms in the North, and why.

But pursued by the Queens Army, they fly.

Westmerland in the Low-Countries, where he lived poorly to old age.

Northumberland was taken and proscrib'd.

After this *Leonard Dacres* raiseth an Army, but is defeated, and flieth into the *Low-Countreys*.

encouraged them to go on: and by vertue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surprised the Castel of *Greystock*, and other Houses of the *Dacres*, and gathered together an Army of three thousand men: But being encountred by the Baron of *Hunsdon*, after a great fight, wherein, though he were crook-backt, he behaved himself valiantly, he was put to flight, and fled into *Scotland*, from whence soon after he passed over to the *Low-Countries*, and in great misery and poverty died at *Louvayn*.

Queen *Elizabeth* assisteth the Protestants in *France*.

But though the Queen were thus intangled with Rebellions at home, yet she was not careless of the afflicted Protestants in *France*. For she stirred up the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause, supplied them with Money taking in pawn the Queen of *Navarr*'s Jewels; and gave leave to *Hen. Champernon* to lead into *France* a Troop of an hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries, amongst whom were *Philip Basshett*, *Francis Barkley*, and *Walter Raleigh*, a very young Man, who now began to look into the World. But as the Queen of *England* assisted the *French*, so in revenge thereof, the King of *France* meant to assist the *Scots*, but that he was taken away by death.

There was at that time a Rebellion in *Ireland* also, raised by *Edmund* and *Peter*, Brothers to *Botelar* Earl of *Ormond*, but after many outrages by them committed, the Earl Ormond first by perswasions, obtained of them to submit themselves, and when notwithstanding they were committed to Prison, he then obtained of the Queen they should not be called to the Bar, being exceedingly grieved that any of his Blood should be accounted of Rebellion. The rest of the Rebels were pursued by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, and soon dispersed.

The Earl of *Murray* Regent of *Scotland*, murdered riding in the street.

And now the Earl of *Murray*, Regent of *Scotland*, whom he had brought all things to his hearts desire, and thought himself secure, at *Lithgo*, riding along the Streets, was shot into the Belly with a Pistol, beneath the Navil, and there fell down dead. The Actor was a *Hamilton*, who did it upon a private revenge, for that *Murray* had forced him to pass with a piece of Land which he had by his Wife; who thereupon falling Lunatick, he in a great rage committed the slaughter.

After *Murray*'s death, the Country being without a Regent, was cause of many disorders. *Thomas Carre* and *Walter Scot*, two principal men amongst the *Scots* Borderers, and devoted to the Queen of *Scots*, made Inroades into *England*, wasting all places with Fire and Sword, but by Forces sent out of *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Sussex*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*, they were defeated: In whose pursuit three hundred Villages were fired, and above fifty Holds were overturned. For which service the Earl made many Knights, as Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Thomas Mowbray*, Sir *George Carie*, Sir *Robert Constable*, and others, and then returned. And now to prevent further disorders, the Lords of *Scotland* being ready to assemble about the Election of a new Regent, they asked Counsel of Queen *Elizabeth* in the matter; but she making answer she would not meddle in it, because she would not be thought to work any thing prejudicial to the Queen of *Scots*, whose case was not yet tried, they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* Regent: which Queen *Elizabeth* did the better like, as conceiving he could not choose out of natural affection, but have a special care of the young King, being his Grand-child.

Matthew Earl of *Lenox* is made Regent in his place.

But while Qu. *Elizabeth* favoured the Kings Party in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, (the Queen of *Scots* Lieutenants) imploy the Lord *Seton* to the Duke *D'Alva*, requiring him for many great Reasons, to vindicate the Queen of *Scots* liberty, alledging how acceptable a Work it would be to all Christian Princes, and to the whole Catholick Church: Whereunto the Duke made Answer, They should find him ready to the uttermost of his power to satisfie their request. At which time also the *French* King dealt earnestly with Queen *Elizabeth* to the same purpose; and the *Spanish* Embassadour in his Masters Name urged it no less extreamly. But Queen *Elizabeth* assaulted with all these importunities, made answer, That as she would omit nothing that might serve for the Reconciling of the Queen of *Scots* and her Subjects, so she must have leave to provide for her own and her Subjects safety; a thing which Nature, Reason, and her own Honour required at her hands. And now when these Princes prevailed not with Queen *Elizabeth* to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty, out comes Pope *Pius Quintus* with his Bull Declaratory, which he caused to be fastned in the Night-time upon the Gate of the Bishop of *London*'s Palace, wherein all her Subjects are absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other duty, and all that obey her, accursed with *Anathema*. He that fastned up the Bull was one *John Felton*, who never fled for the matter, but as affecting Martyrdom, suffered himself to be apprehended, confessed and justified the Fact, and thereupon arraigned, was condemned and hanged near the place where he had fastned the Writing.

Many Princes intreat Queen *Elizabeth* to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty; and her Answer.

A Bull of *Pius Quintus* against Queen *Elizabeth*, for detaining the Queen of *Scots*.

Felton that brought the Bull, hanged.

The same day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk* seeming now extream penitent for his fault, and utterly to abhor the Marriage, was delivered out of the Tower, and suffered to go to his own House, but yet to be in the custody of Sir *Henry Nevil* Knight. Indeed *Cecill* being a good Friend to the Duke, had told the Queen, That the Law of 25 of *Edward* the Third could not take hold upon him: and now being at a kind of liberty, *Cecill* deals earnestly with him to marry speedily some other, thereby to take away all suspicion in that behalf; yet some again thought that this liberty of the Dukes was granted him on purpose to bring him into greater danger.

The Duke of *Norfolk* upon his penitence is delivered out of the *Tower* and *Cecil*'s counsel to him.

At this time died *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Grand-child of an Earl of *Pembroke*, yet the Son but of an Esquire, and Grandfather to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery* now living, who lieth buried in *Paul*'s under a fair Monument of Marble, with an Inscription, testifying his great deservings while he lived.

Many Conspiracies were at this time to set the Qu. of *Scots* at liberty; amongst others, there Conspired *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, younger Sons of the Earl of *Derby*, with others; but the matter discovered, they were soon suppressed, and some of them executed. And now the

Many Conspiracies to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty.

Lords

Lords of the Queen of *Scots* Party ... to protect the Lords Rebels, the Earl of ... once again, accompanied with ... entreth *Scotland*, marcheth the Borders all along the Valley of ..., and ... the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under a Writing signed with their own Hands and Seals, to forsake the Lords Rebels. Whereupon the Earl of *Sussex* returning home, made these Knights, *Edward Hastings*, *Francis Russel*, *Valentine Brown*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapleton*, *Henry Carew*, and *Edmond Musgrave*.

Queen *Elizabeth*'s mind being now in great suspension by reason of that Bull from *Rome* and the late conspiracy in *Norfolk*, sent Sir *William Cecil* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of *Scots*, who was then at ... *shire*, to consult with her by what means the breach in *Scotland* might best be made up, she re-invested in her former dignity, and her Son and Queen *Elizabeth* might be secured. The Queen of *Scots* did little deplore her unfortunated condition, putting her self wholly upon the Queen's clemency: When the Commissioners made unto her certain Propositions of agreement: First, That the Treaty of ... should be confirmed: Then, that the ... her Right and Title to *England*, during Queen *Elizabeth*'s life, or any Children ... lawfully begotten: Then, that the Prince her Son for a Hostage into *England*, with other six Hostages, such as the Queen should name: Then, that the Castles of ... and ... should be held by the English for three years, with some others. To which Propositions the Queen of *Scots* for the present gave a provident answer: but ... the Bishops ... Ambassadour in ... some other ... some of the ... there; the ...

Propositions made to the Queen of *Scots*, for securing her at liberty.

But came to nothing.

1570. The 17th of *November* began to be celebrated in honour of Queen *Elizabeth*'s coming to the Crown.

... trading ... tree to the ... by the ... *Zealand*, to ... *beth*, to ... of *Austria*, ... Navy Royal, to conduct ... Sea.

And now was the twelfth year ... *abeth*'s Reign finished, which certain ... had made Papists believe should be ... contrary, and it were but ... began, of celebrating the 17th ... for the Anniversary day of her ... ringing of Bells, Tilting and Bonfires, which Custom, as it now began, so it was never ... over ... long ... lived, and is not yet ... so long ... death.

The Earl of *Thomond* intending Rebellion, is strangely discovered. A guilty Conscience betrays it self.

At this time in *Ireland*, *Connagher O'Brien*, Earl of *Thomond*, not brooking the severe Government of ... President of *Connaught*, entered into confederation with some few, to raise a new ... which, being at the point ready to ... was strangely discovered: for the day before they meant to take up Arms, *Fitton* knowing not at all of the matter, sent the Earl word in a friendly manner, that the next ... he and a few friends with him would be his Guests. The Earl convinced by his own Conscience, imagined that his Treasons were revealed: that *Fitton* would come as an Enemy, rather than a Guest. Out of which fear he presently fell into *France*, where repenting him seriously of his ... he confessed ... whole business to *Lewis* ... and by his intercession was pardoned and restored.

1571.

In *January*, the thirteenth year of her Reign, Queen *Elizabeth* ... Royal ... coming the City of *London*, went to see the Bourse which Sir *Thomas Gresham* had lately built for the use of the Merchants; and with sound of Trumpets, and the voice of a Herald, solemnly named it the *Royal Exchange*. A few days after, for his many ... Services, she made Sir *William Cecill* Baron of *Burghley*.

Sir *William Cecill* is made Baron of *Burghley*.

There arose now about the *Scottish* affairs, in the name of the King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Mar*, ... Abbot of *Dunfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gowr*, whom when Queen *Elizabeth* required to speak more clearly for what causes they had deposed their Queen; they exhibited a long and ridiculous Commentary; wherein, with a certain ... endeavoured to prove, ... Rights of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ... above the King: ... that Popular ... of Princes, ... and that it is law- ... and upon ... This ... the ... so ... cause yet, ... they should handle the Queen ... and therefore willed ... commendable out of hand, how ... upon ... Keeper of the Great ... made to the Bishop of ... and Baron *Levingston*, Delegates for the Queen of *Scots*, that for the ... of the ... and the Queen of ... it were requisite, that before the Queen ... be set at liberty, the Duke of ... *Hamilton* and *Argyle*, ... and another of the Ba- ... for Hostages, and the ... and *Hamet*, yielded up into ... for three years. But ... to yield up great Perso- ... odious as were demanded, ... to leave the miserable ... of faithful Friends, and ... for guard and defence: ... to give two Earls and two Ba- ... Hostages, till two years were expired: ... being ... they straightway ga- ... and ... it ... These now they ... perceived ... meant to keep the Queen of *Scots* perpetually prisoner, and likewise to break off the Treaty; seeing they rigorously demanded such security as *Scotland* was not able to make good. And now Queen *Elizabeth* seeing that nothing could be done for her own, the King and Queen of *Scots* safety, unless both Factions in *Scotland* consented; she held it fit

Queen *Elizabeth* requireth the *Scottish* Lords to shew for what cause they had deposed their Queen, and what was done in it.

that the Lords of *Scotland* ſhould themſelves ap-
point ſome ſpecial perſons to examine the
matter.

While matters in *England* were in this
ſort, the Queen of *Scots* was
uſed
Scotland was
ſhop of
raiſed
Duke
cording
Scotland
religion,
indignities
a large
talia
carried
Biſhop
Hallyard
Bed-chamber) had copied out
maſter
in the
ſeem)
to be
aggravated
how
time
was
libites
ling
be
charge
ſhould
the Biſhop
when
Scots
Biſhop
point
in
choſe
to
Lord
ſtrange
of
Queen
Lord
of
Prieſts from the King of
ing a thouſand Crowns
at his return made the

Ridolphus incited the Duke of *Norfolk* to take Arms againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and by what Reaſons.

A motion of a Match between Queen *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anjou*.

The Articles of the Match.

But could not be agreed; and ſo the Treaty broke utterly off.

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s affection to the Queen of *Scots*, diſcovered to continue; and by what means.

He is committed again to the *Tower*.

willing to hearken to it, for by this
be added to the Kingdom of
by Deſcent of *Anjou*, *Berry*
in poſſibility, the Kingdom of
upon a Treaty was held, in
propounded three Articles, one
Coronation of the Duke; ano-
the Joynt Adminiſtration of the
a third, concerning a Toleration of
to which it was anſwered, That the
Articles might in ſome ſort be compo-
the third, ſcarce poſſibly; for tho' a
Religion might be tolerated between
of the ſame Kingdom; yet between a
Husband it ſeemed very incommo-
convenient. Yet the matter at laſt came
That the Duke would aſſiſt
the Queen at Divine Service,
and learn the Doctrin of
he ſhould not be com-
Rites, but at his pleaſure
being expreſly againſt the
upon diſtaſte. *Lambin* ſays they
and to the Treaty, after it had
year brake utterly off. It was
that the Match was
either ſide, but that
their own ends:
knew more of the
wrote at this time
the Queen's Enterpriſe
and the Queen's inclina-
that tho' the point of
yet ſhe would
off.

lhewed

ſhewed him, he then cryed out, I am betrayed by my own Servants; not having learned to be diſtruſtful, which is the very ſinew of Wiſdom. And then with all ſubmiſſion, he beſought the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he proteſted he never had the leaſt thought of doing any hurt.

The Civilians deliver their opinions what may be done with an Ambaſſadour, if he prove a Practicer againſt the State.

And now ſeeing it appeared, that the Biſhop of *Roſſe* had been the whole contriver of the buſineſs, it was deliberated what to do to him, becauſe he was an Ambaſſador. Hereupon divers Civilians are called; as *David Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*, *William Aubrey*, and *Henry Jones*; of whom theſe Queſtions were asked:

Firſt, *Whether an Ambaſſadour who raiſeth Rebellion againſt the Prince to whom he is an Ambaſſadour, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour, and is not liable to puniſhment?*

They anſwered, *That ſuch an Ambaſſadour hath forfeited the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour, and is liable to puniſhment.*

Secondly, *Whether a Miniſter or Proctor of a Prince, who is depoſed by publick Authority, and in whoſe room another is Inaugurated, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour?*

They anſwered, *That if ſuch a Prince be lawfully depoſed, his Proctor cannot challenge the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour, foraſmuch as none but abſolute Princes, and ſuch as have Right of Majeſty, can appoint Ambaſſadours.*

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince who is come into another Prince's Country, and held in Cuſtody, may have his Proctor; and if he ſhall be held an Ambaſſadour?*

They anſwered, *If ſuch a Prince have not loſt his Sovereignty, he may have his Proctor; but whether that Proctor ſhall be reputed as an Ambaſſadour or no, this dependeth on the Authority of his Delegation.*

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince gave warning to ſuch a Proctor, and to his Prince who is under Cuſtody that this Proctor ſhall not from henceforth be accounted for an Ambaſſadour; whether that Proctor may by Law challenge the Priviledge of an Ambaſſadour.*

They anſwered, *A Prince may forbid an Ambaſſadour to enter into his Kingdom, and may command him to depart the Kingdom if he contain not himſelf within his due limits; yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour.*

What the Biſhop of Roſſe pleadeth for himſelf.

Upon theſe Anſwers, the Biſhop of *Roſſe* is warned by the Lords of the Council, That he ſhall no longer be eſteemed an Ambaſſador, but be puniſhed as his faule ſhall deſerve. The Biſhop alledged for himſelf, That he had not violated the Right of an Ambaſſador *Via Juris*, but *Via Facti* (to uſe his own words) and therefore adviſed them, not to uſe harder meaſure to him than was uſed to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours, *Throgmorton* in *France*, *Randol* and *Tamworth* in *Scotland*; who had raiſed Rebellions there, and were open Abettors of the ſame; and yet had no greater puniſhment, than to be gone at a time limited. When they began to urge him what the *Engliſh* had teſtified againſt him, he lovingly requeſted them to give no credit to it; foraſmuch as by a received Cuſtom, which hath the force of a Law, the Teſtimony of an *Engliſh* man againſt a *Scot*, or of a *Scot* againſt an *Engliſh* Man is not to be admitted: But after ſome altercations, the Biſhop is led away to the *Tower*, and kept cloſe Priſoner.

Matthew Earl of Lenox Regent of Scotland is murthered.

At this very ſeaſon, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, Regent of *Scotland*, the King's Grand-Father, was by the adverſe party ſet upon at unawares; who having yielded himſelf to *David Spence*, of *Worceſter* (that was then careful to defend him) together with him, was ſlain by *Bell* and *Caulder*; when with great Induſtry he had governed the Kingdom for his Grand-Child about fourteen months. In whoſe room, *John Erſkin* Earl of *Marre*, by common conſent of the King's Faction, was choſen Regent of *Scotland*; who being a Man of a quiet diſpoſition, thro' extream grief of the many troubles he ſuſtained in the place, departed this life, when he had governed thirteen Months.

In his place is ſet the Earl of *Marre* who died within thirteen months.

And now a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*; wherein, beſides a Law for preventing of the treacherous endeavors of ſeditious Subjects, another Law was made, That if any one during the Queen's life, by Books written or printed, ſhall expreſly affirm, That any is, or ought to be the Heir or Succeſſor of the Queen, (beſides the natural Off-ſpring of her Body) or ſhall to that purpoſe publiſh, print, or diſperſe any Book or Schedules; he, and his favourers, ſhall for the firſt offence ſuffer a years Impriſonment, and the loſs of one half of his Goods: and if they offend again, they ſhall be in a *Premunire*. A Law alſo was made, by which to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*, was made Treaſon; and it was pronounced againſt the Queen of *Scots*, That if ſhe offended again againſt the Laws of *England*, it might be lawful to queſtion her, as the Wife of a Peer of the Kingdom of *England*. But here the Queen interpoſed her Authority, and would not ſuffer it to be enacted. About this time, in *May*, a ſolemn Tilting was performed at *Weſtminſter*; where the Challengers were *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles Howard*, Sir *Henry Lee*, and *Chriſtopher Hatton* Eſquire; who all did very valiantly, but the Earl of *Oxford* beſt.

To be reconciled to the See of *Rome* made Treaſon.

John Story Dr. of the Laws, executed for Treaſon, and why.

As ſoon as the Parliament was diſſolved, a Conſultation was held, Whether *John Story*, Doctor of the Laws, the Duke *D'Alva*'s Searcher (who ſome time before, was by a wile brought into *England*) being an *Engliſhman* born, and having in *Brabant* conſulted with a foreign Prince about the invading of *England*, were to be held guilty of High-Treaſon? It was reſolved affirmatively: Whereupon he is called to the Bar, and indicted of Treaſon: That he had conſpired with one *Preſhall* a Conjurer, to make away the Queen; That he curſed her daily, when he ſaid Grace at Table: That he ſhewed a way to the Secretary of Duke *D'Alva*, how to invade *England*, &c. Where he affirming, that the Judges had no power to meddle with him, for that he be-

belonged not to the Queen of *England*, but was the King of *Spain*'s sworn Subject; is nevertheless condemned by the Form of *Nihil dicit* (for almuch as no Man can renounce the Country wherein he was born, nor abjure his Prince at his own pleasure) and finally executed after the manner of Traytors.

Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet; for *John Perrot* President of *Munster*, had brought *James Fitz Morris* to submit himself, and crave pardon. *Sidney*, the Lord Deputy, returned into *England*, and Sir *William Fitz Williams*, who had married his Sister, succeeded in his room.

It was now the fifteenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; when *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* on the fixteenth day of *January*, was brought to his Tryal at *Westminster-Hall*, where sate as Commissioners, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* (made high Steward of *England* for that day) *Reynold Gray* Earl of *Kent*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Sussex*, *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, *Francis Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, *Henry Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Edward Seymor* Earl of *Hartford*, *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*; *Walter Devereux* Viscount of *Hereford*, *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Admiral; *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Chamberlain; *William Cecil* Lord *Burley* Secretary; *Arthur* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, *James Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, *William* Lord *Sands*, *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, *William* Lord *Borough*, *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*, *John Paulet* Lord *St. John* of *Basing*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Roger* Lord *North*, *Edmund Bruges* Lord *Chandois*, *Oliver* Lord *St. John* of *Bletsho*, *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurst*, and *William West* Lord *de la Ware*. After silence bidden, Sir *Owen Hopton*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was commanded to bring the Duke to the Bar; and then the Clark of the Crown said, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, late of *Kenningale*, in the County of *Norfolk*, Hold up thy hand; which done, the Clark with a loud Voice readeth the Crimes laid to his Charge: That in the eleventh Year of the Queen's Reign, he had traytorously confulted to make her away, and to bring in foreign Forces for invading the Kingdom: Also that he dealt with the Queen of *Scots*, concerning Marriage, contrary to his promise made to the Queen under his Hand-writing: Also, that he relieved with Money the Ears of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, that had stirred up Rebellion against the Queen: Also, That in the 13th Year of the Queen's Reign, he implored Auxiliary Forces of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, the Queen's professed Enemy, of the King of *Spain*, and the Duke *D'Alva*, for the freeing of the Queen of *Scots*, and reforming of the Popish Religion: And lastly, that he sent supply to the Lord *Herris*, and other the Queen's Enemies in *Scotland*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* is brought to his Tryal, and condemned.

No Counsel to be allowed in case of Treason.

These Indictments being read, the Clark demanded of the Duke, if he were guilty of these Crimes, or not? Hereto the Duke reposted he might be allowed to have Counsel. But *Catesline* chief Justice, made answer, That it was not lawful. Yet (said the Duke) I have heard that *Humphry Stafford*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, in a Case of Treason, had one assigned to plead for him. To which *Dyer* chief Justice of the Common pleas, made answer, That *Stafford* had Counsel assigned him concerning the Right of Sanctuary from whence he was taken by force, but in the Indictment of Treason, he pleaded his own cause. After this, the Duke yielded to be tryed by the Peers; first *Barham*, Serjeant at Law, then *Goward* the Queen's Attorney, and lastly, *Bromley*, the Queen's Solicitor, enforced the Crimes objected against him: To all which the Duke made colourable answers; but most of them being proved by sufficient testimony, he asked upon occasion, Whether the Subjects of another Prince, who is confederate and in league with the Queen, are to be accounted Enemies? To which *Catesline* answered, They were; and that the Queen of *England* might wage War with any Duke of *France*, and yet hold firm Peace with the *French* King. When it grew towards Night, the Lord High Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any more to say for himself: who answer'd, I rely upon the equity of the Laws. After this, the Lords withdrawing a while, and then returning, the Lord *Steward* beginning at the lowermost, asked them, My Lord *de la Ware*, Is *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* guilty of these Crimes of High Treason, for which he is called in question? He rising up and laying his hand upon his breast answered, Guilty: in like manner they answered all. After this, the Lord *Steward* with tears in his eyes, pronounced sentence in form as is used. A few days after were *Barnes* and *Mather* executed, who conspired with one *Herle*, to make away certain of the Counsellors, and to free the Duke; but *Herle* revealed the business presently, to whom *Barnes* (when he saw his Accuser brought forth) smilingly said, *Herle*, thou wert but one hour before me, else I had been in thy place for the Accuser, and thou in my room to be hanged: At the same time with them was hanged also *Henry Rolf*, for counterfeiting the Queen's hand. But tho' the Duke was now condemned, yet the Queen was so tender of his case, that it was four months after before he was executed; at last, on the second of *June*, at eight of the Clock in the Morning he was brought to the Scaffold upon *Tower-Hill*, and there beheaded.

The Duke is beheaded.

At this time, and upon this occasion, a Parliament was Assembled, wherein amongst other Laws, it was Enacted, that if any Man should go about to free any person imprisoned by the Queen's Commandment, for Treason or suspicion of Treason, and not yet arraigned, he shall lose all his Goods for his life-time, and be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure; if the said Person having been arraigned, the Rescuer shall forfeit his life; if condemned, he shall be guilty of Rebellion.

In the time of this Parliament, the Queen created *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Essex*, being before but Viscount *Hereford*; because he was descended by his Great-grand-mother, from the *Bourchiers*, and made the Lord *Clinton* (who had large Revenues in *Lincoln-shire*) Earl of *Lincoln*. Also she called forth *John Paulet* of *Basing*, the Marquess of *Winchester*'s Son, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheyney*, and *Henry Norris*, for Barons by Summons.

Walter Devereux is created Earl of *Essex*, and by what right.

The Lord *Clinton* is made Earl of *Lincoln*. *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheyney*, and *Henry Norris* are made Barons by Summons.

Within ten days after the Duke's death, *William* Lord *de la Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Wilfon*, Doctor of the Laws, and *Thomas Bromley*

Queen *Elizabeth* sends the Lord *de la Ware* and others to the Queen to charge her with many Crimes; and what she answer'd.

ley the Queen's Sollicitor, were sent to the Queen of *Scots* to expostulate with her, That she had usurped the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, and had not renounced the same, according to the agreement of the Treaty at *Edenburgh*; That she had endeavoured the Marriage of the Duke of *Norfolk*, without acquainting the Queen, and had used all forcible means to free him out of Prison, had raised the Rebellion in the North, had relieved the Rebels both in *Scotland* and in the *Low-Countries*; had implored Aids from the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and others, had conspired with certain of the *English*, to free her out of Prison, and declare her Queen of *England*: Lastly, That she had procured the Pope's Bull against the Queen, and suffered her self to be publickly named Queen of *England* in foreign Countries: All which Accusations she either absolutely denied, or else fairly extenuated: and tho' (as she said) she were a free Queen, and not subject to any Creature; yet she was contented, and requested, that she might make her personal answer at the next Parliament.

About this time, the King of *Spain* by his Embassadour here, complained to the Queen, that the Rebels of the *Netherlands* were harboured and entertained in *England*, contrary to the Articles of the League; whereupon the Queen set forth a severe Proclamation, That all the *Dutch*, who could any ways be suspected of Rebellion, should presently depart the Realm, which yet turned little to *D'Alva*'s or the King of *Spain*'s benefit: For hereupon, *Count Vanderwark*, and other *Dutch* going out of *England*, surprised the *Brill* first, then *Flushing*, and afterwards drew other Towns to revolt, and in a short time excluded the Duke *D'Alva* in a manner from the Sea. And this errour, to suffer the Protestant Party to get possession of the Sea-Towns, hath been the cause they have been able to hold out, even all this long time, against the King of *Spain*. And now many Military men having little to do at home, got them into the *Netherlands*, some to Duke *D'Alva*; but the far greater number to the Prince of *Orange*: The first of whom was *Thomas Morgan*, who carried three hundred *English* to *Flushing*; then followed by his procurement nine Companies more unde the conduct of *Humphrey Gilbert*; and afterwards it became the Nursery of all our *English* Souldiers.

How the *Dutch* got possession of their Sea-towns.

A League concluded between Queen *Elizabeth* and the King of *France*.

At this time *Charles* the *French* King setting his mind wholly (at least seeming so) upon the *Low-Country* War, concluding a Peace, entred into a League with Queen *Elizabeth*; which was to remain firm, not only during their two lives, but between their Successors also, if the Successor signifie to the Survivor within a Year, that he accepteth it, otherwise to be at liberty. It was likewise agreed, what aid by Sea or Land they should each of them afford to other upon occasion. And for ratification of this League, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln* and Admiral of *England*, was sent into *France*, with whom went the Lords *Darcy*, *Rich*, *Talbot*, *Sands*, and others. The *French* King likewise sent the Duke of *Monmorancy* and *Paul Foix* into *England*, with a great Train; that the Queen in presence of them, and the Embassador in Ordinary, might swear to the League, which she did at *Westminster* the seventeenth of *May*, in the Year 1572. the day after she made *Monmorancy* Knight of the Garter.

Monmorancy whilst he tarried in *England*, made intercession in his King's name, that what favour could be without danger, might be shewed to the Queen of *Scots*; and then made much ado again about the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*; but being hopeless to make conclusion thereof, by reason of the diversity of Religion, he return'd into *France*; for now was great Provision making ready for the Marriage between *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Margaret* the *French* King's Sister; to which Solemnity, with notable dissimulation, the Queen of *Navarre*, and the chief of all the Protestants were allured, being born in hand, that there should be a renovation of love, and a perpetual Peace established. The Earl of *Leicester* likewise and the Lord *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, and out of *Germany*, the Sons of the Prince Elector *Palatine*, under colour of honour, but indeed that they might be intrapped, and they, and together with them the Protestant Religion, at one blow, if not clean cut off, yet receive a deadly wound. For the Marriage being celebrated, there presently followed that cruel Massacre at *Paris*, and the terrible slaughter of the Protestants throughout all the Cities of *France*; but to let a shew of equity upon the Fact, Edicts and Proclamations were presently set forth, that the Protestants had plotted a wicked conspiracy against the King, the Queen-Mother, the Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and the Princes of the Blood-Royal; and to keep the thing in memory, Coyn was presently stamped, upon one side whereof was the King's Picture with this Inscription, *Virtus in Rebelles*, on the other side *Pietas excitavit justitiam*; But the King of *France*, notwithstanding all the shew he made of Piety, escaped not the Divine revenge; for before the Year came about, he fell sick of a Bloody Flux, and afterwards with long and grievous torments ended his life.

Great preparation for the Marriage of *Henry* King of *Navarre* with the *French* King's Sister.

At which Marriage was the cruel massacre of the Protestants at *Paris*, and throughout all the Cities of *France*.

The King of *France* for this shedding of blood, falls himself into a bloody Flux, and in grievous torments ends his life.

A little before this, *Mons Fenel*, Embassador to the King of *France*, being in *England*, by vertue of an Order from the Queen-Mother of *France*, propounded to Queen *Elizabeth* at *Kenelworth* (two days before the Massacre in that Kingdom) the marriage of her youngest Son *Francis* Duke of *Alanson* (for the Queen-Mother had been told by some cunning men, that all her Sons should be Kings, and she knew no way for it but this.) But Queen *Elizabeth*, by reason of the disparity of age, modestly excused her self (for he was scarce seventeen years old, and she was now past eight and thirty) yet she promised to consider of it, and *Alanson* did not leave to prosecute the Suit.

A motion is now made to Queen *Elizabeth* to marry *Francis* Duke of *Alanson*, and and her Answer.

At this time, *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who first rebelled, and afterwards fled into *Scotland*, was for a sum of Mony delivered by the Earl of *Morton* to the Lord *Hunsdon* Governour of *Berwick*; and a while after was beheaded at *York*. And now as these two great Personages the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Northumberland* were taken away by violent death; so three other great Personages were at this time taken away by a natural death: First, *William Paulet*, who from a private Man came by

Thomas Percy Earl of *Northumberland* is beheaded.

degrees

William Pawlet Marquess of Winchester dies his great age, and numerous Issue.

degrees to be Marquess of *Winchester*: lived to the Age of within three years of a hundred, and could reckon a hundred and three of his Children, and his Childrens Issue after he had held the place of Lord Treasurer of *England* above 20 years; in whose room succeeded Sir *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*: then died *Edmund* Earl of *Derby*, famous as well for his Hospitality and good House keeping, as for his skill in Chirurgery and Bone-setting: then died Sir *William Peter*, who being descended from an honest stock at *Exester* in *Devonshire*, was Privy-Counsellor and Secretary to King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*: who planted himself in *Essex*, where he purchased great possessions; whose Son *John* was by King *James* made Baron of *Writtle* in that County.

Some good acts of Queen Elizabeth.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* having formerly borrowed Mony of her Subjects, she thankfully repaid it, which won her no less love than if she had given it; and more love she gained also at this time by two Proclamations, by one of which she commanded Noblemen to observe the Law of keeping Retainers; by the other, she restrained Informers, who under colour of spying out Crown-Land, concealed by private persons, sacrilegiously seized upon the Lands of Parish-Churches and Alms-houses, piously endowed by the Queen's Ancestors. And more Love and Honour also she gained at this time by two Acts of Justice; the one, that she satisfied the *English* Merchants out of the Goods which were detain'd belonging to the *Dutch*, and restored the rest to the Duke *D'Alva*, and made a full transaction with the Merchants of *Genoua*, for the Mony intercepted; the other, that she freed *England* at this time, of the Debts which her Father and her Brother had run into in foreign parts, and were increased by yearly Interest, and caused the obligations of the City of *London*, which had so often been renewed, to be given in, to the great rejoycing of the Citizens.

The *Spanish* affairs growing now very turbulent in the *Netherlands*, *Flushing* lost, the Towns of *Holland* revolted, and the *Spanish* Navy vanquished by the *Zelanders*, Duke *D'Alva* against his will began to shew more kindness towards the *English*, so as in the Month of *January*, the Trade which in *Anno* 1568. had been forbidden, was now allowed again between the *Dutch* and the *English*, for two years; but those two years expired, the *English* removed their Trading to the Confederate States.

The Earl of Worcester sent as Deputy for the Queen to Christen the King of France's Daughter.

The last year in the Month of *November*, a Daughter was born to the *French* King, to whom he requested Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-mother, who thereupon sent *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester* into *France*, with a Font of Massy Gold, to stand as her Deputy at the Christning. Hereupon, and for that the Queen promised to observe the League strictly, the *French* King and Queen-Mother began to affect her more and more, and the Duke *D'Alanson* wrote sundry Love-letters to her, and the *French* King and his Mother interceeded for the Marriage with all earnestness. It is true the Queen conceived divers Reasons why it was fit for her to marry; but the Courtiers for their own ends dissuaded her as much from it: at last the Queen-Mother of *France* was wonderfully importunate, that her Son *Alanson* might have leave to come to see her: whereupon being wearied with continual Letters and Messages, she gave her consent; but upon condition that he should not take it for any disgrace to him, if he returned without obtaining his Suit. But as soon as Queen *Elizabeth* had notice, that his brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of *France* was very sick, she gave intimation to *Alanson* by *Edward Horsey* Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, that he should not make too much haste into *England*; but should first procure a Peace by some means or other in *France*, and declare by some notable Argument, his good will towards the Protestants, thereby to be the more welcome Guest into *England*. Hereupon a Peace was concluded in *France*, and in certain places the Protestants were allowed to exercise their Religion: and then again the *French* King and the Queen Mother used all their endeavour to have the Marriage go forward (for they were very desirous that *Alanson* who was of a crooked and perverse disposition, and prone to raise tumults) might be removed out of *France*; and withal, they requested of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his Voyage into *Poland* by Sea; he might have publick caution to sail thro' the *British* Ocean. To this last Request, she not only consented with all alacrity, but also made offer of a Fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while, *Alanson* fell sick of the Meazles, which his Mother signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Rhets*, excusing him thereupon for not coming into *England* as he had determined. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, where she gave him Royal Entertainment: and *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Royal Entertainment to them both.

The Duke D'Alanson may come and see her, but with condition.

In hope of this match, the Protestants are better used in France than before.

All this while, since the death of the Earl of *Marre*, there had been no Regent in *Scotland*, but now by the procurement of Queen *Elizabeth* chiefly, *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton* is made Regent; who when his Authority in a Parliamentary Assembly was established, Enacted many profitable Laws for the defence of Religion against Papists and Hereticks, in the name of the King. But the protection and keeping of the King's Person, he confirmed to *Alexander Eresbin* Earl of *Marre* (to whom the custody of the Kings in their tender years, by especial Privilege belongeth) tho' he were himself in his Minority: Upon these Conditions, That no Papists, nor factious persons should be admitted to his presence: An Earl should come with only two Servants attending him: A Baron, with only one: All other, single: and every one unarmed. The *French* King in the mean time, sent his Embassadour *Monsieur Verriar* to corrupt the Earls of *Athol* and *Huntley*, with large Promises, to oppose the Regent: Queen *Elizabeth*, as much laboured to defend him: but tho' by the Ministry of *Killigrew*, she had drawn *James Hamilton* Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and *George Gourden* Earl of *Huntley*, and the most eminent of that Faction, upon indifferent conditions, to acknowledge the Regent, yet *William Kircald*, Lord *Grainge* (whom *Murray* when he was Regent had made Governour of *Edenburgh* Castle) the Lord *Humes*, *Lydington*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*,

James Douglas Earl of Morton is made Regent of Scotland, but is opposed by divers of the Lords.

It belongs to the E. of Marre to have the custody of the King's person in his minority.

Dunkeld, and others, would by no means admit of the Regent's Government, but held their Castle, and fortified it in the Queen of *Scot's* name, having *Lidington* for their Counsellour herein, and trusting to the natural strength of the place, and to the Duke *D'Alva's* and the *French* King's promises, to send them supplies both of Men and Mony. Now when these Persons could by no means be drawn to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to deliver up the Castle to the Regent, Queen *Elizabeth* (who could in no case indure the *French* in *Scotland*) suffered her self at length to be intreated by the Regent, to send Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for effecting the Castle, upon certain Conditions, whereof one was, that ten Hostages should be sent into *England*, to be security for returning the Men and Ammunition, unless by the common hazard of War they should chance to miscarry. The Conditions being agreed upon, *William Drury* Marshal of the Garrison at *Berwick*, with some great Ordnance, and fifteen hundred Souldiers (amongst whom were some Noble Volunteers, *George Carew*, *Henry Carie*, *Thomas Cecill*, *Henry Lee*, *William Knowls*, *Sutton*, *Carew*, *Kelway*, *William Kellegrew*, and others) entred into *Scotland*, and besieged the Castle, which after three and thirty days siege, was delivered up to the Regent for the King's use, with all the Persons that were in it, amongst whom, *Kirkald* Lord *Grange*, and *James* his Brother, *Maitman* and *Clerk* Gentlemen (who had counterfeited Coyn in the Castle) were hanged; altho' to redeem Grange's life, a hundred of the Family of the *Kirkaldies* proffered themselves to be in perpetual Servitude to the Regent, besides an annual Pension of three thousand Marks, and twenty thousand Pounds of *Scottish* Mony in present; and he but in vain, that from thenceforth he should continue in loyalty and homage to the King, but it would not be accepted. *Hume* and the rest were spared, Queen *Elizabeth's* mercifull intercession for him was sent to late, when he and many more were suspected to be poisoned. A Man of excellent Wit, and very various [illegible] *George Buchanan* called him the Queen.

And now from this time *Scotland* began to breathe, after long Civil Wars, wherein the Captains of both Parties, as occasion served, took themselves into *Switzerland*, *France*, the *Low-Countries*, where they raised Monies for themselves, and won great commendations; for *John Lesly* Bishop of *Ross*, he was now at liberty, but commanded to remain within the City of *England*, and being licensed to go to Mass, continued still to solicite the Affairs of the Queen of *Scots* cause, with the Emperour, the *French* King, and the Great Princes of the Popish Religion, who all fed him with fair promises, but performed nothing. The indeavours in whom he had greatest confidence, on which was the Duke *D'Alva*, was at that time called away, partly out of jealousie of State, as being thought to grow too great, and partly out of opinion that by his cruelty he incited the People to revolt; and therefore in his place was sent *Ludovicus Zuniga*, a Man of great Nobility in Spain, but of a more peaceable disposition than *D'Alva*; and now this Man did all good Offices to win Queen *Elizabeth* to him, and minding his own affairs only, would not intermeddle with the *Scots* or *English* matters.

About this time, a frantick Opinion was held by one *Peter Burchet*, a Gentleman of the Middle-Temple, that it was unlawful for Christians to oppose the Turks, and for that he would be possest with this Opinion, that he would famous Sessions Cause [illegible] him with a Dagger, coming from the Hall at that time when the Queen, and of that many Counsel, were informed of the matter, The Queen grew so angry hereat, that she commanded Martial Law should be executed upon him presently, till [illegible] Martial Law was [illegible] and in turbulent [illegible] of Peace, there [illegible] Peace, to the Tower, where taking a [illegible] out of the [illegible] he struck into the brains of one of his Keepers, named *Hugh Langworth*, and killed him; for which fact he was condemned, and [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and died [illegible]

After the [illegible] death of this Earl, we [illegible] Earl of *Essex*, Son [illegible] Duke of *Northumberland*, and Lord [illegible] Queen, and [illegible] Lord [illegible] Queen, and [illegible] Lord [illegible] Queen, and [illegible]

his four Brothers, *Michael* and *John Gerard*, *Henry*, *William*, and *Thomas Morgan*. And his leading *Bryan* the *Physician* accompanied him, tendering unto him all manner of assistance, and service, but from him and from all the rest of

1574. *A. Reg.* 17. The Duke of *Norfolk* concludes his suit to Queen *Elizabeth*.

Charles the *French* King dies.

As soon as was come from *France*, to congratulate his happy Inauguration into the thereupon together with the forthwith strongly solicited the between *Mary* and the King of *Scotland* to be left in the deprive *Murray*, who was thority, whereas the Queen of Scots were furious; she being perswaded once gotten safely into *England* she and the Catholicks in *England* should be more mildly used. At which time, an insurrection was cast upon the Queen of Scots, as if she had made the match between *Norfolk* and her to the Queen of Scots (who had lately confirmed to *Elizabeth Cavendish* Daughter by a former Husband, which ground, both their Marriages also were kept in Prison for a time, and being doubted whereunto *Henry* Earl of *Huntingdon* Lord President of the Council in the North, is sent with Instructions to examine and redress things there. It is to say something of this place and Office in the North, which from small beginnings is become so eminent as it is at this day, where and when it was the Original. When after the Reign of *Henry* VIII. after that the Rebellion in the Northern parts, about the subversion of Religion was quelled, the Duke of *Norfolk* was employed in those quarters, and many complaints of grievances done were tendred unto him, whereof some he compounded himself, and others he commended under his Seal to men of Wisdom to determine. Hereof when King *Henry* heard he sent down a peculiar Seal to be used in these cases, and at his coming home the Duke committed the same to *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and constituted Assistants with him to hear and determine the matters, and he was the first that ever sate in Commission, and from that time, the authority of these Offices grew in credit.

How the President of the North came first to be ordained.

1575. *A. Reg.* 18.

This year One thousand five hundred seventy five, and the 18th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, when *Henry* the third King of *France* returned from *Poland*, and crown'd at *Rheims*, was careful to have the League of *Bayon* confirmed. Which in the year 1572. had been made between his Brother *Charles* and Queen *Elizabeth*; Now therefore he confirmed it with his own Subscription, and sent it by *Mr. Wilkes* the Queen's Leger, as he was then satisfied in at St. *James's* near *Westminster*, and demanded by the Queen against all Invasions that was intended against her, also wherein they comprehend it: which the Queen, being

Henry King of *France* prepares War against the Protestants.

Henry the new King of *France* sollicites the Queen for Assistance.

Now at this time, *Ludovick* Successor unto Duke *D'Alva*, had undertaken the Command of the Low-Countries, but not being well furnished of a Navy he sent *Boisdolphin* with the Queen's leave, to get Ships and Mariners to go against the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, but this she would not grant. Then he made suit that the Queen would please but to connive at the evil part, if he should take any of the Subjects in the Low-Countries, and make a Sea-fight against the *Hollanders*, whereby he might have free scope to the Ports to buy provision for his Army, but she would not grant neither. Then he made request, that the Ships might be put out of *England*, but neither would she grant this, as being an Action void of Humanity,

nity, and against the Laws of Hospitality; yet became she would not be thought to violate the old *Burgundian* Law, she commanded by Proclamation, that the Ships of the *Dutch*, which were made ready, should not go forth of the Haven: nor yet the *Dutch*, who had taken up Arms against the King of *Spain*, enter into the Ports of *England*, and by Name, the Prince of *Orange*, and fifty other the prime of that Faction: and this she did the more willingly, becaus *Gaunt*, at the intercession of *Walsingham* the *English* Embassador, had commanded the Earl of *Westmorland*, and other *English* Fugitives out of the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, and had also dissolved the *English* Seminary at *Doway*; tho' instead thereof, the *Guises*, thro' the procurement of Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, set up another Seminary at *Rhemes*.

The English Seminary at Doway is dissolved, and another set up at *Rhemes*.

And at this time the Prince of *Orange* perceiving his Forces but small and thinking himself too weak for the King of *Spain*, and little hope of aid from *England*, he entred into Consultation with the Confederate States, to whose protection they were best and in most security to betake themselves: The Princes of *Germany* they knew were not all of one mind, parted from Many very hardly, and did not every way, nor would not by any means possible accord and concur with them in their Religion, and therefore they were not so fit. Then the *French* they saw, were intangled in a Civil War, and so had enough of their own to do; besides, the old grudges and heart-burnings that were between the *French* and *Dutch*, and therefore neither were they so fit. There remained then the *English*, as fittest of any (if it might be obtained) seeing they were Neighbors, of the same Religion, and of a Language not much different, strong in shipping, and rich in Merchandize. Hereupon (considering the commodiousness of the *English* Nation) they sent into *England Philip Marnize* of Saint *Aldegond*, *Janus Dousa*, *William Nyvell*, and Doctor *Melsen*; who in an honourable Ambassage, offer the Countries of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be possessed and protected by the Queen, for as much as she was descended from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philippa* Wife of Edward the third, Daughter of *William* of *Bavaria*, Count of *Hanonia* and *Holland*; by whose other Sister, the hereditary Right of those Provinces came to the King of *Spain*. To this offer, the Queen takes time to answer; and at last, having maturely advised of the matter, her Answer was this; That as yet she conceived not how, with the safety of her Honour, and an upright Conscience, she could receive those Provinces into her Protection, much less assume them into her possession; but promised she would deal earnestly with the King of *Spain*, that a well conditioned Peace might be concluded. Presently upon this *Zuinga* Governour of the *Low-Countries* died; after whose death, the States of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the other Provinces, took upon them the ancient Administration and Authority in the Commonwealth, which the King of *Spain* was fain to confirm to them, till such time as *John* of *Austria* were come, whom he determined to make Governour there. In the mean time, Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the King of *Spain*, sent *William Davison* in Ambassage to those Princes, to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet, which yet by reason of the *Spanish* Souldiers were so outragious, little prevailed.

The States of the *Low-Countries* make choice of Queen *Elizabeth* to be their Protector, and why.

The Queen's Answer to their offer.

Zuinga dying, *John* of *Austria* is sent Governour into the *Netherlands*.

In *England* all was calm and quiet for all this year, only a difference fell out between Sir *John Forster* Governour of *Berwick*, and *John Carmichell* Keeper of *Liddesdale* in *Scotland*; all composing whereof, the Regent of *Scotland*, having given Queen *Elizabeth* large assurance, was run to come unarm'd before the Earl of *Huntington*, appointed the Legate for *England* at *Berwick*, and so the matter was taken up, and the Regent ever after continued constant in observing the Queen, and for his great assurance in it, reformed the Free-booters of the Borders, to the great good of both Kingdoms.

This year there died in *Scotland*, *James Hamilton* Duke of *Castle-Herald* and Earl of *Arran*, who was great Grand-child of *James* the Second, King of *Scotland* by his Daughter, appointed Tutor to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and declared Heir and Governour of the Kingdom during her minority.

At this time the Earl of *Essex* is come into *Ireland* again, where having done good Services and being in the midst of Victory, he was on a sudden commanded to resign his Authority in *Ulster*: and as tho' he were an ordinary Commander, is set over three hundred Soldiers, which disgrace was wrought by his Adversaries at Court, to the continual perplexing of his mild Spirit. And now is Sir *Henry Sidney* the third time sent Deputy into *Ireland*; who going into *Ulster*, there came in him and submitted themselves, *Mac Mahon*, *Mac Guyre*, *Torlogh Lynagh*, the *O Canos* and *O Moors*, the Earl of *Desmond* and the Rebellious Son of the Earl of *Clanricard*, all whom he received into favour, and with great commendation administred the Province.

The Earl of *Essex* going into *Ireland* again, is discouraged with being made an ordinary Commander.

At this time the *Spaniard* in the *Low Countries* began to deal roughly with the People, and harried the Inhabitants with all manner of spoil and injury: *Antwerp* the most famous Town of Traffick in all *Europe* was miserably pillaged, the *English* Merchants Houses rifled, insomuch that the States were enforced to take up Arms, and Messengers were sent to all neighbouring Princes; and to Queen *Elizabeth* was sent *Monsieur Aubigny*, both to shew her upon how necessary and just causes they had taken up Arms, and also to borrow of her a great sum of Mony, the better to enable them to resist the *Spaniard*. But she being certainly informed, that they first sued to the *French* King for help, denied the Request, yet promised to intercede earnestly with the King of *Spain* for Peace. And in this employment, she addressed into *Spain*, *John Smith*, Cousin german to King *Edward* the sixth, a man of *Spanish* behaviour, and well known to the King of *Spain*, who was liberally received by the King, and with such Wisdom renewed the contumacious Speech of Cardinal *Quiroga* Archbishop of *Toledo* and the *Spanish* Inquisitors, who would not admit in the Queen's Title, the Attribute of *Defender of the Faith*, that he gained great thanks from the King of *Spain* himself, who requested him not to speak of it to the Queen, and gave severe command, that the Title should be admitted.

John Smith Embassador into *Spain*, his stout carriage.

And now by this time was *John* of *Austria* come into the *Low Countries* with a large Commission: for he was the Natural Son of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, to whom the Queen sent *Edward Horsey*, Governour of the Isle of *Wight*;

to congratulate his coming thither, and to offer help if the States called the *French* into the *Netherlands*; yet at the same time, *Sweyn* being exceeding importunate on the States behalf, she sent them twenty thousand pounds of *English* Mony, (to wear out time, and keep her game of both hands) upon condition they should neither change their Prince nor their Religion, nor take the *French* into the Low-Countries, nor refuse a peace, if *John* of *Austria* should condescend to indifferent Conditions; but if he endeavored a Peace, then the Mony should be paid back to the *Spanish* Souldiers, who were ready to Mutiny for lack of Pay. So careful she was to retain these declining Provinces in Obedience to the King of *Spain*.

At this time a Voyage was undertaken, to try if there could be found any Passage upon the North part of *America*, leading to the wealthy Coast of *Cathaia*, whereby in one commerce might be joyned the Riches of both the East and West parts of the World, in which Voyage was employed *Martyn Forbisher*, who set Sail from *Harwich* the eighteenth of *June*, and the ninth of *August* entred into that Bay, or Sea, but could pass no further for Snow and Ice. The like expedition was taken in hand, two year after with no better success.

Martin Forbisher sent to discover the North part of *America*.

About this time died the Emperour *Maximilian*, a Prince that deserved well of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the *English*, who thereupon sent Sir *Philip Sidney* to his Son *Rodolphus* King of the *Romans* to condole his Father's death, and congratulate his Succession: as likewise to do the like, for the decease of the Count Elector *Palatine*, named *Frederick* the third, with his surviving Son.

And now *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Essex*, who out of *Leicester's* envy, had been recalled out of *Ireland*, was out of *Leicester's* fear, (as being threatned by him) sent back again into *Ireland*, but with the empty title of Earl *Marshal* of *Ireland*; with the grief whereof, he fell into a bloody Flux, and in most grievous torments ended his Life: When he had first desired the Standers by to admonish his Son (scarce ten years old at that time) to have always before his Eyes the six and thirtieth year of his Age, as the utmost term of his life, which neither himself, nor his Father before him could outgo, and the Son indeed attained not to it, as shall hereafter be declared. He was suspected to be poysoned, but Sir *Henry Sidney* Deputy of *Ireland*, after diligent search made, wrote to the Lords of the Council, That the Earl often said, It was familiar to him upon any great discontentment to fall into a Flux, and for his part he had no suspicion of his being poysoned: yet upon this suspicion encreased, for that presently upon the death the Earl of *Leicester*, with a great deal of Mony, and large Promises, putting away *Douglas Sheffeild*, by whom he had a Son, openly married *Essex* his Widow. For altho' it was given out, that he was privately married to her, yet Sir *Francis Knolles* her Father, who was well acquainted with *Leicester's* roving Loves, would not believe it, unless he himself were present at the Marriage, and had it testified by a publick Notary. At this time also died Sir *Anthony Cook* of *Gyddy-Hall* in *Essex*, who had been School-master to King *Edward* the sixth, and was no less School-master to his own Daughters, whom he made the first of the Time, and *Mildred* Daughter married first to the great Minister *Cecil* to *Sir William Cecil*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, as second to *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; third to Sir *Thomas Hoby*, who died Embassador in *France*; a fourth to Sir *Ralph Lane*; and the fifth to Sir *Henry Killigrew*.

Walter Devereux Earl of *Essex* out of discontentment dieth in *Ireland*.

The Earl of *Leicester* Marries his Widow.

Sir *Anthony Cook* dies, and how his learned Daughters were bestow'd.

At this time, the Sons of the Earl of *Clanricard*, who scarce two months before had obtain'd pardon for their Rebellion, fell into Rebellion again, but were by the Deputy soon suppress; and *William Drury* made President of *Munster*, reduced that whole Province to good Order, except only the County of *Kerry*, whither a number of Vagabonds were gotten, trusting to the Immunities of the place. For King *Edward* the Third made *Kerry* a County *Palatine*, and granted to the Earls of *Desmond* all the Royal Liberties which the King of *England* had in that County, excepting four Pleas, *viz.* of *Burning*, *Rape*, *Forestall*, and Treasure *Trove*. The Governour not withstanding wisely judging, that these Liberties were granted for the better preservation of Justice, and not for the maintenance of outrageous Malefactors, entred into it, and violently put to flight and vanquished the mischievous Crew, which the Earl of *Desmond* had placed there in ambush. The Earl in the mean while made great Complaints of *Drury* to the Deputy, and particularly, of the Tax which they call *Ceasse*, which is an exaction of Provision of Victual at a certain rate for the Deputies Family, and the Souldiers in Garrison. This Tax not he only, but in *Leinster* also many Lords refused to pay, alledging that it was not to be exacted but by Parliament; but the matter being examined in *England*, it appeared by the Records of the Kingdom, That this Tax was anciently imposed; and that by a certain Right of Majesty, a Prerogative Royal, which is not subjected to Laws, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wise Civilians have observed. Yet the Queen commanded to use a moderation in exactions of this nature, saying, She would have her Subjects shorn, but not devoured.

The County of *Kerry* in *Ireland*, a County *Palatine*.

The Tax in *Ireland* called the *Ceasse*.

It was now the year 1577. and the twentieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when *John* of *Austria*, pretending to Queen *Elizabeth* nothing but Peace, yet he found to deal secretly with the Pope, to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himself to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and invade *England*: of which his Practices the Prince of *Orange* gives Queen *Elizabeth* the first Intelligence. Whereupon (finding his deep dissembling) she enters into a League with the States, for mutual defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain Conditions; but having concluded it (because she would not have it wrongfully interpreted, as tho' she meant to foster a Rebellion in the *Netherlands*) she sent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with these Informations, That she had always endeavoured to keep the *Low-Countries* in Obedience to the King of *Spain*; had perswaded (even with threatnings) the Prince of *Orange* to accept of Peace; but withall, if the King of *Spain* would have his Subjects obedient to him, she then requests him to restore their Privileges, and to remove *John* of *Austria* from the Government, who not

1577.

not only was their deadly enemy, but laboured by all means to bring the *Netherlands* into more favourable. It may be granted by the King of Spain, the then farmany promises, That if the States perform not their Allegiance to him as to their Prince to her they are engaged to do, she will utterly forsake them, and leave her self with all her Forces to compel them. While *Walsingham* in *Spain* unfoldeth these matters, *John* of *Austria* sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, in most grievous manner accusing the States for disobedience, and making a large Declaration of the Causes for which he had taken up Arms again. This Queen *Elizabeth* (like a fortunate Princess) sate as an Honourable Arbitress between the *Spanish*, the *French*, and the States; insomuch that it was not untrue which one wrote, that *France* and *Spain* were Ballances in the Scale of *Europe*, and *England* the Beam to turn them either way; for they still got the better, to whom she adhered.

An. Reg. 19. A sudden Mortality at the Assizes at *Oxford.*

About this time, when the Judges sate at the Assizes in *Oxford*, and one *Rowland Jenkes* a Book-seller was questioned for speaking opprobrious words against the Queen, suddenly they were surprized with a pestilent favour, whether rising from the noisome smell of the prisoners, or from the damp of the ground, is uncertain, but all that were there present, almost every one, within forty hours died, except Women and Children; and the Contagion went no further. There died *Robert Bell*, Lord chief Baron, *Robert D'Oyly*, Sir *William Babington*, *D'Oyly* Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, *Harcourt*, *Wyman*, *Plaistow*, the most of them men in this Track; *Barham* the famous Lawyer; almost all the Jurors, and three hundred other more of note.

The Lord *Latimers* Family in Issue Male extinct and how his four Daughters were bestow'd.

This year the line of the Lord *Latimer* (which had flourished in the Family of the *Nevills*, even since the Days of King *Henry* the fourth) was extinct in *John Nevill*, who died without issue male, and left a fair Estate to four Daughters, whereof the eldest married *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, the second *Thomas Cecil*, who was afterward Earl of *Exeter*; the third Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth, Sir *John Danvers*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Mores* and *O-Connors*, and others, whose Ancestors the Earl of *Sussex* in Queen *Mary*'s days, had for their Rebellion deprived of their Patrimony in *Leise* and *Offaley*, did now break forth into a new Rebellion, under the Conduct of *Rory Oge*, that is, *Roderick* the younger; set on fire the Village of *Naas*, assault *Dublin*; from whence being driven back by the valour of *George Carew* the Governour, he was afterward slain.

English Volunteers go into the *Low-Countries*, and do valiantly.

Out of *England* at this time there went into the *Low Countries* *John North* the Lord *North*'s Eldest Son, *John Norris* second Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendish*, and *Thomas Morgan* Colonels, with many Volunteers to learn Military Experience. Thither also come *Casimire* the Elector *Palatine*'s Son, with an Army of *Germans* Horse and Foot, at the Queen's Charges. Upon these *Don John*, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, confident of Victory, flyeth furiously, before they expected him, yet after a long fight, was forced to retreat; but then turning again, and thinking to break thro' the Hedges and Brakes where the *English* and *Scottish* Volunteers had placed themselves, was again repulsed; for the *English* and *Scots* were so hot upon the matter, that casting away their garments by reason of the hot weather, they fought in their shirts, which they made fast about them. In this Battel *Norris* fought most valiantly, and had three Horses slain under him, as also *Stewart* the *Scot*, *Bingham*, and *William Mallbank*.

Now for comfort to the afflicted Provinces, there came at this time into the *Netherlands* the Count *Swartzenburg* from the Emperor; *Monsieur Bellievre* from the *French* King; and from the Queen of *England*, the Lord *Cobham* and *Walsingham*, with Commission to procure conditions of Peace, but returned without doing any thing, for that *Don John* refused to admit the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refused to return into *Holland*.

Egremond Ratcliffe is put to death in *Flanders*, and why.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to *Henry* Earl of *Sussex*, by his second Wife, who had been a prime man in the Rebellion of the North, and served now under *Don John*, was accused by the *English* fugitives, that he was sent under-hand to kill *Don John*; which whether true or false, he was thereupon taken and put to death. The *Spaniards* had affirmed, That *Ratcliffe* at his last end confessed voluntarily, That he was freed out of the *Tower* of *London*, and moved by *Walsingham*'s large promises to do this Fact; but the *English* that were present at his death deny that he confessed any such thing, tho' the *English* Rebels did all they could to wrest this confession from him.

John D' Austria dieth.

At this very time, *Don John*, in the flower of his Age, died of the Pestilence, or (as some say) of grief, as being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother; a man of an unsatiable Ambition, who aimed first at the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and after of *England*; and who, without the privity of the *French* King, or King of *Spain*, had made a League with the *Guises*, for the defence of both Crowns.

Alanson solicites his suit with the Queen afresh.

Alanson altho' very busie about the *Belgick* War, yet now began again to pursue the Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*; for renewing of which suit first was *Bacheville* sent to the Queen, and soon after *Rambulet*, from the *French* King, and within a month after that, *Simier*, a neat Courtier, and exquisitely learned in the Art of Love, accompanied with a great number of the *French* Nobility; whom the Queen at *Richmond* entertained in such loving manner, that *Leicester* began to rage, as if his hopes were now quite blasted. Certainly a little before, when *Ashley*, a Lady of the Queen's Bed-chamber, mentioned the Earl of *Leicester* to her for a Husband, she with an angry countenance replied, Doth they think me so unlike my self, and so forgetful of Majesty, as to prefer my Servant, whom I my self have advanced before the greatest of Princes of the Christian World.

The Earl of *Morton* Regent of *Scotland*, is removed, and the King tho' but twelve years old is admitted to govern.

But it is now time to return to the *Scottish* Affairs. The Earl of *Morton* Regent of *Scotland*, tho' a man of great wisdom and valor, yet was now so overcome with covetousness, that he grew universally hated; and thereupon with the joynt consent of the Nobility, the administration of the Common-wealth was translated to the King, tho' he was yet but twelve years old, and twelve of the chief Lords were appointed to attend him

in Council, three of them by course for three months; amongst whom, the Earl of *Morton* for one, that they might not seem to cast him quite off. The King having taken upon him the Administration, sent presently the Earl of *Dunferlin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great deserts towards him, and requesting to have the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, agreed on in the year 1559, to be confirmed, for the more happy restraining the Robbers about the borders; and withal that his ancient Patrimony in *England*, namely, the Lands granted to his Grand-father *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, and the Countess his Grand-mother, might be delivered into his hands who was the next Heir. The Queen really promised the former demands, but stuck a little at the last, concerning the Patrimony; For she would not grant, That *Arabella*, the Daughter of *Charles* the King of *Scots* Uncle, born in *England*, was the next Heir to the Lands in *England*, neither would she grant the Ambassadors proof out of History, That the King of *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did anciently (without question) hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet she commanded a Sequestration to be made of the Revenues of those Lands, by *Burleigh* Master of the Wards, and willeth the King, That out of the goods of the Earl of *Lenox* in *Scotland*, satisfaction might be made to his Grandmothers Creditors here. For she took it in ill part, that the King had recalled the Enfeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* (made to his Uncle *Charles* and his Heirs) after the death of *Charles*, to the prejudice (as was suggested to her) of *Arabella*; altho' indeed it be a privilege of the Kings of *Scotland*, That they may recal Donations made in their minority.

The Earl of *Morton* in the mean while not enduring the disgrace to be outed of his Regency, regarded not the Prescript form of Government lately set down, but drew the Administration of all matters to himself, and kept the King in his own power at the Castle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his presence, but whom he pleased. At this presumption the Lords growing angry, made the Earl of *Athol* their Captain and in the Kings Name levied a great Army, and were ready to encounter *Morton*; but by the Intercession of *Robert Bowes*, the *English* Ambassadour, they were staid from fighting; and *Morton* presently betook himself home, and the Earl of *Athol* soon after died, not without suspicion of being poysoned.

The King of *Spain* and the Pope conspire against Queen *Elizabeth*.

At this time the King of *Spain*, and Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth held secret Consultation, to invade at once both *England* and *Ireland*, and to work the absolute ruin of Queen *Elizabeth*. The Pope to gain the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Boncompagno*, whom he had made Marquess of *Vrnold*; The King of *Spain* secretly to relieve the *Irish* Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* did the *Dutch*, while friendship in Words was upheld on both sides: and it being known, that the greatest strength of *England* consisted in the Navy Royal, and Merchants Ships, it was advised, that the *Italian* and *Dutch* Merchants should hire these Ships for long Voyages; to the end, that while they were absent, the Queen's Navy might be surprized with a greater Fleet: and at that time *Thomas Stukely*, an *English* Fugitive, should joyn himself to the *Irish* Rebels with new Forces. For he making great boast, and promising the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope's Bastard Son, had so insinuated himself into grace with the ambitious old man, that he adorned him with the Titles of Marquess of *Lowther*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Catterlagh*, Viscount *Murrey* and Baron of *Ross* (the principal Counties of *Ireland*) and made him Commander over Eight hundred *Italian* Souldiers, to be imployed in the *Irish* War. With which Forces *Stukely* setting sail from *Civita Vecchia*, arrived at length in *Portugal*, where he and his Forces were by the Divine Providence diverted another way. For *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* (to whom the chief Command in this Expedition against *England* was assigned) being left to dispatch a War in *Africa*, in aid of *Muley Abdal*, Son to the King of *Fesse*, perswaded *Stukely* to go along with him into *Mauritania*, together with his *Italian* Souldiers, and then afterwards they would go together against *Ireland*. To this motion *Stukely* soon agreed, and therein agreed with his destiny; for in that memorable Battle where three Kings were slain, both he and *Sebastian* lost their lives.

Thomas Stukeley is by the Pope honour'd with the greatest dignities, and sent into *Ireland*. But diverted by the King of *Portugal* is slain in *Africa*.

At this time Sir *Henry Sidney* (who had been Depury of *Ireland* at several times eleven years) delivered up his Deputyship to Sir *William Drury*, President of *Munster*. Such a Deputy, for good Government, that if any have equalled him, none have exceeded him.

It was now the year 1579, and the two and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when *John Casimire*, Son of *Frederick* the third, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, came into *England*; where after he had been entertained with Tiltings and Justs, made Knight of the Garter (the Queen tying the Garter about his leg) and rewarded with a yearly Pension, he returned. And now was *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, made Governour of the *Netherlands* by the King of *Spain*, and Queen *Elizabeth* supplies the States with a great sum of money, for which *William Davison* brought into *England* the ancient precious Habiliments of the Family of *Burgundy*, and their Costly Vessels, laid to pawn by *Maximilian* of *Austria*, and the States.

1579.

Alexander Farnese Prince of *Parma* is made Governour of the *Netherlands*.

Simier in the mean time here in *England* ceaseth not by all amorous devices to perswade the Queen to marry *Alanson*; wherein he drew her so far, that the Earl of *Leicester* gave out, he crept into the Queen's affection by Love-Potions and unlawful Arts: and *Simier* on the other side endeavoured by all means to cast down *Leicester*, discovering his marriage with the Earl of *Essex* his Widow: whereat the Queen grew so angry, that she confined him to the Castle at *Greenwich*, and meant to have him committed to the *Tower*, but that the Earl of *Sussex* (tho' his greatest Adversary) diswaded her, telling her, That none ought to be molested for contracting lawful Matrimony. But *Leicester* notwithstanding was so provoked for his Cousining, that he was bent to revenge it; and if it be true, as some said, he had suborned one *Tinder* a Yeoman of the Guard to murther *Simier*. Sure it is, the Queen by Proclamation commanded, That no person should offer injury to the Ambassador or any of his Servants. At which time it fell out, that as the Queen, together with *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and

and *Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, were rowed in a Barge to *Greenwich*, a young man shooting off a Harquebus out of a boat, shot one of the Rowers in the Queens Barge through the Arm with a Bullet, who was presently taken and lead to the Gallows; but upon solemn Protestation that he did it unwillingly, and out of no malicious intent, he was let go and pardoned. Some would have perswaded the Queen, that he was purposely suborn'd to shoot either her or the *French* Ambassador: but she was so far from suspecting her Subjects that she would often say, She would not believe any thing against them, which a Mother would not believe against her Children.

Alanson comes privately into *England*, and hath secret Conference with the Queen. *Burleigh* and others are enjoyned to consult the Marriage Covenants.

After a few days *Alanson* himself came privately into *England* with only one or two attendants, and came to the Queen at *Greenwich* at a time when she thought not of it; they had secret conference together, all parties being sent away: after which, being seen of very few, he returned home; but within a month or two after the Queen enjoyned the Lord *Burleigh* Treasurer, the Earl of *Sussex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton*, and *Wilsham*, seriously to weigh both the dangers, and the Commodities like to arise from the marriage with him, and to consult with *Simier* concerning the marriage Covenants.

The Title of Lord D' *Aubigny*, from whence it came.

As in *England* there was some fear of this *French-man*; so in *Scotland* at this time of another *French-man*, called *Esme Steward*, Lord of *Aubigny*, who came now into *Scotland* to visit the King his Cousin. He was the Son of *John Steward* Brother to *Mathew Steward* Earl of *Lenox* the Kings Grand-father, and had denomination from *Aubigny* in *France*, which Title *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* had anciently conferred upon *John Steward* of the Family of *Lenox*, who being Constable of the *Scottish* Army in *France*, vanquished the *English* in one Battle, and slain by them in another: and from that time the Title belonged to the younger descent of that House. This *Esme Steward*, the King embraced with exceeding great love, made him Lord Chamberlain of *Scotland*, and Captain of the Castle of *Dumbriton*, and created him first Earl, and then Duke of *Lenox*. The fear from this man was, because he was devoted to the *Guises* and the Popish Religion; and that which encreased the fear from this man, because he applied himself to *Mortons* Adversaries: and mediated to have *Thomas Carre* Lord of *Fernihurst* called home, who of all men was most addicted to the Queen of *Scots*.

Esme Steward made first Duke of *Lenox*.

The *Turkey* Merchants when set up.

About this time Queen *Elizabeth*, at the request of *William Hartwell* an *English*-man, procured a Grant from the *Turkish* Emperor, for the *English* Merchants to exercise free Traffick in all places of his Dominions, as well as *Venetians*, *Flanders*, and other neighbouring Nations; whereupon they set up first the Company of *Turkey* Merchants; managing a most gainful Trade at *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, and other parts of *Asia*, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silks, Tapestry, Indico, Currants, and the like.

This year died Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; but who by vertue of an Act of Parliament, always exercised the Jurisdiction of Lord Chancellor: a very fat man, but singularly wise, and a chief prop of the Queens Privy Council: In whose place succeeded Sir *Thomas Bromley*, the Queens Solicitor with the Title of Lord Chancellor of *England*.

Fitz-Morris raiseth a Rebellion in *Ireland*, but is by *William a Burgh* encountred and slain.

In *Ireland* at this time, in the Province of *Munster*, *James Fitz-Morris* kindled a new fire of Rebellion; for after his former submission upon his knees, vowing all obedience to the Queen, he stole away into *France*, and prevailed the *French* King if he would lend him assistance, to make him King of *Ireland*. But being by him slighted he went into *Spain*, and made the like offer to the King there. The King of *Spain* sent him to the Pope, from whom by means of *Nicholas Sanders*, an *English* Priest, and *Alan* an *Irish* man, (both Doctors in Divinity) he obtained a little money, a Legates Authority for *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Commendation to the Catholick King. And returning from *Spain* with those Divines, three Ships, and a few men, he landed at *Smerwick Kerry*, a demy Island in the West part of *Ireland*, about the first day of *July*; where (the place being first of all consecrated by the Priests) he built a Foer, and brought the ships close under it, but these were presently set upon and carried away by *Thomas Courtney*, and thereby the *Spaniards* deprived of their opportunity of coming thither by Sea. But now *John* and *James*, brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathering together a small number of *Irish*, joyn themselves presently with their Kinsman *Fitz-Morris*. Yet the *Spaniards* seeing that but a very few *Irish*, and those unarmed, came unto them, began to distrust the state they were in, and to cry out, That they were undone; whom *Fitz-Morris* heartned the best he could, telling them that Supplies were presently to come. And going himself to get more company, he passed through the Land of his Cousin *William a Burgh*, who though he had been a Rebel before, yet was now grown Loyal, so as there fell out a Skirmish between them; in which *Fitz-Morris* being strucken through with a Pike, and shot into the head with a Leaden bullet, died in the place, and most of his Company with him; but with all, two of *William Burghs* Sons were in that skirmish slain also; when the Queen to comfort him for the loss of his Sons, adorned him with the Dignity of Baron of *Castle Conel*, and rewarded him with a yearly Pension besides: which Favour so overwhelm'd him with joy, that he lived but a short while after. And now Sir *William Drury* the Depury growing very sick, appointed Sir *Nicholas Malby*, then Governour of *Connaught*, to be President of *Munster*, and General of the Army; at which time the Earl of *Desmond*, who had all this while made a shew of Loyalty, breaks openly out into Rebellion; when now *Drury* the Depury dying at *Waterford*, by his death *Malbyes* Authority ceasing, Sir *William Pelham* is by the Council chosen Justice of *Ireland*, with the Authority of Vice Roy, until such time as a Depury were appointed, and the Earl of *Ormond* is made President of *Munster*. *Pelham* goeth into *Munster*, and sendeth for the Earl of *Desmond*, who refusing to come is thereupon proclaimed Traytor, and an enemy to the State; and this being published, the Justice committed the following War to the Earl of *Ormond*, who slaying most of the *Spaniards* and adherents to *Desmond*, compelleth him to send his wife to the Justice, to beg his pardon.

The Earl of *Desmond* rebels.

Sir *William Pelham* made Justice of *Ireland*.

The

The Lord *Grey* is made Deputy of *Ireland*.

The Lord Justice *Pelham* now certified, That *Arthur* Lord *Grey* was landed with authority to be Deputy of *Ireland*, at *Munster* delivered the Army to *George Bourchier* the Son of *John*, second Earl of *Bath* of that name, and himself resorteth to *Dublin* to deliver up the Province to his Succeſſor. The Lord *Grey* at his landing, before he received the Sword, hearing where the Rebels had their Rendevouz, marched towards them, who preſently betake themſelves to *Grandisbrook*, a ſtately Valley, and beſet round with trees, where they who dwelt near, ſcarce know the winding out; yet the Deputy (taking one *Cuſack* an old man, well acquainted with the place, to be his leader) entred into it, where he loſt divers of his men, namely, *Twiſt Carew* the younger, *George Bowes*, *Audley*, and *Cuſack* himſelf that was his Leader.

San Joſeph an *Italian* with ſeven hundred Souldiers landed in *Ireland*.

A ſhort time after, there landed at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, under the command of *San Joſeph* an *Italian*, about ſeven hundred *Italian* Souldiers, who fortified the place, and named it *Fort del Oro*. Whereupon the Deputy ſent a Trumpeter to the Fort to demand who they were, what they had to do in *Ireland*, and who ſent them; withal commanding them to depart immediately. But they replyed, That ſome of them were ſent from his Holineſs, others from the Catholick King, upon whom the Pope had beſtowed the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for that Queen *Elizabeth* (by reaſon of Hereſie) had forfeited the Right due unto her, and therefore what they had gotten they would maintain. Upon this the Deputy prepares for battery, lets fly his Ordnance four days together, in which time the *Spaniards* once or twice made ſallies out, to their own loſs much, but not an *Engliſh* man ſlain, but one *John Groves*, a comely young Gentleman, ſon to Sir *John Groves* a learned Knight. And now was before, who commanded the reſt, a white liver'd Souldier, terrified with continual battery, and having no hope of relief, either from the King of *Spain* or *Desmond* (contrary to the will of all his Souldiers) ſet up a white Flag and deſired a Parlee; but Parlee was denied, becauſe he had combined with Rebels, with whom it is not lawful to hold Parlee. Then he demanded that his Company might paſs away with their Baggage; but neither would this be granted. Then he requeſted that ſome of the chiefeſt fort might have leave to depart; but neither could this be obtained. At laſt when they could prevail in nothing, they hanged out the White Flag again, and ſubmitted themſelves abſolutely, without any condition, to the Deputies mercy, who preſently conſulted how to deal with them; and for the Caſe, Their number was well near as great as the *Engliſh*, there was no fear of ſuccour from the Rebels; and the *Engliſh* were ſo deſirous of meat and reſt, that they were ready to mutiny, unleſs they might have the ſpoil granted them; and beſides, there were no Ships to ſend them away if they were ſpared. For theſe reaſons it was concluded (the Deputy gainſaying, and letting reaſons fall) That only the Leaders ſhould be ſaved, the reſt ſlain, and all the *Iriſh* hanged up; which was preſently put in execution, to the great diſliking of the Queen, who deteſted the ſlaughter of ſuch as yield themſelves, and would not accept of any excuſes or allegations.

No Parlee to be allowed to Rebels.

San Joſeph yields himſelf to the Deputy without condition.

His men are all to ſlain, and why.

And yet more cruelty than this was at that time committed in the *Netherlands*; for *John Norris*, and *Oliver Temple*, *Engliſh* Commanders, together with ſome Companies of *Dutch*, letting out early one morning, took *Mechlen* a wealthy Town in *Brabant*, and aſſault with Ladders; where they promiſcuouſly murthered both Citizens and Religious perſons, offering violence even upon the dead, taking away golden ſtones, which were ſent into *England* to be ſold.

About this time certain *Engliſh* Prieſts, who were fled into the *Netherlands*, in the year 1568, by the procurement of *William Allen* an *Oxford* Scholar, betook themſelves to Study at *Douay*, where they erected into a Collegiat Form of Government; to whom the Pope allowed a yearly Penſion. But Tumults riſing in the *Low Countries*, and the *Engliſh* Fugitives being commanded by the King of *Spain*, Deputy to depart from thence, other like Colledges, for the training up of the *Engliſh* Youth, were erected, one at *Rheims* by the *Guiſes*, and another at *Rome* by Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, which always afforded new ſupplies of Prieſts for *England*, when the old fail'd, who ſhould ſpread abroad the ſeeds of the *Romiſh* Religion here amongſt us; from whence thoſe Colledges had the name of Seminaries and they called Seminary Prieſts who were trained up in them. In theſe Seminaries, amongſt other Diſputations, it was concluded, That the Pope hath ſuch fulneſs of Power, by Divine Right, over the whole Chriſtian World, both in Eccleſiaſtical and Secular matters, that by vertue thereof it is lawful for him to Excommunicate Kings, abſolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. From theſe Seminaries at this time, there came two into *England*, *Robert Parſon*, and *Edmund Campian*, both of them *Engliſh*-men, and Jeſuits. *Parſon* was born in *Somerſetſhire*, a fierce and rough conditioned fellow. *Campian* was a Londoner, of a milder diſpoſition. They had been both brought up in *Oxford*, *Campian* a fellow of St. *John's* College, and had been Proctor in the Year 1569. and when he was made Deacon, counterfeited himſelf to be a Proteſtant, till ſuch time as he ſlipped out of *England*. *Parſon* was of *Baylol* College, where he made open profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, till for diſhoneſt carriage, he was expelled the Houſe, and then fled to the Popiſh Party. Both theſe came privily into *England*, in the diſguiſe one while of Souldiers, another while of Noble-Men; ſometimes like *Engliſh* Miniſters, and ſometimes in the habit of Gentlemen. *Parſon* who was made the Superiour, brake forth in ſuch open words amongſt the people, about depoſing the Queen, that ſome of them (as had a purpoſe to complain of them to the Magiſtrates. *Campian*, though ſomething more moderate, yet in a writing provoked the *Engliſh* Miniſters to a diſpute; and publiſhed in *Latine* an elegant Book of his Ten Reaſons, in maintenance of the Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church; as *Parſon* in like manner, ſet forth another violent Pamphlet againſt *Clark*, who had written modeſtly againſt *Campian's* Provocation. But Doctor *Whitaker* ſoundly confuted *Campian*, who being a year after apprehended, and put upon the Rack, was afterward brought

What Colleges were called Seminaries, and why.

Parſons and *Campian* Jeſuits come into *England* in diſguiſe and of their education.

brought out to a Disputation; where he scarcely made good the great fame that went of him.

Captain Drak's return from his Voyage about the World.

In this Year was the return of Captain *Drake* from his incredible Voyage round about the World (which *Magellan* had before attempted, but died in the Voyage) whereof to relate all particular Accidents, would require a large Volume: It may suffice in this place, to deliver some special Passages. He was born of mean Parentage in *Devonshire*, yet had a great man (*Francis Russel*, after Earl of *Bedford*) to be his God-father. His Father, in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, being persecuted for a Protestant, chang'd his Soyl, and lived close in *Kent*. King *Henry* being dead, he got a place among the Marriners of the Queens Navy, to read Prayers, and afterwards bound his Son *Francis* to a Ship-master, who in a Ship which went to and fro upon the Coast with Commodities, one while to *Zealand*, another while to *France*, training him up to pains and skill at Sea, took such a liking to him, that afterwards dying, he bequeathed his Barque to him by his Will: This Barque *Drake* sold, and then in the Year 1567. went with Sir *John Hawkins* into *America*, in which Voyage he unfortunately lost all he had. Five years after having gotten again a good sum of Money, by Trading and Piracy, (which the Preacher of his Ship told him was lawful) he bought a Ship of War, and two small Vessels, with which he set sail again for *America*, where his first Prize was great store of Gold and Silver, carried over the Mountains upon Mules; whereof the Gold he brought to his Ships, but left the Silver, hiding it under ground: after this he fired a great place of Traffick, called, The *Cross*, at the River *Chirugo*, when roaming to and fro upon the Mountains, he espied the South Sea; where falling upon his knees, he craved assistance of Almighty God, to find out that passage, which he reserveth for another Voyage; and for the present, had gotten much Riches, he return'd home. Afterwards in the Year 1577. the thirteenth day of *November*, with five Ships, and Seamen to the number of one hundred sixty three, he set Sail from *Plimouth*, for the Southern Sea, and within five and twenty days came to *Gantyne*, a Cape in *Barbary*, and then sailed along the Isle of *Fogo* which sends forth flames of Sulphur; and being now under the Line, he let every one in his Ship blood. The sixteenth of *April*, entring into the mouth of the Plate, they espied a World of Sea-Calves; in which place *John Doughty*, the next to *Drake* in Authority, was called in question for raising Sedition in the Navy, who being found guilty, was beheaded. Some report, That *Drake* had charge given him from the Earl of *Leicester*, to make away *Doughty* upon some pretence or other, for that he had said, That the Earl of *Essex* was craftily made away by *Leicester*. The twentieth of *August*, two of his Ships he turneth off, and with the other three came to the Sea which they call the Straight of *Magellan*. The sixth of *September*, entring into the wide Southern Ocean, which they call, The *Pacifique* Sea, he found it out of measure troublous, so that his Ships were here by Tempests dispersed; in one of which *John Winter* was Master, who returned back into *England*; *Drake* himself with only one Ship, coasted along the shore, till he came to the Isle *Moncha*, from whence looking, he lighted upon a Fellow fishing in a little Boat, who shewed him where a *Spanish* Ship laden with Treasure lay; *Drake* making towards it, the *Spaniards* thought him to be their own Country-man, and thereupon invited him to come on; but he getting aboard presently shut the *Spaniards* being not above eight Persons) under Hatches, and took the Ship, in which was four hundred pound weight of Gold. At *Tarapis*, going again to shore, he found a *Spaniard* sleeping by the Sea-side, who had lying by him twenty Bars of massie Silver, to the value of four thousand Ducats, which he and his Followers take amongst them, the *Spaniard* still sleeping. After this going into the Port of *Arica*, he found there 3 Vessels without any Marriners in them, wherein besides other Wares, were seven and fifty Silver Bricks, each of which weighed twenty pound: From whence riding it to *Lima*, he found 12 Ships in one Road, and in them great store of Silks, and a Chest full of Money Coined, but not so much as a Ship-boy aboard; such security there was in that Coast: Then putting to Sea with those Ships, he followed the rich Ship called the *Cacafogo*, and by the way met with a small Ship without Ordnance or other Arms, out of which he took fourscore pound weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emeralds of a Finger's length. The first day of *March*, he overtook the *Cacafogo*, fell upon her and took her; and in her, besides Jewels, fourscore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Chests of Silver ready coined, and as much Silver as would ballast a Ship. And now thinking he had gained Wealth enough, he resolved to return home; and so on the third of *November* 1580. he landed at *Plimouth*, having sailed round about the World, in the space of three years; to the great admiration of all that know what compass the World is of.

His Parentage and Education.

The Passages of his Voyage.

1580.

The Queen welcomed him home, but made a Sequestration of the Goods, that they might be ready if the King of *Spain* required them; and commanded the Ship to be drawn on shore near *Deptford* for a Monument (where the Carcass of it is yet to be seen) and her self feasted in it; at which time she Knighted Captain *Drake*. But *Bernardine Mendoza*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambassadour in *England*, began to rage, and expostulately demanded restitution of the Goods, and complained that the *English* sailed upon the *Indian Sea*. To whom it was answered, That the Goods were sequestred, and ready to make the King of *Spain* satisfaction, although the Queen had expended against the Rebels, whom the *Spaniard* had excited in *England* and *Ireland*, more Money than that which *Drake* brought home: And as for sailing on the *Indian Sea*, That it was as lawful for the Queens Subjects as his, seeing the Sea and the Air are common for all to use. Notwithstanding, to *Pedro Sevara*, the King of *Spain*'s Agent in this business, a great sum of Money was repaid; which was not restored to them to whom it belonged, but employed to the *Spaniards* Wars in the *Low Countries*, as was known after when it was too late.

Doughty beheaded by Drake.

But at this time, when *Jackman* and *Pet*, two skilful Pilots, were sent forth with two Ships by the *Londoners*, to find out a shorter cut to the *East-Indies*, by the North-West passage, they had not the like success; for a few Leagues beyond the

the Isles of *Vaygata*, they met with such uncertain Tides, so many Shallows, and such Mountains of Ice, that they could go no farther, and had much ado to return home.

Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of *Arundel* dies, in whom ended the Sir-name of that Noble Family. The Possession of *Arundel*-Castle gives the Title of that Honour.

About this time, *Henry Fitz Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*, died, in whom the Sir-name of a most Noble Family ended, which had flourished in this Honour for above three hundred years, from *Richard Fitz-Alan*, who being descended from the *D'Albenys* (ancient Earls of *Arundel* and *Sussex*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the First) obtained the Title of Earl, by reason of the possession of *Arundel*-Castle, without Creation. He had three Children by his Wife *Katherine*, Daughter to *Thomas Gray*, Marquess of *Dorset*, all whom he out-lived; *Henry* a young man of great hope, who died at *Brussels*; *Joan*, Wife to the Lord *Lumley*; and *Mary*, who being married to *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, brought forth *Philip*, in her right, Earl of *Arundel*.

In *Ireland*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* the Deputy going against the *O-Cavors*, who raised stirs in *Ophaly*, putteth to death *Hugh O-Moley*, quieteth all that Quarter, quen the Families of the *Magoligans* and *O-Gharlis*, and in the very beginning suppresseth a Conspiracy which was breaking forth, by putting to death the Lord *Nogent*; who being confident in his own Innocency, when the Deputy promised to save his life, if he would but confess himself guilty, chose rather to die and be held guiltless, than to live in infamy, by betraying his own Innocency. With whose death the Queen was extreamly displeased, as by which she was made a Patroness of Cruelty to her great dishonour. But the Deputy knew with what kind of People he dealt, and by this example of Severity, brought the *Tuohugh Leynaigh* to accept Conditions of Peace, and the *O-Byrnes* and *Cavenaghs* (rebellious Families in *Lemster*) humbly to crave leave also, and to offer Hostages.

In *Scotland*, at this time great jealousie was had of *Lenox* Lord of *Aubigny*, left, being in so great favour with the King, he should allure him to marry into *France*, and bring into *Scotland* the Popish Religion. Whereupon (although he purged himself by Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, and proffered himself to be a Protestant) yet many courses were taken to supplant him from the King, but so far from taking effect, that on the contrary, the Earl of *Morton*, who among all others was most addicted to the *English*) was soon after accused of Treason by the Earl of *Arran*, and cast into Prison; and not long after (notwithstanding all the means the Queen could use to save him) was beheaded, as convicted to be accessary to the murther of the King's Father. Whereupon the Earl of *Angus*, and others who laboured for *Morton*, fled straightways into *England*.

The Earl of *Morton* is beheaded as accessary to the murder of the Kings Father.

General *Norris* raised the Siege at *Steinwick*. But is after ward vanquisht, wounded, and a great number of his men slain.

In the *Low Countries* about this time, the Count *Rhenenberg* proceeded Victoriously for the King of *Spain*, and beleaguer'd *Steinwick* in *Freezland*; against whom the States sent *Norris* General of the Field, who put the *Rheinbergs* Company to the worst, and raised the Siege; but afterward joyning Battle with *Verdugo* the *Spaniard* at *Northorne*, even when the Victory was almost gotten, (*Roger Williams* having put the Enemies to flight) the Fortune of the War turn'd, *Norris* is vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain; amongst whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams* and *Bishop*, stout Commanders. Here it must not be omitted, That the *English* (who of all the dwellers in the Northern parts of the World, were hitherto the least Drinkers, and deserved praise for their Sobriety) in these *Dutch* Wars learned to be Drunkards; and brought the Vice so far to overspread the Kingdom, that Laws were fain to be enacted for repressing it.

In these *Dutch* Wars the *English* learn now be Drunkards.

But now whilst the States and the King of *Spain* contend about a few Towns in the *Low Countries*, he seizeth upon the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*. For the last year *Henry* King of *Portugal* dying, many Competitors challenge the Kingdom; as the Duke of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Parma*'s Son, *Katherine Braccant*, and the Queen of *Ivance*. But *Philip* King of *Spain*, the Son of *Hemries* eldest Sister, putting the Case to his Divines and Lawyers, and adjuring them to pronounce to whom of right it belonged, they pronounced for him; whereupon he sent Duke *D'Alva*, who put to flight *Antonio*, whom the People had elected King, and within seventy days subdued all *Portugal*. The Queen of *France* angry hereat, and enviously beholding the King of *Spain*'s Dominions thus enlarged (being now Master of *Portugal*, the *East-Indies*, and many Islands besides) adviseth amongst other Princes, Queen *Elizabeth*, to bethink themselves in time of restraining his so excessive Dominions: whereupon the Queen received *Don Antonio*, and lovingly relieved him, which she thought might be done without any breach of the League with *Spain*, seeing *Don Antonio* was descended of *English* blood, and of the House of *Lancaster*, and that no Caution was in the League, That the *Portugueze* should not be admitted into *England*.

The King of *Spain* seizeth upon the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and putteth *Don Antonio* to flight.

Whom Q. *Eliz.* received and relieved.

1581.

And now the Queen-Mother of *France*, and the King her Son, more eagerly than ever, pursue the Match with *Alanson* now Duke of *Anjou*, for the transacting whereof, they sent in Ambassage into *England*, *Francis Bourbon*, Prince of *Dauphine*, *Arthur Cosse*, Marshal of *France*, and many other honourable Personages, who were entertained with great respect (a House being purposely built at *Westminster* for that use, Royally furnished,) Tilting and Juste proclaimed, by *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, *Frederick* Baron of *Windsor*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, against all Comers. The Delegates that were to confer with the *French* concerning the Marriage, were Sir *William Cecil*, Lord Treasurer, *Edward* Earl of *Lincoln* Lord Admiral, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary; By whom Covenants of Marriage were at length agreed on: First, That the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Queen of *England*, within six weeks after the ratification of the Articles, should contract Matrimony, and the rest, most of them such as were before agreed on in the Marriage between Queen *Mary* and King *Philip*, chiefly consisting in conferring Honour upon the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. It was also agreed, That all particulars should be ratified within two Months, by the faithful Promise and Oath of the *French* King, for Him and his Heirs, and a reservation was also added apart, with the Hands and Seals of every one of the Delegates, That Queen *Elizabeth* is not bound to finish the Marriage, until she and the Duke have given each other satisfaction

The Match with *Alanson*, now Duke of *Anjou* is pursued afresh.

And Articles of the Marriage are agreed on.

in

in some particulars, and have certified the *French* King of the same within six weeks. Before those six weeks were expired, *Simier*, Secretary to the Council, is sent into *France* to require the King of *France* his Confirmation: The King will not hear him, but presseth to have the Marriage accomplished, as it was contrafted, and that nothing else was to be done. *Simier* on the other side sheweth by the Articles, that a League offensive and defensive must be first concluded. This the *French* King disclaimeth. Whereupon *Walsingham* is presently sent to compose this difference, who joyntly with *Henry Cobham*, the Ambassadour in ordinary, and *Simier*, allegeth to the *French* King these Particulars, That Queen *Elizabeth* for no other Reason was willing to marry, but for the satisfaction of her people, and seeing many Impediments were come in the way since the first Treaty, namely the Civil War in *France*, and the Dukes engagement in a War with *Spain*, which makes the wisest of her Subjects now to be against the Match: This hath made her to defer the accomplishment of it, although her affection be still constant toward the Duke. For this cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, till the *French* Duke be freed from the *Spanish* War, and a League of mutual offence and defence be agreed on. The *French* King willingly accepted of the League defensive, but of the offensive he would hear no speech, till the Marriage were finished.

But the King of *France* disclaimeth the Articles.

The Duke of *Anjou* comes himself into *England*. And in a private Conference with the Queen she shews a Ring from off her finger, and puts it upon his. The next day all Lords and Ladies congratulating the Marriage to be consummated exceedingly.

Not long after, the *French* Duke himself came into *England*, having with good success ended the Siege of *Cambray*. He was here received with as great humanity as he could wish, and nothing omitted whereby he might judge himself to be truly welcome. Insomuch that in *May-day*, when the Anniversary of the Queens Inauguration came to be solemnized, the Queen (while they were in Love-conference) shews a Ring off her finger, and put it upon his finger. The Conference. The Strangers imagining by this Ceremony the Marriage was consummated, here Congratulations and Triumphant Gestures of Joy being there, presently dispatched Messengers into the Low Countries, to give notice of it, and thereupon Bonfires were made, and all shews of rejoycing. But the Earl of Leicester (who privately plotted to cross the Match) Hatton the Vice-Chamberlain, and Secretary Walsingham, fret and are enraged, as if the Kingdom, the Queen and Religion, were now utterly overthrown. The Maids of Honour, and Ladies that were familiar with the Queen made grievous lamentation, and so terrified and daunted her, that she could take no rest that night. The next day, she called to her the *French* Duke, and causing all company to go aside, they privately entertain a long discourse. At length the Duke returning to his lodging cast the Ring away from him, and after a while takes it up again, terribly exclaiming against the levity and inconstancy of Women.

The next day she calleth the *French* Duke to her, and after a long discourse, made him exclaim on the inconstancy of Women.

The Queen at this time was much troubled at a book lately put forth with this Title, *The Gulph wherein England will be swallowed by the French Marriage*: whereof conceiving, that some Puritan was the Author, she was highly displeased with the Puritans. Whereupon, within a few days, *John Stubbs* of *Lincolns-Inn*, a Learned Professor, and the Author of this Book, (whose Sister, *Thomas Cartwright* the father of the Puritans had Married) *William Page* that dispersed the Copies, and *Singleton* the Printer were apprehended, against whom Sentence was pronounced, That their right hand should be cut off, by vertue of a Law made in the time of *Philip* and *Mary* against the Authors and dispersers of seditious Writings, (though many Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdom could not agree concerning the force of that Statute.) Hereupon *Stubbs* and *Page* were brought to the Scaffold made, of purpose, in the Market place at *Westminster*, and their right hands with a Butchers knife and a mallet cut off by the wrists: the Printer was pardoned. At that time *Stubbs* when his right hand was cut off, uncovered his head with the left, and cried out, *God save the Queen*, to the great amazement of all the Beholders.

Stubbs and *Page* have their right Hands cut off for writing a seditious Book against the Marriage.

At this time the Queen, more importunate suit of her Council, gave way, that *Edmund Campian*, *Ralph Sherwin*, and *Alexander Briant*, Priests, should be called to the Bar, where being accused by vertue of a Law made in the five and twentieth year of K. *Edward* the third, to have plotted the ruine of the Queen and Kingdom, as to be adhering to the Pope, the Queens Enemy, and coming into *England* to raise Forces against the State, were then condemned of High Treason, and accordingly executed. *Campian* after he was convicted, being demanded, Whether he did not Queen *Elizabeth* were a lawful Queen, would make no answer, alledging whether he would do it for the Queen, or the Pope, neither should lend any Arms against the Queen: also plainly professed, that he would die of the Popes side, and wished for much murder his hands. All for this cause other Priests upon the like occasion were also put to Death, which the Queen rather unwillingly, than willingly affented to, as being unwilling to force the Conscience of any. These and the like remonstrances of Papists were causes that new and strict Laws were enacted against them the Parliament following, which began the next January.

Campian, *Sherwin* and *Briant* Priests are executed.

The *French* Duke after three months abode in *England*, took his Journey to *Antwerp*, into the Low Countries, whom the Queen her self brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*, and then commanded the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lords *Charlet Howard*, *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windsor*, *Sheffield*, Sir *Philip Sydney*, Sir *Fr. Russel*, Sir *George Bromley* and some other prime Knights to accompany him to *Antwerp*, where he is made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limburgh* and *Lorrain*; for the *Dutch* had long before removed the King of *Spain* Government, and quitted the people from their Oath of Allegiance, that it might be in their own power to choose any other Prince. Here the Duke of *Anjou* gave free leave to exercise the *Roman* Religion, so as many as would swear Fealty to him, and absure the King of *Spains* Authority: but after all, having sent a great mass of money with which he was supplied from *England*, and observing that only vain and empty Titles were conferred upon him, while the States held all the Dominion in their own hands, he rashly encouraged an assault upon *Antwerp*, and some

The Duke of *Anjou* goes out of *England*, whom the Queen brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*.

other Towns, and shortly departed without any great matter performed.

1582.

Sir Perigrine Bertye made Lord Willoughby of Eresby.

At this time Queen *Elizabeth*, as well to get some friends, as she had procured her self many Enemies, received into the Order of the Garter, *Frederick* the Second, King of *Denmark*; to whom the ensuing year she sent to invest him therewith, *Perigrine* Lord Willoughby of *Eresby*, to whom being Heir general of Queen Katherine Duchess of *Suffolk* his Mother, the ancient Barony of *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, descended of right, which has been misrepresented in all the former Editions of this Chronicle.

But now to prevent the Duke of *Guise*'s designs in *Scotland*, which was to make use of the Duke of *Lenox*'s favour with the King, to withdraw his affection from the *English*: *William Ruthen*, whom the King had lately made Earl of *Gowry*, endeavoured with others, by all means to remove *Lenox* and the Earl of *Arran* from the King; and so while *Lenox* was gone from *Perth*, (where the King at this time was) to *Edenburgh*, and *Arran* was also absent on a journey, the Earls *Gowry*, *Mowre*, *Lindsey* and others, taking the opportunity, invited the King to the Castle of *Ruthen*, and there detained him, not permitting him to walk abroad; all his trusty servants they removed from about him; *Arran* they cast in Prison, enforced the King to call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to send away *Lenox* into *France*, who being a man of a soft and gentle disposition, for the King's safety readily consented, and not content with all this, they compelled the King by his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, to approve and allow of this his doubtless. The Queen of *Scots* in the mean while hearing her cause had success, and the liberty of the King her Son, layeth open the same with large Letters written to the Queen in *French*. With which *Lenox* Queen *Elizabeth* being somewhat offended, sent her secret *Robert Beal* Clerk of the Council to expostulate with her concerning the contents of writing, and jointly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to treat of the setting her at liberty. And several serious consultations were held at the Council Table about it, and the most were of opinion that upon certain conditions she should have her liberty; but the Lords of the English faction opposing it, nothing was effected.

The Earl Gowry and other Lords take the King, and keep him a Prisoner.

Soon after this, the King sent Colonel *William Stewart* and *John Colvil* to Queen *Elizabeth*, to offer all manner of respect and obedience, and requesting her advice for quieting the Troubles in *Scotland*, and also for his continuing of Minage. At which time, news was brought, that the Duke of *Lenox* was dead in *France*, who departing this life at *Paris*, and even at the very point of death, a fortnight before, made a profession out of the Protestant Religion, openly confessing those who had maliciously reported him for a Papist. About two days before his death, when the Physicians of the King [illegible] thinking [illegible] he could not live long enough. He on a sudden (through the [illegible] of age) with some few words, composed himself in the Castle of Saint [illegible], at whom the Nobility presently repaired, bringing Armed Bands with them, as fearing some danger might befall him. Afterwards, in fair words he advised some of his chief prisoners to go from the Court, for avoiding of Tumult, and promising them pardon, if they would crave it. But *Gowry* only asked pardon, and submitted himself, using this distinction, That he had not offended in matter, but in form only; and when the King sent for the Earl of *Arran* to the Court, and respected him as his intimate friend, employing him to compose the differences amongst the Nobility, and to purge the Kingdom and his Court from civil dissensions.

The King of Scots frees himself from those that had surprised him.

Whilst these factions in *Scotland* were thus carried on, Sir *Francis Walsingham* from Queen *Elizabeth*, to advise him not be led away by evil Counsellors, to the destruction of both Kingdoms, finding the King accompanied with the flower of the Nobility, and beholding the manner of Majesty than he looked for in *Scotland*: Having Audience given him, to put the King in mind of what the Queen out of *Heroick*, in private Letters had formerly admonished him, *That a Prince must be fortified about with Virtue, That more trust may be given to Actions than Words, than to outward Shew*, and in many words advised him, to beware how on his Youth of evil Counsellors, and always to be like himself. The King answered that he was an absolute Prince, and would not that others should suppose him Counsellors whom he liked not; but that he had long since devoted the first fruits of his amity to the Queen of *England* his dear Sister, and both now willingly make profession of the same. *Walsingham* then dealt with him further, not to lay to the Queens charge what hereto had lately fallen out in *Scotland*; whereby, how distasteful to him, and to both Kingdoms dearly had been known, and would have come to conclusion, so it were not neglected; and that the same might the better be confirmed, if the controversies between the Nobility, newly had offered by a Law of Oblivion from Sundry Parliaments, and that Popish subjects were now removed from the Council called back again. Religion [illegible] and [illegible] Leagues and [illegible] death. The King [illegible] that he [illegible] Amity with [illegible] that he [illegible] confidently affirmed the Papists [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the *Muſcovian* ſhortly after dying, and *Theodorus* his Succeſſor granting free Traffique to Merchants of all Nations that would come thither, the Queen importuned him to admit of none but *Engliſh* Merchants, requiring him to confirm the Priviledges which his Father had granted them: Whereto by way of Anſwer, he commanded free Trading for all the *Engliſh*, ſaying, it was not fit that a ſmall Company ſhould exerciſe a Monopoly, and all others be reſtrained: But as for Cuſtoms, he promiſed to take leſs by half of that Company than of any other, becauſe they firſt opened the way thither.

1583. *Albertus Alaſco a Palatine of Poland, comes into England.*

The nex Summer *Albertus Alaſco*, a Palatine of *Poland*, of a comely Perſonage, and great learning, came into *England* to ſee the Queen, who was nobly entertained both by her and the Nobility, as alſo by the Scholars of *Oxford*, with learned Orations, and other Recreations: but having tarried here four months, and run into much debt, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf and departed. This man I ſaw my ſelf afterward in *Cracow*, very bare, though it was reported of him, That he had in a Dowry with a Wife fifty Caſtles of great value: But what Mine can bear the charges of Prodigality?

A year fatal to divers great men.

This year proved fatal to divers great men; for there died, firſt *Thomas Ratcliff* the third Earl of *Suſſex* of this Family, a man of a great ſpirit, and great faithfulneſs to his Country. There died alſo *Henry Wryothesley* Earl of *Southampton*, one exceedingly devoted to the *Romiſh* Religion, and a great Favourer of the Queen of *Scots*, which coſt him Queen *Elizabeth's* diſpleaſure, and impriſonment beſides. There died alſo Sir *Humphry Gaulbert*, who was caſt away at Sea in his return from the North Parts of *America*, whither he lately ſailed with five Ships, having ſold his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. There died alſo *Edmund Grindal* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being blind through age, a grave and pious Prelate, who ſtood highly in the Queens favour a long time; till he loſt it at laſt, by favouring (as was ſaid) the Puritan Conventicles; but the true cauſe indeed was, for the diſallowing the Marriage of Jane an *Italian* Phyſician, with another mans Wife, againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter's* pleaſure. *Grindal* dying, *John Whitgift* ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury*, being tranſlated thither from the See of *Worceſter*.

Somervile and Arden are condemned, and why.

At this time, certain Popiſh Books written againſt the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and particularly ſo intoxicated one *Somervile*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but blood and death againſt all Proteſtants, ſet upon one or two by the way with his drawn Sword. Being apprehended, he ſtuck not to ſay, That he would murder the Queen with his own hands. Hereupon he, and upon his intimation, *Edward Arden* his Father in-law (a man of an ancient Houſe in *Warwickſhire*) *Ardens* Wife, their Daughter, *Somervils* Wife, and *Hall* a Prieſt, were brought to the Bar, and all condemned; *Somervile* as Principal, the reſt as Acceſſaries. Three days after, *Somervile* was found ſtrangled in the Priſon. *Arden* was executed and quartered, the Women and Prieſt were ſpared. Many pitied the old Gentleman *Arden*, as miſled by the Prieſt, and (as it was generally believed) brought to his end through the envy of *Leiceſter*, whom he uſed to call Whore-maſter, Up-ſtart, and many ſuch opprobrious names.

In the *Netherlands*, the *Engliſh* Garriſon at *Aloſt* in *Flanders* being neglected, the Governour *Pigot*, and the other Captains, for want of pay, upon Compoſition, yielded up the Town to the *Spaniard*, and then fearing diſgrace at home, joyned themſelves to the Prince of *Parma*; at whoſe hands finding themſelves ſlighted, by degrees they ſtole all away, and came all to unluckey ends.

Gyrald Fitz-Gyrald, the famous Rebel in Ireland, is by a common Soldier ſlain.

In *Ireland* the famous Rebel *Gyrald Fitz-Gyrald*, the eleventh Earl of *Deſmond* of this Family, having a long time in lurking places eſcaped the *Engliſh*, was now by a common Souldier found out in a poor Cottage, and ſlain. His head was ſent into *England*, and ſet upon *London* Bridge. This end had this great Lord, deſcended from *Maurice*, the Son of *Gyrald* of *Windſor*, an *Engliſh* man, famous among thoſe who firſt ſet upon *Ireland*, in the year 1170. He poſſeſſed whole Countries, together with the County Palatine of *Kerry*, and had of his own Name and Race, at leaſt five hundred Gentlemen at his Command: all whom, and his own life alſo, he loſt within the ſpace of three years, very few of the Houſe being left alive. And this diſaſter he fell into, by proving traiterous to his Prince at the inſtigation of certain Popiſh Prieſts of whom the chief was one *Nicholas Saunders* an *Engliſh* man, who at the ſame time died miſerably of Famine, being ſtarved to death, when as being forſaken, and running mad upon his ill ſucceſs, he roamed up and down the Mountains and Groves, finding nothing to ſuſtain him. In his Scrip were found certain Orations and Letters, written to hearten the Rebels, and promiſing large rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebels ill ſucceſs, *James Fitz-Euſtace*, Viſcount *Baltinglas* fled into *Spain*, where he pined away with grief. He out of zeal to the *Romiſh* Religion, a little before he had taken up Arms with the Rebels, and exhorting the Earl of *Ormond* his Neighbour to do the like, (who drew his Linage from St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*) uſed theſe words to perſwade him, That if St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* had not died for the Church of *Rome*, thou hadſt never been Earl of *Ormond*: for King *Henry* the Second, to expiate the murder of *Thomas Becket*, gave large lands in *Ormond* to his Predeceſſors.

His great Poſſeſſions and numerous Kindred, all dead within the ſpace of three years.

The beginning of the next Spring, certain *Scots*, together with *Gowry*, plotted again to ſurprize the King, pretending only a care of Religion, and to remove ill Councellors from him: but the King having intelligence of their practice, uſed means by Colonel *Stewart* to have *Gowry* taken and caſt into priſon. Hereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the Confederates flie into *England*, and before the Queen to commiſerate their eſtate, who had incurred the Kings diſpleaſure, to do her and the Kingdom of *England* ſervice. The King on the other ſide, acquaints them to the Queen of haynous Crimes, and requires to have them delivered up into his hands. But Secretary *Walſingham*, who bore great good will to theſe men, ſent Letters

Whether a Secretary of State may not transact without special Commission from the Prince.

with a Command, That they should be safely admitted into *Lindisfarne*, otherwise called, The holy Island; where *Hamilton* being Governour there, and greatly addicted to the King of *Scots*, refused *Walsingham*'s Command, alledging he could not safely admit the Secretary in this point, unless the Queen gave express Command. Hereupon grew a Dispute, Whether a Secretary of State might not transact business of State, without special Commission from the Prince. How this Case was determined, is uncertain; but sure it is, the *Scots* came not thither, though some favour they had shewed them here in *England*.

The Earl *Gowry* is arraign'd, condemned and beheaded.

In the mean time, *Gowry* was tryed by his Peers at *Sterlyn*, where being accused of many Treasons, though he gave colourable answers to them all, yet was found guilty, condemned, and beheaded, whose head his servants sewing to his body, committed to the Grave.

Many practices are plotted against Q. *Eliz.* in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*.

About this time were practices plotted against Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, chiefly by *Francis Throgmorton*, eldest Son of *John Throgmorton* Justice of *Chester*, who came to be suspected, by reason of Letters sent to the Queen of *Scots*, which were intercepted. Upon his apprehension, *Thomas* Lord *Paget* and *Charles Arundel*, privately stole away into *France*, grievously complaining against *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and using such wiles, as scarce any man was able to live in safety. *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, were confined to their Houses, his Wife committed to the Custody of Sir *Thomas Shirly*, [illegible] was the Earls Brother and *Henry* [illegible] their Uncle Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, were examined about Letters from the Queen of *Scots*, and many Stratagems were set on foot, dangerous to some particular persons, but necessary (as should seem) for the Queens security. Certain it is, That now the Malice of the Papists against the Queen, brake forth more violently than ever before; for in Printed Books, they stirred up the Queens own servants, to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did on *Olopherne*. The Author of these Books could not be found, but the Suspition lay upon one *Gregory Martin* sometime of *Oxford*, and *Clark* a Stationer, who Printed the Book, suffered for it. And whereas the Papists every where traduced the Queen for Cruelty, the desirous always to leave a blemished remembrance behind her, grew extremly offended with the Commissioners for Popish causes, taxing them of too much Cruelty: informating that they were [illegible] a printed Declaration, to clear themselves of [illegible] That they questioned no man for his Religion, but only for dangerous attempts against the Queen and State; and that Campian himself was not so racked, but that he could presently walk up and down. But all this gave not the Queen satisfaction, but that Commanders the Commissioners to forbear Tortures, and the Judges to proceed summarily; and not long after, when divers Popish Priests were taken, and some of them condemned, and the rest in danger of the Law, the caused them to be shipped away, and sent out of *England*. The chief of whom were *Gasper Heywood*, the great Epigrammatist of his Nation, the first Jesuit that ever set Foot in *England*; *James Bolgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edmund Rishton*.

At this time *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador, was thrust out of *England*, for joining with *Throgmorton* in this Treason against the Queen; whereupon Sir *William Wade* was sent to the King of *Scots* to satisfie him how ill *Mendoza* had discharged the Office of an Ambassadour here in *England*; who when the King admitted him not to his Presence, but in a slighting manner putting him off to his Counsellors, *Wade* taking it in great disdain, boldly said, That it was a declared Custom among Princes, (though in time of War) to give Ambassadors audience, and thereupon stoutly refused to declare his Ambassage, and so returned into *England*, unheard. The greatest matters laid to *Mendoza*'s charge, were gotten out of *Throgmorton*'s Confession; for when he was in danger to be apprehended, he sent to *Mendoza* a box of Writings; and when his Chests were searched, there were found two Scrowls, one with the names of the Ports of *England*, and in the other, the Names of the Nobility and Gentry in *England*, that favoured the Romish Religion. These, when *Throgmorton* saw brought forth, he said they were counterfeited, and stood to it upon the very Rack, but being brought to the Rack the second time, he then Confessed [illegible] That *Morgan*, by Letters out of *France*, [illegible] him information, that the Catholick [illegible] had agreed to invade *England*, [illegible] of the Duke of *Guise*, to free [illegible] and that nothing was now wanting, but Money and Aid in *England*; and that for procuring of this, *Charles Paget*, under the counterfeit Name of *Allen*, was sent into *Scotland*, where the Duke of *Guise* intended to land; and that he had imparted all this matter to *Mendoza*, and instructed that names of the Ports, and of the Noblemen that should assist. But being examined at the Guild Hall, he denied all this again, saying, [illegible] so, because he would [illegible] Rebellion. But being [illegible] to [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible] Charles [illegible] a [illegible] all [illegible] and there [illegible] again. So false [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] between [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Sir *Will. Wade* sent into *Spain*, being not admitted to have Audience of the King comes again without doing his Message. *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador is thrust out of *England*, and why.

[illegible] Sir *Will. Wade* is sent to the Queen of *Scots* to treat with her about some condition for setting her at liberty.

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

wary answer; but to that concerning the Duke of *Guyse*, she plainly confesseth; That being sickly her self, and weak of body, she had committed her self and her Son to the protection of the Duke of *Guyse*, her dear Cousin, of whose intendments she knoweth nothing; nor if she did, would she disclose them, unless she might be sure of her own liberty. Lastly, she requesteth, that being a free and absolute Prince, she may not be worse handled, than Queen *Elizabeth* her self was, when she was a Subject, and kept in prison by her Sister. These things had a hearing, but no feeling, and the rather by a strange accident; for *Creighton* a *Scottish* Jesuit, [illegible] in the *Low-Countries*, and taken by *Dutch* Pyrates, had certain Papers which he tore, and threw away, which thrown over-board, and by the wind blown back into the Ship, miraculously (as *Creighton* himself said) they were brought to Sir *William Wade*, who patching them together with much labour and cunning, discovered by them some new intendments of the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the D. of *Guyse*, about the invading of *England*; whereupon, and upon divers other rumours, the better to provide for the safety of the Queen, a number of her Subjects (the Earl of *Lincoln* being the formost) men of all ranks and conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other by their Oaths and Subscriptions, to persecute all those to the very death, that should attempt any thing against the Queen; which League of theirs they called the Association.

An Association of Lords and others in defence of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Queen of *Scots* who presently apprehended that this Association was entred into for her destruction; making this proposition by *Nau* her Secretary, to the Queen and the Council; That if she might have her liberty granted, and be assured of the Queens love, she would enter a strict League and Amity with her, and passing by all matters of offence, esteem and honour her above all the Princes of the Christian World: yea, and (saving the Ancient League betwixt *France* and *Scotland*) she would her self become prehended in the Association, and a League defensive, against all that should go about to injury the Queen. Herewith Queen *Elizabeth* was wonderfully pleased, and at that time certainly had an inclination to grant her freedom. But see what malice can do; for many in *England*, but especially the Sons of the adverse party, endeavoured by all means to hinder it: exclaiming, That the Queen should be no longer in safety, if the Queen of *Scots* were set at liberty. That both Kingdoms were utterly undone, if she were admitted into the joynt Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the Reformed Religion lay a bleeding, if Papists were admitted within the Court walls; nay was this all, but the *Scottish* Ministers in their Pulpits, loaded the Queen of *Scots* with all manner of contumelies, slandering the King himself, and his Council in the most bitter manner; and being cited to appear before him, refused, saying, That the Pulpits were exempted from all Regal Authority, and that Ecclesiastical persons were not to be censured by the Prince, but by their own Consistory (directly against the Laws made the year before in Parliament) whereby the Kings Authority over all persons, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, was confirmed; and namely, That the King and his Council were supream Judges in all Causes; and that whosoever refused to be tried by them, should be holden guilty of High-Treason; all Presbyters and lay Conventicles forbidden, Parity of the Clergy taken away, and the Authority of Bishops restored, whose Calling the Presbyteries had condemned as wicked and Antichristian: and lastly, all scurrilous Libels against the King and his Mother prohibited; namely the *Scottish* History of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

The Queen of *Scots* offers to enter into the Association, if she may have her liberty.

To which Qu. *Eliz.* is inclining.

But is made averse from it by *Scots* and *English* of the adverse party, and especially by *Scottish* Ministers.

About this time, upon her Adversaries suggestion that the Queen of *Scots* is taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Paulet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, and that on set purpose (as some were perswaded) to drive her into abrupt and desperate attempts; and indeed upon this she grew more importunate with the Pope and King of *Spain*, to hasten their intendment, whatsoever became of her, as ill indeed was like to become of her, if it be true (as some said) that *Leicester* sent out Assassinates to make her away, but that *Drury* detested the villany, and would grant them no access.

The Q. of *Scots* is taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Paulet*.

And now to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* utterly from her; it is suggested to her, that *Allen* for the Catholicks of the Clergy, *Inglefield* for the Laity, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queen of *Scots*, with consent of the Pope and King of *Spain*, had joyntly combined to depose her, and to bar the King of *Scotland* from his hereditary Right to the Crown of *England*, and to marry the Queen of *Scots* to an *English* Nobleman of the *Romish* Religion, and him the *English* Catholicks should choose King of *England* and the Pope confirm the Election: and all this upon the credit of *Hart* the Priest: but who this *English* Nobleman should be that should marry the Queen of *Scots*, could not be found, though *Walsingham* were busie to search it out: the same went upon *Henry Howard* the Duke of *Norfolks* Brother, who was a single man, a great Papist, and of high estimation among the Catholicks.

A Combination in the Catholicks, to marry the Q. of *Scots* to some *English* Nobleman of the Romish Religion; and who he was thought to be.

This Year died in Exile and Misery *Charles Neuil* who was in the Rebellion in the North, the last E. of *Westmorland* of his Family; a house from whence descended many Noble Personages, six Earls of *Westmorland*, two Earls of *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marquess *Montacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, Baron *Fauvers* of *Oudey*, the Lord *Latimer*, the Lord of *Abergavenny*, one Queen and five Dutchesses (to let pass Countesses and Baronesses) an Archbishop of *York*, and a numerous Company of other Lords. In *England* died none of reckoning this year, but only *Plowden* the famous Lawyer; but in *France* the Duke of *Anjou* died of grief: and in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, shot into the body with three bullets, by one *Balthasar Gerrard*, a *Burgundian*.

Charles Neuil the last Earl of *Westmorland* of this Family, dies in Exile; and of the many Noble Personages descended from that House.

Plowden the great Lawyer dies. The Prince of *Orange* is shot and slain by a *Burgundian*.

It was now in the Year 1581. and the 23th. of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when to tie the *French* King more nearly to her, whom the Year before she had received into the number of the Knights of the Garter, she sent the Earl of *Derby* into *France*, to invest him with the Robes and Ornaments, according to the Solemnity; which he kindly accepted, and at Evening Prayer was invested with them.

At this time a Parliament was Assembled at *Westminster*, wherein *William Parry* a *Welsh* man, a Do-

a Doctor of the Laws, when in the lower House a Bill was read against the Jesuits, he alone stood up, and exclaimed that it was a cruel and bloody Law: and being asked his reason, he stoutly refused unless he were required by the Lords of the Council. Hereupon he was sent to the *Gatehouse*, but upon submission was received into the House again. Soon after he was accused by *Edward Nevil* for holding secret consultations about making the Queen away; who being upon apprehended, and on his examination, confessed in effect thus much: That out of discontent he went beyond the Seas, where, by the encouragement of *Campegio*, the Popes Nuntio at *Venice*, and grant of a plenary Indulgence from the Pope, he undertook to kill the Queen; but coming into *England* to that intent, he altered his mind, and disclosed to the Queen the whole matter. After this he received a Letter from the Cardinal of *Como*, perswading him to go forward with the Enterprise; and this Letter also he shewed the Queen. After this he chanced to see a Book of Dr. *Allens*, written *contra Justitiam Britannicam*, wherein was declared, That Princes who were for Heresie excommunicated, might lawfully be deprived of their Life and Kingdom. This Book wonderfully confirm'd him, and he read it to *Nevill*; who, though he took an Oath of Secrecy, yet now upon a hope of the Earldom of *Westmorland*, betrayed him. This was his Confession before Baron *Hunsdon*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*: as likewise in his Letters to the Queen, to the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, acknowledging his fault, and craving mercy. A few days after, he was called to the Bar in *Westminster-hall*, where he confessed himself guilty, and thereupon was condemned. After the Sentence of Death pronounced he furiously cited the Queen to God's Tribunal: five days after he was laid upon a Hurdle, and dragged through the City to *Westminster*, where at the Gibbet he made a vain glorious boasting of his faithfulness to the Queen, but not so much as in a word commended himself to God; and in the great Palace at *Westminster* was executed as a Traytor, the Nobility and Commons sitting then in Parliament.

Will. Parry Dr. of the Laws, condemned and executed; and for what cause.

In this Parliament the Association before spoken of, was universally approved and enacted in this Form; That 24, or more, of the Queens Privy Council, and Peers of the Realm, should be selected and authorised under the Great Seal of *England*, *To make enquiry of all such persons as shall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raise Rebellion, or shall attempt any evil against the Queens Person, for whomsoever, and by whomsoever that layeth any claim to the Crown of* England; *and that person for whom, or by whom they shall attempt any such thing, shall be altogether uncapable of the Crown*; and more to this purpose. Laws also for the Queens safety were enacted against Jesuits and Popish Priests, and against all that shall receive or relieve them. These Laws terrified many, and particularly out of fear of them, *Phil.* Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Norfolk's* eldest Son, purposed with himself to travel beyond Sea; for having been once or twice cited before the Lords of the Council, and confined to his House, and after six months set at liberty, he thereupon wrote a Letter to the Queen; That for the service of God, and his Souls health, he purposed to leave his Country, but not his loyal affection towards her; but as he was taking shipping, by his own Servants treachery he was discovered, apprehended, and laid in the Tower.

Laws made for safeguard of the Queen.

The Earl of *Arundel* committed to the Tower, and why

At the same time lay in the Tower *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, a man of a lofty spirit, being suspected by reason of secret consultation with *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guises*, about the invading of *England*, and freeing of the Queen of *Scots* (whose cause he ever highly favoured) but in the month of *June* he was found dead in his bed, shot into the body with three Bullets, under his right pap, and the door bolted on the inside. The Coroners Inquest examining the matter, found and pronounced that he had killed himself. Three days after, the Lords meeting in the *Star-Chamber*, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor declared this fact of the Earls, and then commanded the Attorney General to shew the cause of his Imprisonment, and the manner of his death; whereupon *Popham* first, and then *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, in long Orations, laid open all his Treasons, and how for fear of the Law he had laid violent hands upon himself.

Henry Percy Earl of *Northumberland*, being in the Tower, is found dead in his Bed.

And now the Queen knowing that the seeds of these Treasons proceeded from the Duke of *Guise* and his adherents, she sought for the strengthening of her self, to enter into the League with the Princes of *Germany*; and to this end she sent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*, to the Count Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, to the Duke of *Saxony*, *Wittenberg*, *Brunswick*, *Lunenburgh*, the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and the *Lantgrave* of *Hessia*; and into *Scotland* she sent Sir *Edward Wotton*, to let the King understand how sincerely she was affected towards him, and withal to draw the King (if he could) into a League of mutual defence and offence, and to commend to him the Match of the King of *Denmark's* Daughter. The King was very inclinable to the matter of the League, but for the present the business was interrupted by the death of *Francis Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, slain at a meeting to compound a difference between the Borderers, by a sudden tumult of the *Scots*, but who it was that slew him was not known. The *English* laid it upon the Earl of *Arran*, and the Lord *Fernihurst* Governour of the middle Borders; Whereupon at the Queens complaint, the Earl of *Arran* was confined, and *Fernihurst* committed to prison at *Dundee*, where he died; a man of great valour and resolution, and one that was always firm for the Queen of *Scots*. But Queen *Elizabeth* not thus satisfied, gave leave by way of connivance to the *Scottish* Lords that were fled into *England*, namely, the Earl of *Angus*, the *Hamiltons*, and *John Gladrie*, the Earl of *Marre*, *Glames*, and other, that they should steal away into *Scotland*, (she supplying them with money) there to master and subdue the Earl of *Arran*. For *Maxwell*, who was lately made Earl of *Bathwell*, Baron *Hawes*, *Goldingeroll*, and others in *Scotland* had already promised them their assistance, even in the very Court. Sir *Patrick Gray* (*Arrans* great Rival for the King's favour) *Belenden*, and Secretary *Maitland* (by *Wotton's* craft) were made against *Arran*. These men upon their first entry into *Scotland*, commanded all persons in the King's name, to aid them for conserving the truth of the Gospel, for freeing the King from corrupt Counsellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the *English*, so as there presently joyned

Queen *Eliz.* enters League with the Princes of *Germany*.

A great tumult among the Lords in *Scotland*, and why.

joyned with them about Eight thousand men. The Earl of *Arran* hearing thereof, makes haft to the King; and accuſeth *Patrick Gray* as Author of this Commotion; but whiles *Arran* was making provision for defence of the Town, the Rebells were ready to ſcale the Walls: whereupon *Arran* being adviſed, that only his life was ſought, gets ſecretly away with only one Servant, therefit betook themſelves to the King in the Caſtle. The Rebels get into the Market-place, and diſplay their Banners againſt the Caſtle: the King ſend *Gray* to know the reaſon of their Comming; they Anſwer, to Submit themſelves, and in humble manner to kiſs the Kings hands. The King offereth reſtitution of all their Goods if they would depart: They deſire to be admitted to his Preſence, which upon theſe Conditions the King granted; That they ſhould not attempt any thing againſt his life, or thoſe whom he ſhould nominate, nor make any innovation in the Government. They proteſt, They are ready to ſacrifice their lives for the Kings ſafety; and of any Innovation they had not ſo much as a thought; only they requeſt to have their Adverſaries, and the Fortifications of *Newland* delivered up into their hands. Hereupon after 4 days Conſultation, they are admitted into the Kings Preſence, and forthwith the Earls of *Mount-Roſſe*, *Crawford* and *Rothway*; Colonel *Steward*, *Down*, *Arran* Brothers, and others, were delivered to them. The Earl of *Arran*, who was fled into the Weſtern Iſlands, is called home: the Affaulters were pardoned, and pronounced good Subjects. *Hamilton* is ſet over *Dunbriton* Caſtle; *Gallowglaſſes* over *Edenburgh*; the Earl of *Angus* over *Tantallon*, the Earl of *Marre* over *Stirling*; and *Glames* is made Captain of the Guard. Upon this, all Proſcriptions and Out-lawries againſt all Perſons, ſince the Kings Inauguration (having ſome few proſcribed for the murther of the Kings Father) are called in, and with an unanimous conſent of all Parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of *England* is agreed upon, and Delegates nominated to that purpoſe.

In *Ireland* this year was a Combuſtion this year, firſt the *Oneils* (deſcended of the ancient Family of the *Hibernians*) in *Ulſter*, provoked by the ſevere Government of *Richard Bingham*, Governour of *Connaught*, made Rebellion; but this was ſoon ſuppreſſed, for *Thomas Burk* died fighting; *Medo* and *Theobald Burk* were taken and beheaded. After this the *Clan Gibbons*, *Clan Donels*, and *Foyle* combined together in great Numbers, and very ſtately. They will have a *Mac William* of their own, one of the Earls to rule over them, or ſome other Lord out of *Spain*, they will admit of no Sheriff into their Country, nor appear before the *Engliſh* Courts of Juſtice; and thereupon having all the Country with Fire and Sword, and diſmayed by the perſwaſions of the Archbiſhop *Tuam*, but by the ſeverities of the Earl of *Clanricard*, the chief of the Houſe of the *Burks*; would be quieted, till *John Burgh* the Preſidents Brother, following them into the Woods, drove away five thouſand Head of their Cattel, for as after forty days, half ſtarved, they came forth and ſubmitted themſelves. But this was not yet at an end; for now the Preſident underſtood, That two thouſand *Scottiſh* Illanders were landed, and ready to break into *Connaught*; whereupon he numbers his Men to give them Battel; but they flying to Bogs and Woods, the reſt ſet back, as though in fear, thereby to draw them from the Bogs to firm Ground, and then with his whole Forces fet upon them, ſlew three thouſand of them (indeed all but fourſcore) amongſt whom were *Donel Gurmy* and *Alexander Gurmy*, the Sons of *James Mac-Gurel*, who had long diſquieted this part, and *Owny Burk*, who were the chief Authors of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the eaſing of the preſent and future times; for hereby the hope of the *Iriſh Williams* in *Connaught* was utterly extinct, and the inſolent attempts of the *Scottiſh* Illanders abſolutely ſtaied.

In the Low-Countries at this time the States were very hard beſet, ſo as they held a Councel of warr, whither to fly for Protection, whether to the *French* King, or to the Queen of *England*. Monſieur *Preaux* the *French* Ambaſſador ſhewed many advantages, and gave many reaſons why they ſhould fly rather to the *French* King; the *Engliſh* on the other ſide alledged many reaſons why they ſhould fly rather to the Queen of *England*: but in concluſion, they have laſt recourſe to the King of *France*, and afterward being by him rejected, to the Queen of *England*. But then in *England* it was conſulted, Whether it were meet to protect them; wherein the Councel was divided; ſome were of Opinion, That it were good to receive and aid them, leſt the *Spaniard* firſt Conquering theſe, might have the better way to annoy *England*; others again thought, They were to be held no better than Rebels to their lawful Sovereign, and therefore unworthy of Aſſiſtance. After long debating the matter, the Queen refuſeth to take them into Protection, much leſs to exerciſe Sovereignty over them. Nevertheleſs to raiſe the Siege of *Antwerp*, which was beſieged by the Prince of *Parma*, ſhe was content to ſupply them with four thouſand Soldiers, ſo as the Town of *Sluce*, and the Ordinance belonging to it, were given up into their hands: but while this matter was diſcuſſing, the Town of *Antwerp* was fain to yield it ſelf.

But the Queen better bethinking her ſelf, partly at hearing the growth of the King of *Spains* power, and partly, as commiſerating the affliction of her own Religion, at laſt reſolves to undertake their Protection, upon condition of her part, to ſupply them with five thouſand Foot, and 1 thouſand Horſe, under a ſufficient General, paying them during the War; and afterward the expences to be paid back, upon Condition on their part, by way of Pledge, to deliver *Flushing* and the Fort of *Rammekins*, the Town of *Brill*, with the two neighbouring Forts: and for the juſtifying of this her action, ſhe ſet forth a large Declaration. And knowing that herein ſhe proceeded the King of *Spain*, ſhe thought beſt to turn his anger further from home, and thereupon ſent out Sir *Francis Drake* and *Chriſtopher Carlile*, with a Navy of one and twenty Ships (wherein were two thouſand Volunteers, and Mariners) toward the *Weſt Indies*, who firſt ſurpriſed the Town of Saint *Jago*, afterward Saint *Dominick* (where five and twenty thouſand Crowns were given them to ſpare the Town from burning) afterward *Cartagena*,

A Combuſtion in Ireland.

The name of Mac-William is to Connaught in a manner extinct.

The States of the Low-Countries fly to Queen Eliz. for protection which ſhe for preſent refuſeth.

But at laſt ſhe undertakes it.

She ſends Sir Francis Drake and Chriſtopher Carlile to the Weſt Indies, who ſurprize

tagena, which they had seven weeks, till the Spaniards redeemed it for a hundred and ten thousand Crowns. After that the Colonies were gone, and dismantling their Forces, they returned homewards, passing by Virginia, a Colony which Sir Walter Raleigh had there planted, from whence Drake brought with him Ralph Lane, who was the first that brought Tobacco into England, which the Indians take against crudities of the Stomach. At this expedition were lost about seven hundred men, who for the most part died of Calenturs: their Booty amounted to the value of three score thousand pounds sterling, besides two hundred and forty Brass and Iron Pieces. These things were done under the Torrid Zone. In America, when in the mean while, Captain John Davis, with two Ships (at the charges of William Sanderson, and other Citizens of London) found out a way to the East Indies, by the higher part of America, under the Frigid Zone.

Tobacco first brought into England, at this time by Ralph Lane.

John Davis finds out a way to the East Indies by the higher part of America.

The Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Queens Forces into Holland.

At the end of this Year, the Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Queens Forces into Holland, accompanied with the Earl of Essex, the Lords Audley and North, Sir William Russel, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Thomas Gifford, and divers other Knights besides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at Flushing, he was first by Sir Philip Sidney the Governour his Nephew, after by the Towns of Zealand and Holland, entertained in most magnificent manner; and coming to the Hague in January, the States by Patent committed to him the command and absolute Authority over the united Provinces, with the Titles of Governour and Captain General of Holland, Zealand, and the Confederate Provinces: so as being now saluted with the Title of his Excellency, he began to affect unto him Princely spirits. But the Q. took him soon off from further aspiring, writing unto him in most peremptory manner, That she wondered how a man whom she had raised out of the dust, could so contemptuously violate her commands, and therefore charged him upon his Allegiance, to put in execution the Instructions she sent him by Heneage her Vice-Chamberlain, withall, in Letters apart, she expostulateth with the States, that to her great disparagement, they had cast upon the Earl of her Subjects, the absolute command over the United Provinces without her privity, which she her self had utterly refused, and therefore willeth them to divest him of that absolute Authority, to whom she had given bounds which he should not exceed. The States return Answer, that they are heartily sorry they should incur her displeasure by conferring upon the E. that absolute Authority, not having first made her acquainted; but they beseeched her to consider the necessity of it; seeing, that for avoiding of confusion, that Authority must needs be cast upon some one or other. Neither was there any great matter in the word absolute, seeing the Rule and Dominion resided still in the people. By these Letters and Leicesters own submissive writing, the Queen was soon pacified: Leicester all this while receiveth Commendations and Rewards from all Provinces, maketh Martial Laws, and withall likewise to raise new Customs upon Merchandizes, incurred great dislike amongst the common people. His first service was to relieve Grave a Town in Brabant, which the Prince of Parma, by Count Mansfield had besieged: hither he sent the Count Hohenlo a German, and Norris General of the Eng. Foot, but notwithstanding all the great Service they did there, the Town in the end was taken, but Hemert the Governor, for his cowardly yielding it up, lost his head. From hence the Prince of Parma marched into Gelderland, and pitched his Tents before Venlo, where Stanley a Frenchman, and Roger Williams a Welchman, performed great Service, yet that Town in a short time was taken also. Ley in the mean while the Lo. Willoughby, Governor of Bergen op Zoom, cut off above seventy Convoys, and took away their Victuals, and Sir Philip Sidney and Maurice the Prince of Orange's Son, upon a sudden enter, took Axele, a Town in Flanders. From Venlo the Prince of Parma goes to Berg, where there were 1600 English under the command of Colonel Morgan, he upon standing had Siege to the Town, which the E. of Leicester came to raise, but finding his Forces too weak to raise it, he fortified divers places betwixt it and Nimeguen, which before the Prince of Parma could come to relieve, he took. And now the Prince of Parma, fearing left Zutphen should come in danger, commandeth Victuals to be carried thither, which the Spaniards carrying along in Boats, the English by chance lighted on them, vanquished a troop of their Horse, slew Hannibal Gonzaga, and divers others, but then on the English side was one slain, more worth than all the English and Spaniards put together, Sir Philip Sidney, who having his Horse slain under him, and getting upon another, was shot into the thigh, and 25 days after, in the flower of his Age, died: A man of so many excellent parts of Art and Nature, of Valor and Learning, of Wit and Magnanimity, that as he had equalled all those of former Ages, so future Ages will hardly be able to equal him. His Funerals were in sumptuous manner solemnized at St. Pauls Church in London. James King of Scotland made his Epitaph, and both Universities celebrated his death with Funeral Verses.

The States commit to him the absolute Command over the United Provinces, which the Queen is angry at.

And the States excuse it.

What was done by the Earl of Leicester during his being in Holland.

Sir Philip Sidney is slain.

After this Leicester attempted Zutphen, where fetching about a Fort he raised in this manner: Sir John Norris (of the Families of Norris of Rycote, and Norris of Yattendon) catching hold of a Peasants Cart-horse, which was bridled as it was, he leaped so full, that by it he was drawn into the very Fort, whereupon the Spaniards among themselves (as thinking all the enemies power coming up) forsook the place. Leicester Knighted Stanley for this act, gave him forty Pounds in present money, and a yearly Pension of an hundred Marks during his life. And now though in this forwardness to win the Town, yet Winter being already come on, he thought it unfit for the to continue any longer (especially so many English Carrions lying round about it which came in the manner of a Siege) but returned to the Hague, where the States entertained him with complaints, that their money was not carefully husbanded, that the number of the English supplies were not full, that foreign Soldiers were levyed without their consent, that the Priviledges of the United Provinces were far at nought, and new devises for Contributions invented; for all which evils they requested him to provide some present remedy. Upon which Complaints (having a purpose to go for England) he gave a friendly answer;

1586. Leicester takes the Fort of Zutphen by the valour of Edw. Stanley, and to what interest.

The States complain of the Earl of Leicester's carriage.

answers but upon the very day in which he was to depart, he committed the Government of the Provinces to the deliberation of the States, and the same day made another private Instrument of Writing, where he reserved to himself the whole authority over the Governours of the several Provinces, Cities and Forts; and more than this taketh away the wonted Jurisdiction from the States Council, and Presidents of the Provinces; and came into *England* the third day of *December*. And thus passed the affairs of the *Netherlands* for this year.

Philip Earl of *Arundel* is fined, and why.

But in *England*, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who had lien in prison a whole year, was at last brought to the Star-chamber; and being charged with fostering of Priests, and having correspondence with *Allen* and *Parsons* the Jesuit, and offering to depart the Kingdom without licence, was fined ten thousand pounds, and imprisonment during the Queens pleasure.

A League of strict Amity is concluded with the King of *Scots*.

At this time, the Queen by Sir *Horatio Palavicino*, supplied with a large sum of money the King of *Navarre*; through whose side the *Guyses* opposed the reformed Religion in *Scotland*, but her most attentive care was now to unite *England* and *Scotland* in a solid friendship: To which end she sent *Thomas Randall* into *Scotland*, who making Propositions to the King, touching a League offensive and defensive, though the King at first required some additions, although the *French* Ambassador infinitely opposed it, yet at last he consented to it; and in *July* following there met at *Berwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Burgh*, and *Thomas Randal*, for the Queen of *England*; *Robert* Earl of *Bothwel*, *Robert* Lord *Boyle*, and *Hume* for the King of *Scots*, and there the League (which was called the League of strict amity, for that the word *Offensive*, liked not the *Scots*) was upon certain points concluded; First, for the maintenance of the Reformed Religion, and then other such Articles, as commonly in Leagues are usual.

A dangerous Conspiracy is at this time discovered, begun by *J. Savage*, but prosecuted by *Anthony Babington* and divers others.

The very same month that this League was agreed on, a most dangerous Conspiracy against the Queen was discovered. For first, one *John Savage* was by the persuasion of *Gifford*, Doctor of Divinity, induced to believe, that it was a meritorious work to take away the lives of Princes Excommunicate, who thereupon vowed to kill Queen *Elizabeth*: but to make the Queen and her Council secure, at the same time they wrote a Book, exhorting the Papists in *England* to attempt nothing against their Prince, and to use only the Christian weapons of Teares, Prayers, Watching, and Fasting. About *Whitsuntide* one *Ballard* a Seminary Priest of *Rheims*, acquainted with the vow of *Savage*, & having dealt in [illegible] with the Lords and Charles *Paget*, about invading of *England*, arrived here in a Souldiers habit, and by a companion a native called Captain *Fotheringham*, whom he had acquainted with *Anthony Babington*, a Gentleman of *Derbyshire*, who by the Bishop of *Glasco*, the Queen of *Scots* Ambassador in *France*, had been commended to her as one worthy of her trust; so as between them about fifteen Letters in ciphers and Characters, with short notes, *Babington* had drawn into the Plot, other Gentlemen zealous of the Romish Religion as namely *Edward Windsor* Brother to the Lord *Windsor*, *Thomas Salisbury* of a good Family in *Denbighshire*, *Charles Tilney* one of the Queens Pensioners, *Chydiock Tichborn* of *Hampshire*, *Edward Abington* (whose father was Cofferer to the Queen) *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*, *John Travers*, and *John Charnock* of *Lancashire*, *John Jones*, *Savage* formerly spoken of, *Barnwell* of a noble Family in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dunne* a Clerk in the Office of First-Fruits and Tenths; one *Pollie* also framed himself into their company, a fellow throughly acquainted with the affairs of the Queen of *Scots*, who was thought to have revealed all their Consultations to *Walsingham* day by day. To these Gentlemen, *Babington* communicated his affairs, but not every particular to every one, but to *Ballard*, *Tichborn*, and *Dunne*, he shewed the Letters which passed between him and the Queen of *Scots*: with *Tichborn* had the rest, he dealeth to be assistants; of whom, some at first lik't, at last consented, and in a foolish vain-glorious sort, a Picture of the Assistants was made to the life, and *Babington* in the midst, with these words, *Quorsum hæc absque operantibus?* This Picture (they say) was shewed and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew some of them by face, but only *Barnwell* (who had oftentimes come to her in the house of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose servant he was) could tell, is that the Queen one day walking [illegible] spied his *Barnwell*, and turning to *Hatton*, said, Am not I well Guarded, that have not so much as one man in the company with a Sword by his side? Thus much *Barnwell* himself told the rest of his Confederacy, and how easie a matter it had been to have dispatched her at that time, if the rest had been present. The chief discoverer of the Plot, was the aforesaid *Gifford*. This [illegible] Gentleman of a good House at *Chellington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queen of *Scots* was kept prisoner, and was now sent by the *English* Fugitives in *France*, under the counterfeit name of *Lawson*, to put *Savage* in mind of the Vow he had made, and to convey Letters between them and the Queen of *Scots*. But he, whether pricked in Conscience, or dismayed in mind, came to *Walsingham* privately unvailing who he was, and for what end, and by whom [illegible] to *England*. *Walsingham* courteously entertained him, and sent him down into *Staffordshire*, to do that work he had undertaken. Here *Gifford* bribed the Brewer of the house, where the Queen of *Scots* lay, contrived the matter in such sort with him, that by a hole in the Wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in, and receive forth Letters, the which by messengers purposely laid by the way, came everymore to *Walsinghams* hands, who broke them open, copied them out, and by the dexterous conveyance of one *Thomas Phillips*, found out the meaning of the Private Characters, and by the singular Art of *Arthur Gregory*, sealed them again so curiously, that no man would imagine them to have been opened, and ever sent them to the parties to whom the superscription directed them. In like manner were the former Letters from the Queen of *Scots* to *Babington* intercepted, as also other Letters written at the same time to *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador, *Charles Paget*, the [illegible] Archbishop of *Glasco*, and [illegible]. The Queen as soon as she understood [illegible] these Letters of the storm hanging over

The chief discoverer of this Conspiracy was one *Gifford*, and by what means.

Walsingham [illegible] State [illegible]

her head, both at home and abroad, commanded *Ballard* to be apprehended, who on a ſuddain is taken in *Babingtons* houſe. *Babington* hereupon goeth to *Walſingham*, with whom he had long been a ſuiter, for licence to go into *France*, promiſing to do great matters in diſcovering the practices of the Fugitives. *Walſingham* with fair promiſes drives him off from day to day; and now perſwades him, that for a ſmall ſpace till he could get his licence ſealed, he would lodge at his houſe in *London*, where they might have ſecret Conference without ſuſpition. This web *Walſingham* himſelf had ſpun hitherto, and no other of the Queens Counſel were made acquainted; and longer yet he would have drawn the thread out, but that the Queen was unwilling; leſt (as ſhe ſaid) by not avoiding danger when ſhe might, ſhe ſhould ſeem rather to tempt God, than to truſt in him. Whereupon *Walſingham* ſent a Note to his man *Scudamore* from the Court, to look carefully to *Babington*. This Note was delivered in ſuch manner, that *Babington* ſitting by a Table when *Scudamore* read it over-looked him, and read it likewiſe: Hereupon ſuſpecting that all was diſcovered, *Babington* Night he and *Scudamore*, and one or two more of *Walſingham* ſervants ſupping at a Tavern, and being very merry, he made an excuſe that he muſt needs ſtep aſide, and roſe up, leaving his Cloak and his Sword, and ſo made haſte through the dark to *Weſtminſter* where *Gage* and he changed apparel, and then together withdrew themſelves into St. *Johns* Wood near the City, whither *Barnwell* and *Dun* betook themſelves. In the mean ſpace they were proclaimed Traytors by *England*, over. Hereupon they lay lurking in Woods and by-places; they ſhave *Babingtons* face, diſfigure the beauty of his Countenance (for he was of an extraordinary beauty) with the huſks of green Walnuts; and when they were half ſtarved, went to the Houſes of the *Bellamies*, near *Harrow* on the Hill, who were great Papiſts; There they were hid a fortnight, and put into a Country habit: But notwithſtanding all their ſhifting, within ten days after they were diſcovered and brought to *London*. The other Complices were ſoon after taken, moſt of them in the Suburbs of the City, *Salisbury* and *Travers* in *Cheſhire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, who harboured them in his houſe, after he knew they were proclaimed Traytors; *Windſor* only was not heard of. Many days were ſpent in the examination of them, who cut one the other's Throats, with their own Confeſſions. All this while the Queen of *Scots* and her ſervants are ſo narrowly looked to by *Paulet*, that ſhe knew nothing of all theſe Paſſages; As ſoon as they were apprehended, *Thomas Gorge* was ſent to acquaint her with the whole matter, which yet he did not do, till ſhe was got on Horſe back to ride a hunting, and was not then ſuffered to return, but in ſhew of Courteſie was carried up and down, to ſee the houſes of the Gentry thereabouts. In which mean while *John Manners*, *Edward Aſton*, *Richard Bagot*, and Sir *William Wade*, took *Nau* and *Curl* the Queen of *Scots* Secretaries, and the reſt of her ſervants, and delivered them to Keepers apart, that they might have no ſpeech between themſelves, or with their Lady the Queen of *Scots*. Then they open all doors, and ſuch Desks and Boxes as they found with any Papers in them, they ſet their ſeals upon, and ſent them to the Court. In which being broken open before the Queen were found a number of Letters from Foreign parts, the Copies likewiſe of Letters ſent to ſeveral perſons, and three ſeveral Alphabets at leaſt of private Characters, and Letters to her from ſome of the *English* Nobility, containing great proffers of love and ſervice, which the Queen notwithſtanding took no notice of, but paſſed over in ſilence, according to her Motto, *Video & Taceo*, I ſee and ſay nothing. *Gifford* now, who had all this while ſerved their turn, is ſent into *France*; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the *French* Ambaſſadour here in *England*, with Inſtructions that he ſhould deliver no Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, or the Fugitives in *France*, but to him that exhibited an Indenture ſtarching with that one which he ſent under-hand to Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

Babington ſeeks to eſcape.

But is diſcovered & taken.

The Queen of Scots hath her Cloſet broken open and her Boxes ſearched

The twentieth of *September*, ſeven of the forenamed Conſpirators were arraigned, that pleading guilty, were condemned of High Treaſon. Two days after, ſeven others were called to the Bar, who pleaded not guilty, but notwithſtanding were found guilty by their own confeſſions, and condemned; *Pooley* only, though he were privy to all paſſages, yet becauſe he had diſcloſed many things to *Walſingham*, was not called in queſtion. The ſeventeenth day of the month, the firſt ſeven in St. *Giles* fields, where they were wont to ſuffer, were hanged, cut down luſtandy, their privy members cut off, and themſelves yet living and beholding it, were in cruel manner bowelled and quartered, namely, *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, (who, the rope breaking, fell down from the Gibbet, and was preſently taken by the hangman, his privy members cut off, and bowelled while he was perfectly living) *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney*, and *Abington*. The next day, the other ſeven were drawn to the ſame place, and executed in the ſame faſhion, but in a more gentle manner, by the Queens ſpecial charge who remembred the former cruelty, for they were ſuffered to hang till they were quite dead, *Salisbury* firſt, then *Dun*, then *Jones*, *Chetwood*, *Travers*, *Charnock*, and with them *Hierome Bellamy*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was proclaimed Traytor (whoſe Brother being guilty of the ſame fact, had ſtrangled himſelf in priſon.)

Fourteen of the Conſpirators are arraigned and hanged.

When theſe men were executed *Moore* a *French* man, and *Curle* a *Scotch* man, Secretaries to the Queen of *Scots*, were examined concerning the Ciphers, the Copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of *Scots* Cloſet; who confeſſed by their own voluntary confeſſions and knowledged, that they were their own hand-writing, ordained in *French* by the Queen her ſelf, tranſlated by *Moore*, turned into *English* by *Curle*, and ciphered out in ſecret Characters by Sir *Edward Wotton* was ſent over [illegible] knowledge and [illegible] of the Treaſons and ſeditious practices of the Queen of *Scots* Letters, confirmed by the teſtimony of twenty of the *English* Nobility, that the *French* King might ſee what dangerous practices had been wrought by *Charles Paget*, and the *English* Fugitives conſpired againſt the Queen of *England*.

Sir Edw. Wotton is ſent into France to acquaint the King with this Conſpiracy.

And now, what ſhould be done with the Queen of *Scots*, was a great conſultation; wherein the Counſel-

Consultation is held what should be done with the Queen of *Scots*, and the resolution.

Counsellors were not all of one mind: some conceived that it were not good to take any rigorous course against her, but only to hold her in fast Custody; both for that she was not Author of the Treason, but only Conscious to it, and because she was crazie, and not likely to live long. Others out of a care of Religion, were of opinion, to have her forthwith arraigned and put to death according to Law; *Leicester* thought it better to have her poysoned, and sent a Divine to *Walsingham* to prove it lawful; but *Walsingham* protested against that course. A difference then arose amongst them, by what law to proceed against her; Whether by the Law of the 25 of *Edward* the Third; (in which they are pronounced guilty of Treason, who plot the destruction of the King or Queen, raise War in his Dominions or adhere to his Adversaries) Or else by the 27 of the Queen Enacted a year since: Their opinion at last prevail'd who thought best to proceed against her by this latter Law, as being indeed in this case provided. Whereupon, divers of the Lords of the Privy Council, and others of the Nobility, are Authorized by the Queens Letters, to enquire by vertue of that Law, and pass sentence against all such as raised Rebellion, invade the Kingdom, or attempted any violence against the Queen. These Commissioners therefore upon the eleventh day of *October* repaired to *Fotheringay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then held prisoner; and the next day, sent unto her *Walter Mildmay*, *Paulet* and *Edward Barker*, publick Notary; who delivered her the Queens Letters; which having with a setled countenance read, she said, it seems to me strange that the Queen should lay her Command upon me, to hold up my hand at the Bar, as though I were a Subject, seeing I am an absolute Queen no less than her self; but however, I will never do any thing prejudicial to Princes of my degree, nor to my Son the King of *Scotland*. After many meetings, she standing still upon her Innocency, and upon her exemption from answering, as being an absolute Prince, and specially for yielding to be tryed by the *English* Laws, of which, One (she said) had lately been made of purpose for her destruction. It was at last told her plainly, by the Chancellor and Treasurer, that if she refused to answer to such Crimes as should be objected, they would then proceed against her, though she were absent. Being brought at last with much ado to consent, the Commissioners came together in the Presence Chamber; a Chair of Estate was set for the Queen of *England*, in the upper end of the Chamber under a Canopy; beneath over against which was placed a Chair for the Queen of *Scots*; on both sides of the Cloth of Estate Stools were set, upon which on the one side sate the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, and Viscount *Montacute*: On the other side sat the Lords *Aburgavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, Sir *John* of *Bletsho*, *Compton*, and *Cheyney*; Next to these sate the Knights that were Privy Counsellors, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Amias Paulet*; Forward before the Earls, sat the two Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron; on the other side, the two Barons, and the other Justices; *Dale* and *Ford*, Doctors of the Civil Law; at a Table in the midst, *Popham* the Queens Attorny General, *Egerton* her Solicitor, *Gawdy* her Serjeant at Law, the Clark of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Queen of *Scots* was come, and had placed her self, silence being made, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor turning towards her, said, That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to Crimes laid to her charge, assuring her, That nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, than to hear that she had proved her self innocent. Upon this, she rising up said, That although, being an absolute Prince, she could not be compelled to appear before the Delegates, yet to manifest her innocency, she was now content to appear. Then *Gawdy* opened every speciality of the Law lately made (against which she had taken Exception) shewing by *Babingtons* Confession, by Letters passed between them, by the Confessions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, by the Confessions of her Secretaries *Nave* and *Curle*, that she was privy to their Treasons, and consented to the Invasion of *England*, and destruction of the Queen. To which she answered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted; the rest in hope of life might be drawn to confess that which was not true: In this she stood peremptorily, That she never consented to any attempt against the Queens Person; though for her own delivery, she confessed she did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of *Scots*; at last, she requested, that she might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her self, and her Council. But this request prevailed not; for on the 25th day of *October* following at the Star-Chamber in *Westminster*, the Commissioners met again, and there pronounced sentence against her; Ratifying by their Seals and Subscriptions, that after the first day of *June*, in the Seven and twentieth year of our Sovereign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, divers matters were compassed and imagined in this Kingdom, by *Anthony Babington* and others, with the Privity of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, pretending Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen.

Commissioners are sent to the Queen of *Scots* to acquaint her with the resolution.

But she stood upon her innocency, and upon her exemption from answering as being an absolute Prince.

Yet at last she was brought to consent.

Whereupon she appears before the Commissioners.

And the Queens Council open the Crimes with which she was charged.

Upon which afterward, in the Star-chamber, Sentence was pronounced against her.

After a few days, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, the which was begun by Authority from the Queen derived to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*; and the same, not without some Presidents. At this Parliament, the Proscription of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chydiock Tichburn*, *Charles Tilney*, and other the Complices was confirmed, and their goods and possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peers of the Kingdom with an unanimous consent, exhibit a Petition to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, That for the preservation of the true Religion, and safety of the Queen, of themselves, and their Posterity, the Sentence passed against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, might according to Law be presently promulged: They put the Queen in mind of the fearful Examples of Gods Judgments extant in Scripture, upon King *Saul*, for sparing of *Agag*,

And in a Parliament presently following, the Lords petition the Queen that the Sentence passed against her might presently be promulged.

and upon *Ahab*; for not putting *Benhadad* to death. But the Queen answered them to this effect: First, acknowledging Gods miraculous preservation of her, and then their constant affection towards her, for whose sakes only she desires to live: Otherwise, when she calls to mind things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that she accounts them most happy, who go soonest hence. That the Law lately made, by which the Queen of *Scots* is condemned, was not made (as some maliciously have imagined) to ensnare her, but contrariwise, to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it, which though it had not been made, yet were there other antient Laws enough to condemn her. Nothing could have bin more grievous to me, than that a Prince, and one so near allied unto me, should deserve the Sentence pronounced against her; and seeing the matter is of rare example, and of a very weighty consequence, I hope you will not expect, that I should at this present determine any thing; yet that there may be no danger in delay, I will in due time signifie my mind unto you; and in the mean time, would have you expect from me, whatsoever good Subjects look for from a Gracious Prince.

And the Queens Answer.

Twelve days after, having deeply weighed the matter in her mind, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Peers, and *Puckering* to the Lower-House, entreating them to advise more diligently concerning so weighty a matter, and to bethink themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which the life of the Queen of *Scots* might be spared, and their security also provided for. They, when they had a long time in a most serious manner deliberated hereof, return at last this Verdict, That the Queens life could not be in safety, while the Queen of *Scots* lived, unless she either repented and acknowledged her Crimes, or were kept in strait custody, or bound by her Oath and Obligations, or gave Hostages; or lastly departed the Kingdom. And seeing none of these were likley to be remedies, it remained, that only her death would be a remedy. Repentance in her they could little hope for, who would not so much as acknowledge her self faulty: Close imprisonment, Obligations, Oaths, and Hostages, they accounted as nothing, which all vanished, if the Queens life were once taken away; and if she departed the Kingdom, they feared she would straightway go about to invade it again. These things the Lord Chancellor, and *Puckering* the Speaker of the Lower-House, declared to the Queen at large, and urged her in their names, to have the Sentene put in execution. Hereupon the Queen after a short pause spake at last to this effect: I protest, my chief desire hath been, that for your security, and my own safety, some other way might be devised, than that which is now propounded; but seeing it now evident and certain, that my safety, without her destruction, is in a more deplorate estate, I am most grievously affected with inward sorrow, that I, who have pardoned so many Rebels, have neglected so many Treasons (either by connivence, or silence) should now at last exercise cruelty upon a Prince so nearly related to me. As for your Petition, I beseech you to rest in an Answer, without an Answer: If I say, I will not grant your Petition I shall happily say what I mean not; If I should say, I will grant it, then cast I my self into destruction headlong, whose safety you so earnestly desire; and that I know, you in your wisdoms would not I should do.

A while after the Qu. entreats the Lords to think of some way by which the Queen of *Scots* life may be saved, and her own not endangered. The Lords return answer, That there can be no way of her safety but the Queen of *Scots* death.

After this, the Parliament was prorogued, and then were the Lord *Buckhurst*, and *Beal* sent to the Queen of Scots, to let her understand that Sentence was pronounced against her, and confirmed by Parliament, and that the execution of it was earnestly desired by the Nobility and the Commons; and therefore perswade her, that before her death, she would make acknowledgment of her offences against God and the Queen; Intimating, that if she lived, the Religion received in *England*, could not subsist. Hereupon she was taken with an unwonted alacrity, and seemed to triumph for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her own felicity, That she should be accounted an Instrument, for establishing Religion in this Island; and therewith requested, she might have some Catholick Priest to administer the Sacrament unto her; but was denied, which some deemed, not inhumane only, but tyrannical and heathenish. The Bishop and the Dean, whom for this cause they commended to her, she utterly rejected and jeered at the *English* Nation, saying, The *English* were ever and anon wont to murther their own Kings, and therefore no marvel, they should now thirst after her destruction. In *December* following the Sentence against her was proclaimed at *London* first, and after over all the Kingdom, wherein Queen *Elizabeth* seriously protested, that this promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by the importunity of the whole body of the Kingdom. The Queen of *Scots* being told hereof, seemed not a whit dejected with it; but writing to the Queen, never maketh intercession for her self, nor expostulateth her death, but only makes three small requests; one, That she might be buried in *France* by her Mother; another, That she might be put to death privately, but her Servants to be present; the third, That her Servants might freely depart, and enjoy such Legacies as she had given them. Of which Requests she desireth the Queen to vouchsafe her answer; but whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*, is uncertain.

Upon this the Queen of *Scots* is made acquainted with the Lords Petition to have the Sentence executed, at which she seemed to rejoyce

This condemnation of the Queen of *Scots*, as a thing strange, and scarce credible, was soon spread far and near; so as intercessions came thick in her behalf to Queen *Elizabeth*, but especially from the King of *Scots*, and the King of *France*, who sent their several Ambassadors, using all the reasons that natural affection in the one, and likeness of condition in the other could urge, for sparing of her life; but when the necessity of the State seemed to obstruct all ways of clemency, the *French* Ambassador *L' Aubespene*, falleth from reasons to action, and thinketh no way so effectual for saving the Queen of *Scots* life, as to take away Queen *Elizabeths* life; and thereupon first, he dealeth covertly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, and prone to embrace hopes (whose Mother was of the Bed-chamber to Queen *Elizabeth*, and his Brother at that time, Ambassador Lieger in *France*) and afterward more openly by *Trappe* his Secretary, to murther the Queen. *Stafford*, though not daring to act such a Villany him-

The King of *Scots* and the King of *France* solicite for her life.

Lord Aubespine the French Ambassador, a great worker to kill Queen *Elizabeth*.

himself, yet commended one *Moody* to him, a resolute fellow, and one that for Money would be sure to do it. Upon this *Stafford* brings *Trappe* to *Moody*, being then in the common Gaol, who upon *Trapps* offer, undertakes it: But then the consultation was, by what way it should be done. *Moody* propounded poison, or else to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens bed, and suddenly fire it. But *Trappe* liked of neither of these ways, but would rather have it done, as was done to the Prince of *Orange*. But while they are thus consulting about the way of doing it, *Stafford* discovers all to the Lords of the Council: Whereupon *Trappe*, who was now bound for *France*, was apprehended, and being examined, confessed the whole matter. Upon this, the Ambassador himself was sent for to *Cecils* house, the twelfth of *January*; where met him by the Queens appointment, *Cecil* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and *Davyson* one of her Secretaries; who declare to the Ambassador every particular which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappe* his Secretary had confessed. Assoon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to speak; the Ambassador interrupted him, and reviling him, made asseveration, that *Stafford* first propounded it; when *Stafford* falling on his knees, made fearful imprecations, that the Ambassador first propounded it himself. But whosoever propounded it (saith *Burleigh*) it appears that you were made acquainted with the matter. To which he presently replied; that if he had known of any such thing, yet being he was an Ambassador, he ought not to give notice of it, but to his own King. After much reasoning in this manner, the Lord *Burleigh* admonished him to beware how he offended hereafter in this kind; and let him know, That he is not quitted from the offence, though for this time the Queen be pleased to forbear him.

Queen *Eliz.* terrified with many rumors, seals a Warrant for executing her.

But upon this Treason, the Queen of *Scots* Adversaries put many terrors into Queen *Elizabeths* mind, giving out that the *Spanish* Navy was come to *Milford Haven*; That the *Scots* were broken into *England*; That the Duke of *Guyse* with a great Army landed in *Suffex*; That the Queen of *Scots* was escaped out of Prison, and had gotten a Company up in Arms, and many other such feigned suggestions; Through which, at length they drew the Queen to this; That the sealed Letters for executing the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*; and one of the greatest perswaders to it (as the *Scots* reported it) was one whom the King of *Scots* had sent to dissuade her from it; namely *Patrick Grey*, who sounded often in her ears, *Mortua non mordet*, when she is dead she cannot bite.

The Queen notwithstanding, began to weigh with her self, whether it were better to rid her out of the way, or else to spare her; and many great reasons offered themselves on both sides, but were only speculative reasons presented themselves for sparing her, many practical reasons, and those pressed both by Courtiers and Preachers, were presented to her; so long holden in suspence, she would oftentimes sit speechless, and her countenance cast down; at last, her fear prevailing, she delivered to Secretary *Davyson* Letters under her Hand and Seal, to get the Commission made under the great Seal of *England*, for the Execution of the Queen of *Scots*, which might be in a readiness upon any fear of danger; charging him not to disclose the matter to any whomsoever. But the next day her mind was altered, and sent Sir *William Killegrew* to *Davyson*, to countermand the making of the Commission. Whereupon *Davyson* goes to her, and lets her know, That the Commission was already made, and the Seal put to it; Whereat the Queen extreamly angry, rebuketh him sharply for his haſtiness; yet *Davyson* imparteth the matter to Privy-Counsellors; and perswades them, That the Queen Commanded, the Commission should be put in execution. Hereupon *Beal* Clark of the Council is sent down with Letters, wherein authority is deputed to the Earls of *Shrewsbery*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, that she should be put to death according to the Law, with which proceeding the Queen was not once made acquainted; and more than this, although she had intimated to *Davyson*, That she would take some other order concerning the Queen of *Scots*, yet did not he stay *Beal* from going.

But being long in suspence about it, at last she commanded Secretary *Davyson* to get the Commission made: but not disclose the matter to any. Yet *Davyson* acquaints divers of the Privy Council with it. Hereupon *Beal* is sent down to give Authority to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and others to see her executed.

1587.

The Commissioners acquaint her with it, with which she was not a whit daunted.

And now comes in the last Act of the Queen of *Scots* Tragedy; for as soon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringay*; they together with Sir *Amias Paulet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, with whom she was then in custody, go unto her, and reading the Commission, signifie the cause of their coming; and in a few words, admonish her to prepare her self for death, for that she must dye the next day: whereto without any change of countenance or passion of mind, she made answer; I had not thought that my Sister the Queen would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your Laws; but since it is her pleasure, death shall be to me most welcome. Then she requesteth, that she might confer with her Confessor, and *Melvyn* her Steward, which would not be granted: The Bishop or Dean of *Peterborough* they offered her, but them she refused. The Earls being departed, she gave order that Supper should be hastened, where she eat (as she used to do) soberly, and sparingly; and perceiving her men and women servants to lament and weep, she comforteth them, and bids them rather rejoyce, that she was now to depart out of a world of misery. After Supper she looked over her Will, read the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and writ their names severally by them, to whom she gave any of them; at her wonted hour she went to bed, and after a few hours sleep, awaking, spent the rest of the night in her Devotion. And now the fatal day being come, which was the eighth of *February*, she getteth up, and makes her ready in her best Apparel, and then betook her self in her Closet to Almighty God imploring his assistance with deep sighs and groans; until *Thomas Andrews* Sheriff of the County gave notice that it was time to come forth, and then with a Princely Majesty, and Chearful Countenance she came out, her head covered with a linnen Vail, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her hand; In the Gallery the Earls met her, and the other Gentlemen, where *Melvyn* her Servant upon his bended knees, deplored his own fortune that he should be the messenger to carry this sad news into *Scotland*; whom she comforted, saying, Do not lament *Melvyn*, Thou shalt by and by see *Mary Steward* free from all cares. Then turn-

She makes her Will.

Her devout carriage at her death.

turning her ſelf to the Earls, ſhe requeſted that her Servants might ſtand by her at her death, which the Earl of *Kent* was very loth to grant, for fear of Superſtition, to whom ſhe ſaid, Fear nothing, theſe poor wretches deſire only to give me my laſt farewell. I know the Queen my Siſter would not deny me ſo ſmall a requeſt. After this the two Earls and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, ſhe came to the Scaffold, which was ſet up at the upper end of the Hall, where was a Chear, a Cuſhion, and a Block, all covered with Mourning. Then the Dean of *Peterborough* going to Prayers, ſhe falling upon her knees, and holding up the Crucifix, in both her hands, prayed with her ſervants in *Latin*, out of the Office of the bleſſed Virgin. Prayers being ended, ſhe kiſſed the Crucifix, and ſigning her ſelf with the ſign of the Croſs, ſaid, *As thy Armes, O Chriſt, were ſpread forth upon the Croſs, ſo embrace me with the open armes of thy mercy, and forgive me my ſins.* Then the Executioner asking her pardon, ſhe forgave him. And now her Women helping off her outer Garments, and breaking forth into ſhrieks and cries, ſhe kiſſed them, ſigned them with the Croſs, and willed them to leave lamenting, for now an end of her ſorrows was at hand; and then ſhadowing her face with a linnen cloth, and lying down on the Block, ſhe repeated the Pſalm, *In te Domine ſperavi, ne confundar in æternum*; at which words ſhe ſtreching forth her Body, her head at two blows was taken off. Her body was afterward Royally buried in the Cathedral Church at *Peterborough*; but ſince that, her Noble Son *James*, King of Great *Britain*, erected a Royal Monument for her, in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel at *Weſtminſter*. This end had *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in the ſix and fortieth year of her age, and of her Impriſonment in *England* the eighteenth; a Lady ſo compleat in all excellent parts of body and mind, that it muſt needs have made her a happy woman, if ſhe had not been a Queen; and perhaps a happy Queen too, if ſhe had not been Heir to the Crown of *England*; For why did all her Endeavours want ſucceſs, but only from the fear of that Succeſſion? and no innocency of hers could be a Defence, where the fury of Jealouſie made the Aſſault.

She is beheaded.

Her Age when ſhe died.

As ſoon as it came to the Queens knowledge that the Queen of *Scots* was put to death, her Countenance grew dejected, and her ſpeech failed her, inſomuch that all in mourning weeds, ſhe gave her ſelf over to ſorrow, commanded her Counſellors from her Preſence, and cauſed *Davyſon* to be cited to the Star-Chamber. And as ſoon as grief would ſuffer her, ſhe wrote a Letter with her own hand to the King of *Scots*, and ſent it by Sir *Robert Cary*, to this effect; That her mind was infinitely diſquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, againſt her meaning and intent; entreating him to believe, That if ſhe had commanded it, ſhe would never have denyed it, and withal proteſting her true affection towards him, and her aſſiduous watchfulneſs for the proſperity of his Affairs.

Queen Eliz. hearing of her death is infinitely dejected.

And ſoon after writes to the King of Scots to ſatisfie him in it, that it was done againſt her meaning.

While *Cary* was on his journey, *Davyſon* is cited to the Star-Chamber before theſe Delegates, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray* Chief Juſtice of the Kings-Bench, for that time made Lord Privy Seal, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Cumberland* and *Lincoln*, the Lords *Gray* and *Lumley*, Sir *James Croſt*, Comptroller of the Queens Houſe, Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Edmund Anderſon*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and Sir *Roger Manwood*, Lord Chief Baron (where note, that *Bromley* Lord Chancellor, *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer, *Leiceſter*, and *Hatton*, who were indeed more guilty of the fact than *Davyſon*, were none of the number.) Before theſe Delegates, *Popham* the Queens Attorney layeth to *Davyſon's* charge, Contempt of the Queens Majeſty, violating of his truſt, and neglect of his duty, laying open all particulars of his fact; which after *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, *Gawdy* and *Puckering*, Serjeants at Law, urged alſo againſt him with great aggravation. To which *Davyſon* mildly anſwered, That he would not conteſt with the Queen: only proteſts, That if he had done any thing otherwiſe than he ought, it was out of ignorance and miſtaking, and not out of any purpoſe to diſobey her Majeſty. It ſeems the Queen had carried her ſelf as one that would have it done, and yet was loth to do it, ſcarce knowing her own mind, and yet would have another know it; meaning to make it the work of miſtaking, rather than of purpoſe, that ſo at leaſt ſhe might leave ſome place of ſatisfaction to her ſelf, that it was not abſolutely of her doing.

Davyſon elected in the Star-chamber, and charg'd with violating her Majeſties Truſt.

And his Anſwer.

The pleadings ended, the Commiſſioners went to cenſure; *Manwood* began, and gave his Opinion, That *Davyſon* for the inconſiderateneſs of his fact, ſhould be fined ten thouſand pounds, and impriſoned during the Queens pleaſure; the reſt went on in that Sentence, only the Lord *Gray* excuſed *Davyſon* ſo far, That he thought him worthy of reward rather than of puniſhment; The concluſion was, the firſt Sentence for his Fine and Impriſonment, was by *Wray* Keeper of the Privy Seal confirmed; and *Davyſon* never after recovered the Queens favour, though ſhe relieved him ſometimes in his neceſſity. A man ingenious indeed, but not throughly acquainted with the ways of the Court; and thought to have been raiſed to this place, of purpoſe to act this part, and for nothing elſe.

His Cenſure in the Star-Chamber.

By this time Sir *Robert Cary*, Son to the Lord *Hunſdon*, who was ſent to excuſe the Queen, was come to the Borders; but being come thither, was not ſuffered to ſet foot in *Scotland*; The King would ſcarce hear him by another, and with much ado received his Letters. He called home his Ambaſſador out of *England*, and thought of nothing but revenge.

The King of Scots will not admit the Qu. Meſſengers, and threatens revenge.

But the Queen ſtill laying the fault upon *Davyſon*, and the miſadviſed credulity of her Counſellors, by little and little allayeth his paſſion; and expecting till time had ſomewhat aſſwaged his grief, that it would indure to be touch't, at length by her Agents in *Scotland*, and ſoon after by the Lord *Hunſdon* Governor of *Berwick*, ſhe admoniſhed him, how dangerous it would be for him to break out into war againſt *England*, and what little help he could juſtly expect from either *Spain* or *France*, but if he perſiſted in amity with *England*, he might be ſure the Queen of *England* would moſt lovingly account him for her Son: and to the end that he ſhould aſſure himſelf, that the Queen his Mother was put to death without her privity, ſhe ſent him the Sentence againſt *Davyſon*,

Queen Eliz. ſeeks to pacifie him, and by what reaſons.

ſon,

Drake is sent to the Coast of *Spain*, and what mischiefs he did the K.

son, under the Seals of all the Delegates, and attested under the Great Seal of *England*; and another Instrument likewise signed with the hands of the Judges of *England*; in which they aver, That the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*, could in no wise be prejudice to his right in the Succession.

Having now by these and the like Courses somewhat alwaged the King of *Scots* indignations, to prevent the war which they foresaw was imminent from the King of *Spain*, they sent forth *Drake* with four of the Queens ships and others, unto the Coast of *Spain*, to set upon their ships in the Havens, and to intercept their Munition. *Drake* entring into the Port of *Cales*, sunk, took, and fired about an hundred Ships, wherein was great store of Munition and Victuals. Then returning to the Cape of St. *Vincent*, he set upon three Forts, and compelled them to yield. Thence setting sail to the Western Islands, called *Azores* under the great Meridian; by great good fortune he happed upon an huge and wealthy Carrack, called St. *Philip*, returning from the *East Indies*, and easily vanquished it; Whereupon the Mariners on both sides, from the name of *Philip*, portended no good luck to *Philip* King of *Spain*.

And the like also did *Tho. Cavendish* of *Suffolk*.

At the same time *Thomas Cavendish* of *Suffolk* in the other part of the World, who two years before had set sail from *England* with three ships, passing through the Straits of *Magellan*, in the Coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nova Hispania*, fir'd a great number of *Spanish* Towns, took and pillaged Nineteen great Ships, and amongst them a wealthy ship of the Kings nigh unto *Californium*, in North *America*; and so by the *Philippine* Isles, the *Molucas*, the Cape *de bone Esperance*, and the Island of St. *Helene*, returned home the next year, being the third after *Magellan*, that sailed about the World.

York and *Stanley* in the *Low-Countries*, perfidiously delivered up Towns to the *Spaniards*, and their ends.

As *Drake* and *Cavendish* at this time gained great fame and renown; so two other men in the *Netherlands* (*Stanley* and *York*) purchased as great infamy and disgrace: This *York* was a *Lincolner*, a bold fellow, and of lewde behaviour; famous for bringing first into *England*, the manner of turning the point upon the Adversary in single Combats, whereas the *English* till this time were wont to be armed with Bucklers and Swords, and to strike with edge, and then held no manhood to turn the point, or strike below the Girdle. He suffered some affront from the Earl of *Leicester*, fled away, and for a time served under the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, till at last being reconciled to *Leicester*, he was set over the the Fort near *Zutphen*; but being bribed, he not only yielded up the place to the Enemy, but drew to the like villany one *Stanley*, who with great valour had served in an *Irish* Expedition, to yield up *Deventry* to the *Spaniards*, a Wealthy and well fortified Town. But what got they by their treachery? The *Spaniards* set *York* and *Stanley* at liberty, they poison *York*, and seize upon his goods. His Carcase was three years after digged up by the States Commandment, and hanged upon a Gibbet till it rotted away; *Stanley* went into *Spain*, where there was no credit given to him; for the *Spaniards* have a saying, *It is lawful to give honour to a Traitor sometimes, but never to trust him.*

These late Treacheries wrought the Earl of *Leicester* much envy with the Confederate *Netherlands*, because the Traytors were very intimate with him; whereupon the *States* in large Letters to the Queen, accuse *Leicester* for his ill managing of the Weal Publick, in the matter of Mony, Merchandize, and Military affairs; and to his credulity, they impute the harm which accrewed by *York* and *Stanley*. The Queen, for the narrow sifting of the matter, and composing it; sent thither *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurst* (lately taken into her Privy Council in *Leicester*'s absence) *Norris* and *Bartholomew Clerk*: But when the officious diligence of *Buckhurst*, seemed to trench upon *Leicesters* Reputation; his grace with the Queen prov'd so forcible, that *Buckhurst*, at his return, was for certain months confined to his house.

Upon the complaint of the States against the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Buckhurst* is sent to examine his doings.

Afterward *Sluce* being beleaguered by the Prince of *Parma*, *Leicester* was by the *States* sent for out of *England* to succour it; the Town was furiously assaulted with seventeen thousand great shot, and a mighty breach was made into it; which nevertheless *Roger Williams*, *Francis Vere*, *Nicholas Baskerville*, with a Garrison of the *English* and *Walloons*, valiantly defended for a while, but the last were enforced to yield it up; *Leicester*, that came to relieve it, finding himself too weak for the Besiegers, went away. And indeed, the *States* would not commit any great Army to his Command, who (they knew) had a determination to seize *Leyden*, and some other Towns into his own hands, and had a purpose to surprize the absolute Government. Whereupon the States used means, that *Leicester* was called home, gave up the Government to the *States*, and in his room succeeded *Maurice* of *Nassaw*, Son to the Prince of *Orange*, being now but twenty years of age. *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*, was by the Queen made General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*, to whom she gave command to reduce the *English* Factious into the *States* Obedience; the which, with the help of Prince *Maurice*, he easily effected.

Leicester is called home, and gives up the Government to the States.

Leicester being now come home, and perceiving that an Accusation was preparing against him by *Salisbury* and others, for his unfaithful managing of Affairs in *Holland*; privately with tears he cast himself down at the Queens feet, entreating her, that she would not receive him with disgrace at his return, whom she had sent forth in honour; and so far prevailed with her, that the next day being called to examination before the Lords, he took his place amongst them, not kneeling down at the end of the Table, as the manner of Delinquents is: and when the Secretary began to read the heads of his Accusation, he interrupted him, saying, That the publick Instructions which he had received, were limited with private restrictions; and making his appeal to the Queen, eluded the whole crimination with the secret indignation of his Adversaries.

Being called to examination before the Lords of the Council, how he eludes it.

This Year was famous for the Death of many great Personages: In the month of *February* died *Henry Nevill* Lord of *Abergavenny*, great Grandchild to *Edward Nevill* who in the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, got his Title in right of his Wife, only Daughter and Heir to *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Worcester*, and Lord of *Abergavenny*;

How the Honour of *Abergavenny* came to the Family of *Nevill*.

gaveny, In which right, when as the only Daughter of this *Henry*, wife to Sir *Thomas Fane*, challenged the Title of Baroness of *Aburgaveny*, a memorable Contention arose concerning the Title between her and the next Heir Male to whom by Will (and the same confirmed by Authority of Parliament) the Castle of *Aburgaveny* was bequeath'd. This question being a long time debated; at last, in a Parliament holden in the Second year of King *James*, the matter was try'd by Voices; and the Heir Male carried the Lordship of *Aburgaveny*, and the Barony *Le Despencer*, was ratified to the Female. This year also the moneth of *April*, dyed *Anne Stanhope*, Dutchess of *Somerset*. Ninety years old, who being the Wife of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerset*, and Protector of *England*, contended for Precedence with *Catharine Parre*, Queen Dowager to King *Henry* the Eighth. There died also Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, the last Banneret of *England*, with which Dignity he was adorned at the Battel of *Musselburgh* in *Scotland*. After him died *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chancellor of *England*; and six days after, he whom the Queen meant should have succeeded him, *Edward*, Earl of *Rutland*, but he not living, Sir *Christopher Hatton* was made Lord Chancellor, who though he were a Courtier, yet the Queen knowing him to be an honest man, thought him not unfit for the Place, where Conscience hath, or should have more place than Law: Although some were of Opinion, That it was not so much the Queens own choice, as that she was perswaded to it by some that wisht him not well; both thereby to be a cause of absenting him from the Court, and thinking that such a sedentary place, to a corpulent man as he had been used to exercise, would be a means to shorten his life; and indeed he lived not full out three years after.

Anne Stanhope Dutchess of *Somerset* dies of great age.

Sir *Ralph Sadler* dies, the last Banneret of *England*.

Sir *Christopher Hatton* is made Lord Chancellor.

This year Sir *John Perrot* was called home out of *Ireland*, and left all in great quiet to *Fitz-Williams* his Successor. For hitherto the *English* found it no hard matter to vanquish the *Irish*, by reason of their unskilfulness in Arms; eight hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, were held an invincible Army: but after by *Perrot* command, they were exercised in Feats of Arms, and taught to discharge Muskets at a Mark, and had in the *Low Countries* learned the Art of Fortification, they held the *English* better to it, and were not so easily overcome.

And now we are come to the one and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, being the year 1588, long before spoken of by Astrologers, to be a wonderful year, and even the Climacterical year of the World. And yet the greatest Wonder that happened this year, was but the wonderful Fleet that *Spain* provided for invading of *England*. If the defeat of that wonderful Fleet were not a greater wonder.

1588.

It is true, there was at this time a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*; and the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Crofts*, *Dale* and *Rogers* Doctors of Law, Commissioners for the Queen, and the Prince of *Parma*, the Count *Aremberg*, *Richardot*, *Taxis*, and *Garnier*, Doctors, had many meetings about it near to *Bruges*, but it seemed on the part of *Spain* rather to make the *English* secure, that they should not make provision for war, than they had any purpose of real proceeding, seeing they accepted not of any reasonable Conditions that were offered, but trifled out the time till the *Spanish* Navy was come upon the Coast, and the Ordnance heard from Sea, and then dismissed the *English* Delegates.

In the time of a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*, the King of *Spain* sends his historical Armado against *England*.

The *Spanish* Navy consisted of one hundred and thirty Ships, whereof Galeasses and Galleons seventy two; Moody Ships, like to floating Towers, in which were Souldiers 19295, Mariners, 8850; Gally slaves, 2088; Great Ordnance, 2630. For the greater honour of their Action, twelve of their Ships were called the twelve Apostles. Chief Commander of the Fleet was *Don Alphonso*, Duke of *Medina*; and next to him, *John Martin Recalde*, a great Sea-man. The twentieth of *May* they weigh'd Anchor from the River *Tagus*, but were by tempest so miserably dispers't, that it was long ere they met again: but then they came before the Prince of *Parma*, That he with his Forces, consisting of fifty thousand old Souldiers, should be ready to joyn with them, and with his Shipping conduct them into *England*, and to land his Army at the *Thames* Mouth.

Of what number of Ships the Armado consisted, and who was General.

The Queens Preparation in the mean time was this; The Lord *Charles Howard*, Lord Admiral, with all her Navy, and Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-Admiral, were to be ready at *Plimouth*; and the Lord *Henry Seymour* (Son in law to the Duke of *Somerset*,) with forty *English* and *Dutch* Ships, to keep the Coasts of the *Netherlands*, to hinder the Prince of *Parma*'s coming forth. Then for Land Service, there were laid along the Southern Coast, twenty thousand Souldiers, and two Armies besides of Trained men were levyed; over one of which, consisting of a thousand Horse, and two and twenty thousand Foot, the Earl of *Leicester* commanded, and pitched his Tents at *Tilbury*, near the *Thames* mouth. Over the other, appointed to guard the Queens Person, and consisting of four and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the Lord *Hunsdon* was General. *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other Military men, were chosen to make a Council of war and consult how the Land Service should be ordered. These declared amongst other things, that the places where they thought for the Enemies landing, as *Milford Haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*, the Isle of *Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Thames* mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, and such other, should be fortified with Works and Garrisons; the trained Souldiers of those Shires, which lay near the Sea Coast, should defend those places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; but if he did land, then to spoil the Country round about, that he might find no Food; and by continual skirmishing, Arm, Arm, give the Enemy no rest, but yet should not give battel, till good store of Commanders were come together.

The Queens preparations both by Sea and Land to resist him.

At this time many fearing the Papists at home no less than the *Spaniard* abroad, perswaded the Queen to take off the heads of some of the great ones from evil, by deserting them timely, by your order out of the Realm, or some of them should be committed to custody to *Wisbych* Castle.

Many Papists are committed to custody in *Wisbych* Castle.

And

And now all things on both sides prepared, the *Spanish* Navy set forth out of the Groine to [illegible] was dispersed and driven back by weather. The *English* Navy set forth somewhat later out of *Plymouth*, bearing up towards the Coast of *Spain*; but partly by occasion of contrary winds, partly by advertisement that the *Spaniards* were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might pass by towards the Coast of *England*, whilst they were seeking them afar off, they returned to *Plymouth*: At which time a confident (though false) advertisement came to the Admiral, That the *Spaniards* could not possibly come forward that year. Whereupon the *English* Navy was upon the point of disbanding, and many of the men were gone on shore, when suddenly the invincible *Armada* (for so it was called in a *Spanish* ostentation) was discovered upon the Western Coast: whereof the Lord Admiral being informed, had much ado to get the Queen's Navy out of the Haven (the wind being contrary) yet at length he haled it forth. The next day the *English* beheld the *Spanish* Ships, in height like to Castles, sailing slowly along, whom they suffered peaceably to pass by, that they might have the benefit of the wind to follow after. The one and twentieth day of *July*, the Admiral of *England* (all a Pinnace before) called *The Defiance*, which by a great deal challenged the *Spaniard* to fight, and [illegible] By they fell to it. *Thomas Drake*, *Edward Fenner*, *Fisher*, [illegible] fly against the foremost Squadron, which *Recalde* commanded, making him glad [illegible] to their main Navy for succour. The night following a mighty *Spaniard* of *Oquendo's* (in which the King of *Spain's* Treasure was) was by chance fired with Gunpowder, but was timely quenched by other Ships sent to her succour; one of which Ships was the Galeon of *Don Pedro*, whom Sir *Francis Drake* took Prisoner, and sent him to *Dartmouth*. The *Biskayner* is left (the Treasure being taken out by the *Spaniards*) they left behind them, which the *English* brought into the Haven of *Weymouth*.

The two Fleets discovered, and the passages and events of it.

The three and twentieth day of this month they had a second fight, in which most of the *Spanish* Ships flew over the *English* Ships, and never hurt them; only *Cock* an *English* man, being with his little Vessel in the midst of the Enemies, boarded a Galeon. The four and twentieth day they fought on both sides; in which time the Lord Admiral divided his whole Fleet into four Squadrons: the first he ruled himself, *Drake* the second, *Hawkins* the third, and *Frobisher* the fourth.

The five and twentieth day (which was [illegible]) they fell to it the third time; [illegible] the *English* Ships would no more than when the *English* [illegible] their course [illegible] to the Prince of *Parma*, [illegible] to join himself to the King's Fleet, [illegible] to have them Pilots.

The day following the Lord Admiral Knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townshend*, [illegible] and *Edward Fenner*, and fighting a Council of War, they decreed not to [illegible] their enemy, till they came to the straight of *Calais*, where the Lord *Henry Seymour* and Sir *William Winter* waited for their coming. And now so far was the *English* from being terrified with this invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and other of special note, hired Ships at their own charges, and came to the Admiral; as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thanet* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *William Hatton*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, *Francis Willoughby*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir [illegible] and others.

The seven and twentieth of *July*, towards the Evening, the *Spaniard* Call Anchors, after unto *Calais*, and not far from them rode the *English* Admiral, within shot of a great Ordnance, to whom *Seymour* and *Winter* joined themselves; so as by this time there were in the *English* Navy a hundred and forty Ships nimble and serviceable for fighting or sailing, yet only fifteen of them bore the stroke of the Battel. And now again the *Spaniards* sent Post after Post to the Prince of *Parma* to send them forty Fly-boats, without which they were not able to skirmish with the *English*, by reason of the greatness and unwieldiness of their Ships, and importune him presently to put to Sea with his Army; but he was unprepared, and his [illegible] Boats were full of chinks, and [illegible] and besides the *Hollanders* hovered before the ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, in such sort, that he durst not look forth.

The Prince of *Parma* is unprepared to put to Sea.

The eight and twentieth day, the Lord Admiral made ready eight of his worst Ships, [illegible] the one side daubed with Wild-fire, Rozin, and Brimstone, within full of combustible matter, and under the Conduct of *Young* and *Prowse*, sent them down with the wind in the silent time of the night towards the *Spanish* Fleet; the which when the *Spaniards* saw approach them, and the Sea as it were all on a light fire, imagining with all, that those Fire-ships might carry in them some murthering Engine; they made a hideous noise, took up Anchors, cut Cables, shook Sails, and betook themselves to their Oars, but more to flight: One of the *Spanish* Galeasses having lost her Rudder, and floating up and down, was held in fight by *James Erskin*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Fenner*, who slew Captain *Hugh Moncado* and the Souldiers overboard, and carried away a great deal of Gold, but the Vessel and Ordinance was wreck to the Governour of *Calais*.

A stratagem used by the *English* Admiral.

Drake and *Fenner* in the mean while [illegible] the *Spanish* Fleet to gather together again before *Gravelin*, for upon them with great violence, to whom straight ways *Fenner*, *Southwell*, *Bertie* and *Palmer* join themselves and foot after the Admiral himself, Sir *Thomas Howard* and the Lord *Sheffield*, the Galeon called Saint *Matthew* was [illegible] by *Seymour* and *Winter*, driven toward *Dunkirk*, and [illegible] on the *Zealanders*, and at last was taken by the *Easterlings*.

Now the *Spanish* Navy having want of many necessaries, and all hope of the Prince of *Parma's* coming, they resolved to return Northward for *Spain*; in which passage they lost both many Ships and men, the *English* Navy still following them close, till they were fain to give them over for want of Powder. Whilst these things passed at Sea, the Queen in person came to *Tilbury*, to view the Army and Camp there

The *Spanish* Navy returns home.

The Queen in person comes to *Tilbury* to the Army.

where she shewed such undaunted Courage and Resolution, that wonderfully animated the Spirits of her People.

And thus this War, which was Three whole Years in preparing, and the Space of a Month was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of their Ships taken, and more than half of their Ships sunk and lost (of the Easterlin not above a hundred) with small misfortune, nor so much as a Ship, in the whole Circle Vessel and taking about all Britain, Ireland, the Orkneys and Scotland, they returned into Spain with as much dishonour as they came out with boasting, for indeed Invincible as Francesco a Book in Print, triumphed before the Victory.

Queen Elizabeth comes to Paul's and gives publick thanks to God for this Victory.

For the happy Success of this Action, Queen Elizabeth appointed Prayers and Thanksgivings over all the Churches in England, and the Day were in Triumph) came in Person, attended with a great Troop of Nobility into the City, and went into the Cathedral Church of St. Paul (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were placed in view) and there in most humble manner gave thanks to Almighty God. And that which increased the Publick Joy, was the News which Sir Robert Sidney (whom the Queen had sent to the King) had over-past all hopes affected towards the Earl brace sincere and perfect For as for the King of Scots Embassadour, That he expected no other courtesie from him, but such as Paynims use to Strangers, that he should perish (if from whom he should devour.

The King of Scots is reconciled to the Queen.

The Earl of Lincoln dyes.

And now dyed the great Earl of Lincoln the fourth day of December, at his Manor of Kettlethorpe, of a violent Fever. I may well say the great Earl, considering the many great Honours he enjoyed, which, as certain in the Story, yet one Honour greater than he had before, he expected even then when he was ready to go out of the World, and that was, To be Vice-gerent in the high Government of England and Ireland, for which the Patent was already drawn, and had been sealed, but that Burleigh and Warwick fearing the Queen how dangerous a thing it might prove, for so great Authority to settle in one Subject. He was while he lived in so great favour with the Queen, that some thought he had hasten'd unto the Earl's end by the means of Leicester, and that he durst be bold to do it, and that he durst not offend her.

Philip Earl of Arundel is committed to the Tower.

About this time Philip Earl of Arundel (who These Years before had been cited now cited to Westminster-Hall by his Peers of the Peers, and Henry Earl of by whom he is Steward, High-Steward of England for the Queen matters laid to his Charge, but the Queen spares his life.

Prayers for his own private use. Being demanded, Whether he were guilty of these things? Answered, That he was guilty of them, and submitted to the Queen's Mercy. Whether it was lawful to keep up so many Armies together in one Hill of Indictment? They answered, That it was. Then, Whether Commissions taken from Passengers were lawful? They answered, That it was sufficient for him to intercept Succours, if he saw cause. Then, Whether he might be Arraigned for those Facts which were Capital, by the Law made the Thirteenth Year of the Queen after that the Act was expired? They answered, That it could not be proceeded against him by no Statute of Treason, made in the time of Edward the Third. Then, Whether he were Guilty or not Guilty? Answered, That he was Guilty. Whereupon Popham, the Queen's Attorney General, Sheweth the Law, and Exhorts the Queen's Learned Counsel, and provoketh them to say somewhat wherefore he should not have Judgment: But they denied, saying, that he was by his Peers found Guilty, yet the Queen would not proceed with that much severity as the Law required.

1589.

Now in the Year 1589. and the Two and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when Don Antonio, the Pretender to the Crown of Portugal, had given more than Sir John Norris to undertake an Expedition for Portugal, requiring no less than Sir John Norris with his Kingdom of Portugal, but prevailed not, and why.

Sir John Norris undertakes an Expedition for Portugal, in behalf of the Baffarth, leading Souldiers, and Souldiers, Fifteen hundred, of Souldiers, Fifteen thousand, of Souldiers, Fifteen hundred, setting Sail from Plymouth the fifth day of April, they arrived at the Groyne in Galicia, wherein with great Valour they took first the lower Town, and afterwards the Castle, and from thence sailing to Peniche, where the Queen had a Fort, they arrived the fifth day after, which they took, and left the Castle to Don Antonio, and from thence they marched by Land towards Lisbon. The second day after the Fleet followed, led by Norris, whose Drake, who with the Fleet, being come to Cascais, they presently landed their Men, and marched to Lisbon, which they found deserted by the Governor, who had fortified Belem Castle, which they took, and left a Garrison in it, which Commanded the Mouth of the River Tagus, and hindered the Spanish Fleet from coming to Lisbon, by this mean while, who encamped at Lisbon, by reason of the Castle of Belem, which was not rendred, and the Castle of St. Julian, which Fort secures the Mouth of the River Tagus. From this place they found three

three score Hulks of the Hanse Towns of *Germany* laden with Corn and all manner of Munition, which they took as good prize towards their Charges, in regard the Queen had forbidden them to carry Victuals or Munition to the *Spaniard*. From hence they set sail to *Virgo* a forlorn Town by the Sea-side, and pillaging all along that Quarter, returned for *England*, having lost in the Voyage of Souldiers and Mariners about six thousand; yet not so much by the Enemy, as by eating of strange Fruits, and distemper of the Climate.

It concerns the state of *England*, to look at this time into the state of *France*, for while those things were in doing between *Spain* and *England*, the Popish Princes of *France*, under pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, entred into a Combination, which they call'd, *The Holy League*: The purpose whereof was to root out the Protestants, and to divert the right of Succession to the Crown of *France*, for they bound themselves to each other by Oath, to suffer no person but a Catholick to be King of *France*; which was directly to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, if the present King without Issue male should fail. The head of this League was the Duke of *Guyse*, who having given some overthrows to the *German* Forces that came into *France* in aid of the Protestants, was immeasurably extolled by the Clergy and others; and grew to such a height of Reputation, that entring into *Paris*, he made the King glad to leave the City, and in an Assembly at *Blois*, to make him great Master of the *French* Cavalry, and to consult by Edict, to the cutting off the Protestants. So as the King standing now in fear of him, used means at last, even in the very Court, to have him murdered; and soon after, the Cardinal his Brother to be strangled. Hereupon so great a confusion followed, that the people every where disobeyed the Magistrates, and spoiled the Kings very Palace at *Paris*. Some Cities affected a Democracy, others an Aristocracy, but few liked of a Monarchy. The Confederates in the mean while made a new Seal, usurped the Royal Authority, seized into their hands the best fortified places, intercept the Kings Revenues, call in *Spanish* Souldiers, and in all places denounce War and Violence against the King. And the King in this case being forced to fly to the Protestants for succour, they then most wickedly, by one *James Clement* a Monk, made him away. The King being ready to die, declareth the King of *Navarre* to be his lawful Successor, but the Confederates would exclude him as an open Heretick; and yet whom to make choice of they cannot well agree; some would have the Duke of *Lorrain*, as being descended from the ancient Kings of *France*; some the Duke of *Savoy*, as born of the *French* King's Daughter, a Prince Potent and Courageous; others would have the Duke of *Guise*'s Brother that was murdered; others the King of *Spain*; but the greatest part gave their Voices for the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was one degree nearer allyed to the slain King, than the King of *Navarre* his Nephew. He therefore was proclaimed King of *France*, with the Title of *Charles* the Tenth; but he being a Priest, the King of *Navarre* also was at the same time proclaimed King of *France*, who abode at *Dieppe*, a Sea-Town in *Normandy*, and doubted not to drive the Cardinal easily out of *France*.

A Combination, called the Holy League, was made in *France*.

The head of this League is the Duke of *Guyse*.

Whom the King for his insolent carriage, caused to be murdered in the very Court.

The Confederates make a new Seal, and usurp the Royal Authority. The King is murdered by a Monk. Being ready to die, he declared the K. of *Navarre* to be his lawful Successor.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* is proclaimed King of *France*, and at the same time also the King of *Navarre*.

The King of *Navarre* being thus raised in Dignity, but weak in means, implored Aid of the Queen of *England*, offering to make a League Offensive and Defensive; the Queen out of a pious respect to a King of her own Religion, sent him presently two and twenty thousand pound sterling in Gold (such a sum of Gold, as he professed he had never seen at one time before) and withal supplied him with four thousand Souldiers, under the Command of *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*; for Colonels, she appointed Sir *Thomas Wilford*, who was made Marshal of the Field, *John Boroughs*, Sir *William Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskervile*, and gave them a months pay in hand. Hereupon the Confederates whom the King had vanquished a little before at *Argues* beyond all expectation, began to quail, and the day before the arrival of the *English*, they vanished away: with this addition of Forces, the King marcheth to *Paris*, and being ready to enter the City, caused a retreat to be sounded, as loth to have spoil made of a City which he hoped shortly should be his own. Afterwards by the assistance of the *English* he won many Towns, and then having marched at least five hundred mile on foot, he gave them leave after a long Winters service, to return into *England*. In which Voyage, of men of note died Captain *Hunnings*, but of a natural death, also *Stubbs* (he whose right hand was cut off for writing the Book against the Queen's marriage) and Sir *William Drury* slain by Master *Boroughs* in a single Combate, where the quarrel was, that he being but a Knight, would take place of *Boroughs* that was the younger Son of a Baron, contrary to the Laws of the *English* Gentry.

The King of *Navarre* is aided by Queen *Elizabeth* both with mony and men.

Sir *William Drury* is slain by Mr. *Boroughs* in a single Combat, upon a quarrel of taking place, the one being a Knight, the other being a Barons younger Son.

About this time, *James* King of *Scots* (with Queen *Elizabeth*'s good liking) espoused *Anne* the Daughter of *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark* by his Deputy; but she afterwards sailing for *Scotland*, was by tempest cast upon *Norway*, and there, through continual storms forced to stay, so as the King in the Winter-season set sail thither, that the marriage according to his Vow might be accomplished within the year: some were of opinion, that those storms were caused by witchcraft, and was confirmed indeed by some Witches taken in *Scotland*; who confessed they had rais'd those storms to keep the Queen from landing in *Scotland*, and that the Earl *Bothwel* had asked Councel of them concerning the King's end; who was thereupon cast into prison, but in a short time breaking loose, occasioned new stirs in *Scotland*.

James King of *Scots* marries *Ann* the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter.

This year many Noble personages died; *Frances* Countess of *Sussex*, Sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor and Vice Treasurer of the Exchequer, *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, so numerous in his off-spring, that he could reckon more children of both Sexes, than all the Earls of *England*. Also *John* Lord *Sturton*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, and at *Bruxels* the Lord *Paget*.

Many great Personages die.

William Somerset Earl of *Worcester*, his numerous Issue.

At this time, the Queen, who was always frugal, strained one point of Frugality more than ever she had done before; for upon the information of one *Guermarden*, (though *Leicester*, *Burleigh* and *Walsingham* were offended, that credit should

Customer *Smith* is raised in his Farm of the Customs and how much.

should be given to such a one, and themselves neglected, she raised *Thomas Smith* the Customer from thirteen thousand pounds yearly, to two and forty thousand pounds, and at last to fifty thousand.

1590.

It was now the year 1590, and the three and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, in which the Earl of *Cumberland* made a Voyage to the Indies, where he laid level to the ground the Fort of the Isle of [illegible], and brought away eight and fifty Pieces of great Ordnance.

Many noble Personages die.

This year was fatal to many Noble personages; first died *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, (Son to *John* Duke of *Northumberland*) without Issue. After him Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary, a man more skilful in the Politicks, than in the Oeconomicks; more cunning in managing matters of the publick State, than of his own private estate, which he left so mean, and died so much indebted, that he was fain to be buried by night, without any Funeral pomp, in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, leaving behind him one only Daughter, famous for her three Husbands, all of them the goodliest men of their time; the first, Sir *Philip Sidney*; the second, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*; the third, *Richard Brugh* Earl of *Glanricard*; by King *Charles* made Earl of Saint *Albans*. Within two months after *Walsingham*, died Sir *Thomas Randol*, who had been fourteen times sent in Embassage to several Princes, yet was never rewarded with any greater dignities, than the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, and the Postmastership of *England*. Soon after him died Sir *James Crofts*, who had done good service in *Scotland*, in *Edward* the Sixth's time; in Queen *Mary*'s time was condemned of High Treason; in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time set at liberty, and made Governour of *Berwick*, and afterwards Comptroller of her House. After him died *George Talbot*, the seventh Earl of *Shrewsbury* of this House; he was made Ear-Marshal of *England*, and left behind him a memorial of Wisdom and integrity. Lastly, died *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, the last of the *English* that had been Governour of *Calice*.

Sir *Francis Walsingham* dies.

Some disturbances in *Ireland*, but soon composed.

In *Ireland* at this time *Hugh Gavelock* (so called, because he had been long kept in Fetters) the natural Son of *Shane O-Neale*, accused *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Oen*, for holding private consultations with certain *Spaniards*; who in 88 were by Shipwrack cast upon the coast of *Ireland*: *Tir-Oen* to prevent the Accusation, took the said *Hugh*, and when others refused to do it, took a cord, and with his own hands strangled him. Hereupon he was sent for into *England*, and came, and upon pardon obtained, solemnly undertook in the presence of the Queen at *Greenwich*, to maintain the peace with *Turlogh Leynigh*; not to usurp the Title of *O-Neale*, nor any authority over the Gentry about him; to reduce the Territory of *Tir-Oen* to the form of a County, and civil behaviour, and many such matters; giving Hostages for his true performance; and indeed for a time he observed all things very duly. This trouble allayed, another arose; for soon after this, *Hugh Roe Mac-Mahon*, a potentate in the Territory of *Monagan*, compelled those under his Jurisdiction to pay him Tribute; whereupon the Deputy caused him to be taken, and tryed by a Jury of common Souldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his Lands amongst certain *English*, and some of the *Mac-Mahons*, reserving a certain yearly Rent to the Crown of *England*, by this means thinking to extinguish the Power and Title of *Mac-Mahon*. But hereupon, *O-Rourk* hearing that he would be served in like manner, took up Arms against the Queen, whom *Bingham* President of *Connaught* soon distressed, and drave into *Scotland*, and at the Queens request, was by the King delivered up into his hands.

1591.

It was now the year 1591. and the four and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when she, careful lest *Britany* should come into the *Spaniards* hands, sent *Edmund York* into *France*, to advertise the King to take care thereof; and promising to send him Forces to that end, if he would name some Towns, where they might be in safety. Hereupon he named *Cherburg*, *Granville* or *Brest*, as the fittest; and it was agreed, that three thousand *English* should be sent into *Britany* and *Picardy*; but in the mean time *Henry Palmer* was sent to Sea with certain Ships, who seized upon thirteen *Spanish* Ships, as they were returning from *Nova Francia*. And now *Roger Williams*, with a Company of six hundred Souldiers, passeth over to *Diepe* in *Normandy*; and Sir *John Norris*, with the rest of the Forces hasted into *Britany* soon after. *Roger Williams* with his own six hundred, and the help of *Charter* Governour of *Diepe*, put to rout the Confederates, that had blocked up the passages; whose valour, the *French* King, in his Letters to the Queen, highly extolled. Whereupon growing more courageous, and not minding his Charge, which was to stay at *Diepe*, he accompanied the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*, where, in honour of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to encounter two hundred Pikemen of the *English*, and a hundred Musqueteers, with as many *Spaniards*, in open Field.

Sir *Roger Williams* extolled by the K. of *France*.

After this the King of *France* acquainted the Queen, that he had a purpose to set upon *Roan* of *New-haven*, before the Prince of *Parma* should come into *France*, and thereupon requested her to send four thousand *English* into *Normandy*, which upon certain conditions she willingly did, and sent them under the Command of *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, accompanied with Sir *Thomas Leighton* and Sir *William Killegrew* as his Counsellors. When the Earl came into *France*, he found that the King was at *Noyon*, and in *Normandy* no preparation for the War at all; which seemed strange, and much troubled him; but by and by Sir *Roger Williams* comes to him from the King, requesting him to come to *Noyon*, that they might confer concerning a course of War. Thither the Earl made a tedious journey: and being come thither, the King told him, he was now of necessity to go himself into *Champaign*, but promiseth to send Marshal *Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier* forthwith to him, to lay siege to *Roan*. Hereupon the Earl returned to his Tents, expecting their coming, but neither of them came, which troubled the Earl more than before; so as being weary now of doing nothing, he made himself one approach to *Roan*, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately slain. Indeed the affairs of the King of *France* were at this time upon so uncertain terms, that before he could act what he had resolved, something still intervened, that diverted him; for which, by his Letters he excused himself to the

Robert Earl of Essex is sent with an Army to aid the King of *France*.

Queen

Queen of *England*, and by the mediation of the Earl, and *Mornay* Lord *du Pleſſie*, whom to that end he ſent into *England*, obtained new ſupplies, and then beſieged *Roan*.

Hacket's prodigious carriage.

At this time was memorable the prodigious carriage of one *Hacket*, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, a mean fellow of no learning, whoſe firſt prank was this; That when, in ſhew of Reconciliation to one with whom he had been at variance, he imbraced him, he bit off his Noſe, and the man deſiring to have his Noſe again, that it might be ſewed on, while the wound was green, he moſt villanouſly eat it up, and ſwallowed it down before his face. After this, all on a ſudden he took upon him a ſhew of wonderful holineſs, did nothing but hear Sermons, and getting Scriptures by heart, and counterfeiting Revelations from God, and an extraordinary calling, grew to be magnified by certain zealous Miniſters, and ſpecially of one *Edward Coppinger*, (a Gentleman of a good houſe) and one *Arthington*, a great admirer of the *Geneva* Diſcipline; that they accounted him as ſent from heaven, and a greater Prophet than *Moſes* or *John Baptiſt*; and finally, that he was Chriſt himſelf, come with a fan in his hand to judge the World. And this they proclaimed in *Cheapſide*; giving out that *Hacket* participated of Chriſts glorified Body, by his eſpecial Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Goſpel over *Europe*, and to ſettle a true Diſcipline in the church of *England*; and that they themſelves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, and the other of Judgment, with many other ſuch incredible Blaſphemies; whereupon *Hacket* was apprehended and arraigned; and at laſt hanged, drawn and quartered, continuing all the time and at his death, his blaſphemous Aſſertions. *Coppinger* a while after ſtarved himſelf to death in Priſon, *Arthington* repented, and made his Recantation in a publick Writing.

He takes upon him to be Chriſt.

The calling of Biſhops at this time cried down by ſome; but maintained by the Queen.

Beſides theſe, others alſo at this time oppoſed the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church of *England*, crying down the Calling of Biſhops, with whom ſided ſome common Lawyers alſo, affirming, that the Queen could not denuce, nor theſe men exerciſe any ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and that the Oath *Ex Officio* was unchriſtian. But the Queen conceiving, that through the ſides of the Prelates, ſhe her ſelf was ſhot at, ſuppreſſed them what ſhe could, and maintained the Government formerly eſtabliſhed.

About this time the Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſix of the Queens ſhips having waited at the *Azores* ſix whole months for the coming of the *Spaniſh* Fleet from *America*, was at laſt ſet upon by *Aphonſo Baſſano* with three and fifty ſhips, ſent out for the Convoy of the *American* Fleet, where *Richard Greenvil* Vice-Admiral, being in the *Revenge*, and ſeparated from his company, was ſo hemmed in by the *Spaniſh* Ships, and ſo battered with great ſhot, that moſt of his men being ſlain, his Main-maſt cut off, himſelf ſore wounded in the head, he commanded to ſink the Ship, that it might not come into the *Spaniards* hand; but this being countermanded by moſt voices, it was agreed, to yield it to the *Spaniards*, upon condition that the men ſhould be ſet at liberty. *Greenvile* himſelf was carried in to the *Spaniſh* Admiral, where within two days he died, not without praiſe of his very enemies; Thus

The great Ship called the Revenge is taken by the Spaniards.

Sir Richard Greenvill's valour.

the great Ship called the *Revenge*, was yielded, but had ſo many ſhot in the Keel, that ſoon after it was caſt away in a ſtorm; and the loſs of this one Ship ſoon made good upon the *Spaniards*, by taking many of theirs.

About this time alſo *Cavendiſh*, who in the year 1578. had ſailed round about the World, now with five Ships beat his courſe towards the *Magellan* Straits; but by reaſon of foul weather, was not able to paſs them, and being driven to the coaſt of *Braſile*, was there caſt away.

Cavendiſh caſt away in the Straits.

And now, enmity increaſing daily between *Spain* and *England*, two Proclamations were ſet forth; one, prohibiting upon pain of High Treaſon, to carry Victuals or Munition into any of the King of *Spains* Dominions: Another, forbidding all perſons to entertain any in their Houſes, till inquiry be made, what they were, leſt they might entertain Popiſh Prieſts, who at this time came ſwearing into *England*, by reaſon the King of *Spain* had lately founded a Seminary at *Valadolid* for the *Engliſh*.

A Seminary for the *Engliſh* founded at *Valadolid* by the King of *Spain*.

At this time died Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* Lord Chancellor, whom of a mean Gentlemans houſe, the Queens favour raiſed to this height of Dignity, a goodly perſonage of body, of a noble, but no aſpiring ſpirit; the only of all the Queens ſpecial Favourites, that died a Batchelor; and therefore left *William Newport* his Siſters Son his Heir, who erected for him, in St. *Paul's* Church, a ſumptuous Monument. After his death, the keeping of the great Seal was for certain Months committed to the Lord *Burleigh* Treaſurer, *Hunſdon*, *Cobham* and *Buckhurſt*: Afterwards *Puckering* the Queens Serjeant at Law was elected not Chancellor, but Keeper of the Great Seal.

Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* Lord Chancellor dies.

Puckering the Queens Serjeant at Law is made Lord Keeper.

At this time alſo, *Brian O-rirk*, the *Iriſh* Potentate, was arraigned at *Weſtminſter*; his Indictments were, for raiſing Rebellion againſt the Queen, for dragging her Picture at a Horſe tail, for giving the *Spaniards* entertainment; which things being told him by an Interpreter, (for he underſtood no *Engliſh*) he ſaid, He would not be tried, unleſs the Queen her ſelf in perſon ſate to judge him. Yet being told that it was the Law, he only ſaid, if it muſt be ſo, let it be ſo and ſo condemned, was executed at *Tyburn* as a Traytor, whereof he ſeemed to make as little reckoning, as if it had been but in jeſt. And now this year, the Queen made the College of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, an Univerſity, which was formerly the Monaſtery of *All-Saints*, endowing it with power to confer Scholaſtical Dignities.

Brian O-Rork an *Iriſh* Potentate, condemned and hanged and why.

The Colledge at *Dublin* made an Univerſity.

At this time, Sir *John Perot*, who had been Deputy of *Ireland*, and done good ſervice there, was yet by the malice of his Adverſaries of whom *Hatton* was one, called in queſtion, before the Baron *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Robert Cecil* (lately made a Councellor) Sir *John Forteſcue*, Sir *John Wolley*, and ſome of the Judges. His accuſations were; Firſt, that he had ſpoken opprobrious words againſt the Queen, ſaying, She was illegitimate and cowardly; Secondly, that he had ſheltered notorious Traytors, and Popiſh Prieſts; Thirdly, that he held correſpondence with the Prince of *Parma*, and the Queens enemies. To the firſt of which he confeſſed, that in his paſſion he had ſpoken of the Queen unadviſedly, for which he was infinitely grieved; the reſt he denyed: And all men knew

Sir *John Perot* arraigned and condemned and why; yet his ſentence ſuſpended, and he died in the Tower.

knew he was never Popishly affected. His accusers were one *Philip Watson*, sometime his Secretary, *Denys O-Roghan* an *Irish* married Priest, whose life he had saved; and one *Watson*, a fellow of no worth or reputation. Yet the crimes being urged against him by *Popham* and other Lawyers, till eleven a clock at night; he was at last condemned of High-Treason, but Sentence was not pronounced till twenty days after; and yet was not put to death, but died a natural death in the Tower; he was a man of a goodly personage, stout and cholerick, and one whom (many thought) the Queen had the more reason to respect for her Father King *Henry* the Eighth's sake.

The Earl of *Essex* challengeth Monsieur *Villers* to single Combat, but is refused.

The Earl of *Essex*, after a tedious Winters Siege in *Normandy*, challenged Monsieur *Villers* Governour of *Roan* to a single Combate; who refusing to meet him, he then returned into *England*, being called home by the Queen, whose favour, by his long absence, might else have suffered prejudice.

And now the King of *France*, hearing that the Prince of *Parma* was coming into *France*, once again was fain to flie to the Queen for succour, to whom, upon certain conditions, she granted an Army of four thousand men, and some great Ordnance, with which Sir *John Norris* was sent into *France*; whom yet the *French* King imployed not, as was agreed, to the great displeasure of the Queen. But as for the Prince of *Parma*'s coming into *France*, he was prevented by death, when he had governed the *Netherlands* under the *Spaniards* fourteen years, a Prince of many excellent parts, and whom Queen *Elizabeth* never mentioned but with honour.

The Prince of *Parma* dies.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* considering that the King of *Spain*'s chiefest strength was in his Gold of *America*, sends forth Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a Fleet of fifteen Ships to meet with the *Spanish* Fleet; who passing by a Promontory of *Spain*, received certain intelligence, that the *Spanish* Fleet was not come forth that year: Whereupon dividing his Navy into two parts; whereof the one he committed to Sir *John Boroughs*, the other to Sir *Martin Forbisher*; he waited other opportunities, when, soon after, a mighty Caraque came in view, called *The Mother of God*, which from the Beak to the Stern, was a hundred threescore and five foot long, built with seven Decks, and carrying six hundred men, besides rich Merchandize. This great Vessel they took, and in it to the value of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, over and above what the Commanders and Sea-men pilfered.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent with 15 Ships against the *Spaniards*; and what he did.

The Queen in her Progress goes to *Oxford*; her Entertainment there, and her Counsel to the University.

This year the Queen going in Progress, passed through *Oxford*, where she was entertained by the Scholars with Orations, Stage-Plays and Disputations, and by the Lord *Buckhurst* Chancellor of the University, with a sumptuous Feast. At her departure she made a *Latin* Oration, wherein she vowed a Vow, and gave them Counsel; Her Vow was, That as she desired nothing so much as the prosperity and flourishing estate of her Kingdom, so she as much wished to see the Universities and Schools of Learning to flourish likewise. Her Counsel was, That they would serve God above all, not following the curiosity of some Wits, but the Laws of God, and the Kingdom; That they would not prevent the Laws, but follow them, nor dispute whether better Laws might be made, but observe those which were already enacted.

Anthony Brown Viscount *Montacute* dies, and how this honour came to his Family.

This year died *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montacute*, whom Queen *Mary* honoured with this Title, because his Grandmother was Daughter, and one of the Heirs of *John Nevill* Marquess *Montacute*; who though he were a great *Roman* Catholick, yet the Queen finding him faithful alway, loved him, and in his Sickness went to visit him. There died at this time also, *Henry* Lord *Scroop* of *Bolton*, Knight of the Garter, and long time Governour of the Western Borders towards *Scotland*.

Henry Barrow a seditious Secta ry is put to death.

At this time *Henry Barrow*, and his Sectaries condemning the Church of *England* to be no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in matter Ecclesiastical; he the said *Barrow*, as the Ring-leader of the rest, was put to death, in terror to all such disturbers of the peace of the Church.

About this time, by reason of the Queens correspondence with the *Turk*, to the end her Subjects might have free Trading in the Territories; it was maliciously given out by some, that she had excited the *Turk* to a War against the Christians; which caused the Queen to write to the Emperor, shewing him the falsness of this report, wherein she gave him full satisfaction.

The King of *France* embraceth the *Romish* Religion: and acquaints the Queen with the necessity of his doing it.

And now a constant report came into *England*, That the King of *France* had already embraced, or was ready to embrace the *Romish* Religion: which so much troubled the Queen, that she presently sent *Thomas Wilkes* into *France*; with Reasons (if it were not too late) to divert him from it. But before *Wilkes* came, the King indeed had openly professed the *Romish* Religion at the Church of St. *Denis* in *Paris*, of which his Conversion, he declared the causes to *Wilkes* at large, shewing the necessity of it, unless he would suffer himself to be utterly thrust out of the Kingdom. And the *French* Ambassador signifying as much to the Queen, in great perplexity, she writ to him to this effect.

The Queens Letter to him, out of her sorrow for it.

Alas what grief, what anxiety of mind hath befallen me, since I heard these news? was it possible that worldly respects should make you lay aside Gods fear? Could you think, That he, who had hitherto upheld and kept you, would now at the last leave you? It is a dangerous thing to do evil that good may come thereof. But I hope your mind may alter. In the mean while, I will pray for you, and beg of God, That the hands of Esau *may not hinder the blessing of* Jacob.

And the King's Answer.

To this the King answered, That though he had done this in his own person out of necessity yet he would never be wanting to those of the Reformed Religion, but would take them into his special care and Protection.

Rich. Hacket condemned and executed, and why.

And now was *Richard Hacket* condemned and executed for Treason, being sent from the *English* Fugitives beyond Sea, to perswade *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*, Son to *Henry* newly deceased, to assume the Title of the Kingdom, by right of Descent from *Anne*, Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh; and threatning him, that unless he undertook this enterprize, and withal conceal'd him the Abettor, he should shortly die in most wretched manner. But the Earl fearing a trap was laid for him, revealed the matter; yet the fellows

Ferdinand Earl of Derby his heritable death.

Fellows threatning, proved not altogether vain; for the Earl within four months died a most horrible death. This year Death had his Tribute paid from the Nobility; for there died *Henry Ratcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*, and Three Episcopal Barons, *Arthur Grey* of *Wilton*, *Henry Lord Cromwell*, and *Henry* Lord *Wentworth*, besides Sir *Christopher Carlile*, whose warlike Prowess at Sea and Land, deserves to be remembred.

The Ow Nere-Lord assumes to himself the Title of O-Neal, more esteem'd of than to be called Emperor.

In *Ireland*, at this time, divers great men in Connaught rebelled; and *Turlogh Leynagh* being proclaimed *O-Neal* assumed to himself the Title of *O-Neal*, (which in *Ireland* is more esteemed, than to be called Emperor,) but upon a sudden, dissembling his Disloyalty, he submitted himself to the Deputy, and promised all Obedience.

1594. The Papists dream upon a Successor to the Queen. Some would have the Title of Spain, and some a Right within by Descent.

It was now the Year 1594. and the Seven and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when the good Correspondence between the King of *Scots*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, gave the Papists small hope that ever he would prove an Instrument to reflore the Catholick Religion. Whereupon they began to behold themselves of some *English* Papist that might succeed the Queen; but finding none of their own Sect a fit person, they fixed their thoughts upon the Earl of *Essex*, who always carried a very [illegible] and him they devised to have [illegible] the Crown, by Descent from *Thomas of Woodstock*, King *Edward* the Third's Son. But the *English* Fugitives were for the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and desiring to set the King of *Scots*, and the Earl of *Essex* at odds, they set forth a Book, which they dedicated to *Essex*, under the name of *Doleman*, but was written indeed by *Parsons* (*Doleman*'s bitter Adversary,) Cardinal *Allen*, and *Ivanicis Englefield*. The Scope of which Book was to exclude from Succession all Persons whatsoever, and how near soever allied to the Crown, unless they were Roman Catholicks; contending further for the right of the *Infanta Isabella*, *Infanta* of *Spain*, as being descended from *Constance*, Daughter of *William* the Conqueror; from *Eleanor* eldest Daughter to King *Henry* the Second, married to *Alphonso* the Ninth King of *Castile*; from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King *Henry* the Third: Titles obsolete, and which exceed the bounds of Heraldry to discuss. This Year the Nineteenth of *February*, was *Henry* Prince of *Scotland* born; to whom the Queen was Godmother, and sent *Robert* Earl of *Essex* for her Deputy.

The mark are thollicks; the *Infanta Isabella*, *Infanta* of *Spain*, as being descended from *Constance*, Daughter of *William* the Conqueror; from *Eleanor* eldest Daughter to King *Henry* the Second, married to *Alphonso* the Ninth King of *Castile*; from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King *Henry* the Third: Titles obsolete, and which exceed the bounds of Heraldry to discuss. This Year the Nineteenth of *February*, was *Henry* Prince of *Scotland* born; to whom the Queen was Godmother, and sent *Robert* Earl of *Essex* for her Deputy.

Prince *Henry* of Scotland is born.

But now greater matters were in hand. Plots were laid against the Queens Life; some *Spaniards* thinking to make her away by Poyson, and more daring to trust any *Englishman* in such matters, they treat to that purpose with *Roderick Lopez* a *Jew*, and Physician to the Queen, with *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emanuel Loyfe*, and other *Portugals*; for divers of that Nation came into *England* at this time, invitation to *Don Antonio*, who being discovered by Letters of theirs that were intercepted, were arraigned at *Guild-hall*, and by their own Confessions convicted, to have compassed against the Life of the Queen; they were all Condemned and Executed at *Tyburn*. *Lopez* professing that he loved the Queen as well as Jesus Christ: which was the ruine of Daughter to them that knew him to be a *Jew*. The next day after them, was Condemned *Patrick Cullen* an *Irish* Fencer, sent hither by the *English* Fugitives, to kill the Queen.

The Spaniards hire Lopez a Jew, and Physician to the Queen, to kill her, and how the matter was carried.

About this time Sir *John Norris* having been in a hot Conflict at Sea against the *Spaniards*, where Sir *Martin Frobisher* received his Deaths Wound, was now called home, with a purpose to send him into *Ireland*. In which mean while, *Richard Hawkins* Son of Sir *John Hawkins* the famous Sea-Captain, had been set forth a Year since with three of the Queens Ships, and Two hundred men in them; wherein one of them at the Isle of *St. Anne* was by chance fired, another of them separated by Tempest, returned into *England*, but left, and the third, called the *Swallow*, past *Magellan*, being the fifth man in the *Spanish* Account, that had ever done it, and having now come into the wide Southern Sea, he took five Ships laden with Merchandize; one whereof he took away, the rest he suffered to redeem themselves for Two thousand Duckats: But at last being set upon by *Bertrandat a Castro*, who was sent out by the Vice-Roy of those Parts, with eight Ships against him, after three days Battery, he yielded, and though upon Composition, yet was nevertheless sent into *Spain*, and there for divers years kept Prisoner.

Richard Hawkins taken Prisoner by the Spaniards.

But *James Lancaster* in another part of *America*, had better success; for being set forth by some *London* Merchants (whose Goods the *Spaniards* had seized) with three Ships and a long Boat, he took Nine and thirty *Spanish* Ships, and at *Fernambuck* in *Brasile*, where the Wealth of an *East Indian* Caraque was lately unloaden, he deliberately ransacking every Chest, called Fifteen Ships with the Wealth of the *Indian* Caraque; *Sugar*, *Reed*, *Red Wood*, called *Brasil*, and other Merchandize, and thus safely and victoriously returned home.

James Lancaster takes nine and thirty Spanish Ships, and much rich Merchandize.

As *Parry*, about this time, and Cardinal *Allen* born in *Lancashire*, of an honest Family, brought up in *Oxford* in *Oriel* Colledge. In Queen *Maries* days he was Proctor of the University, and after Canon of the Cathedral Church at *York*: Upon the change of Religion in *England*, he left the Kingdom, and was Divinity Professor at *Douay* in *Flanders*, and made Canon of the Church at *Cambray*. He procured a Seminary to be set up in *Douay* for the *English*, another at *Rheims*, and a third at *Rome*, and through zeal of the *Romish* Religion, forgot whose Subject he was born.

Cardinal *Allen* dies, and of his Education.

At home, at this time, died *John Piers* Archbishop of *York*, in whose place succeeded *Matthew Hutton*, translated from the See of *Durham*. There died also *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, being in the Flower of his Age, miserably consumed, and vomiting stuff of a dark sully colour, being thought to have been poysoned or bewitched. There was found in his Chamber a male Image of Wax, with Hairs of the colour of his Hair, thrust into the Belly, which some thought was done of purpose, that men should not suspect him to be poysoned; his Vomits so stained the Silver Andirons, that it could never be gotten out: and his Body, though put in Spanish-Skins, and wrapped in Lead, did so stink and putrifie, that for a long time none could endure to come near where he was buried. The Mother of the Horse was much suspected, who the same day the Earl took his Bed, took one of his best Horses, and fled away. About this time also died *George Fines*, Lord

The strange death of Ferdinand Earl of Derby.

he is executed at Tyburn.

Lord *Dacres*, a man somewhat [illegible] Son of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres* [illegible] King *Henry* VIII.

William Russel is sent Deputy into *Ireland*, to whom *Tir-Oen.* submits himself, but dissemblingly.

And now Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Deputy of *Ireland* was called home, and *William Russel* youngest Son of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford* was sent in his room; to whose Government came the Earl of *Tir-Oen*, and [illegible] craved pardon of his [illegible] had not [illegible] fained himself far more [illegible] Lord Deputy *Russel* Marshal of the [illegible] exhibited many Articles against him, but he so pleaded for himself with promise of Loyalty hereafter, that [illegible] dismisses. But see the [illegible] of this man, for he would never after be [illegible] come again, though the [illegible] for that with many and [illegible]

1595.

Edmund York and *Richard Williams* executed for being bribed to kill the Queen.

This was now the Year 1595. and the Eight and thirtieth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when *Edmund York* and *Richard Williams*, who [illegible] formerly pretended, came to their Ends, and were executed at *Tyburn*, for being bribed to kill the Queen.

A new Rumor spread of a new Fleet of *Spaniards*, to invade *England*, but falle.

At this time a constant Rumor was blown abroad from all parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were coming again against *England* with a far greater Fleet than that in Eighty eight, and that it was already under Sail; whereupon Soldiers were levied, and placed on the Sea coast. Two Navies were made ready, one to go for them as soon as they came into the Channel, the other to go for them into the Bay of *Biscay*, and *Spain* it self, under *Hawkins* and *Drake*; but when all came to all, it was but certain *Spanish* who loosed from the Rendezvous of *France*, with four Gallies, which betimes in the morning landing in *Cornwall*, fired a Town standing alone in the Fields and three Villages of Fisher-men, [illegible] *Penzance* and *Paulton*, and then presently returned, not taking or killing any one person; and these were the first and last *Spaniards* that in hostile manner ever set Foot upon *English* ground.

And now the Chiefs growing daily in Years, a great number perswaded the King to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, and the Queen her self began to incline to it, especially, having [illegible] private Intelligence out of the Pope's Court, that [illegible] was resolved into the Bosom of the Church of *Rome*, with the Popish Religion, and upon Conditions prejudicial to the Protestants.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh*'s Voyage to *Guiana*, and what he did.

And therefore at this time, were divers Undertakings of the *English* against *Spain*; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Captain of the Guard, having deflowered a Maid of Honour (whom afterwards he married) had for the Queen's favour, and was held in Prison for several months, but afterwards being set at liberty, obtained of the Queen, to undertake a Voyage to the [illegible] Seeking Still from Place to Place, he [illegible] *Trinidado*, where he took St. *Joseph* Town, but found not any [illegible] there. From hence with Boats and 200 Soldiers he entered [illegible] up into Land, leaving little but the Labour for his Followers, in like manner, [illegible] *Port* and Country, putting many Towns of the King of *Spain* in the Western Parts, and three Ships of the Earl of *Cumberland* set upon a [illegible] *Caracca*, which by Casualty was fired, when they were in Fight, and [illegible] Enterprises of private persons [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Son, *Thomas* by his Wife *Ann Dacres* of *Gillisland*. He had two brothers, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Baron of *Suffolk*; and *William* Lord *Howard* of the North, who yet liveth; and one Sister, the Lady *Margaret* married to *Robert Sackville*, afterward Earl of *Dorset*, and Father of *Edward* Earl of *Dorset* now living; a Lady so mild, so vertuous, and so devout in her Religion, that if her Brother macerated himself being in prison, she certainly did no less, being at liberty; whom I the rather mention, because I had the happiness to know her living, and the unhappiness to be a Mourner at her Funeral. There died this year also *William* Lord *Vaulx*, a zealous Papist, and Sir *Thomas Hineage*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, whose only Daughter married to Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was no small advancer of that House. There dyed also *William Whitaker*, Master of St. *John's* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and Divinity Professor: As likewise Sir *Roger Williams*, and Sir *Thomas Morgan*; so as this year was honoured with the deaths of two great Lords, one exquisite Courtier, one great Scholar, and two famous Souldiers.

In *Ireland* at this time, *Russel* the Deputy doubting a storm of War from *Tir Oen*, sent into *England*, requiring to have some experienced Souldiers sent unto him with Forces, who though he desired *Baskervile* to be the man, yet Sir *John Norris* was sent unto him with thirteen hundred old Souldiers, besides a further supply; whom *Tir-Oen* hearing to be coming, set presently upon the Fort of *Blackwater*, and in the absence of *Edward Cornwall* the Governor took it. But now being doubtful of his case, in a subdolous manner (as he was a double dealing man) he both offereth his help to the Earl of *Kildare*, against the Deputies servants; and at the same time, maketh promise to the Earl of *Ormond*, and Sir *Henry Wallop*, of loyalty and obedience; but notwithstanding he was forthwith proclaimed Traytor, under the name of *Hugh O-Neal*, bastard Son to *Con O-Neal*. There was at this time with the Rebels in *Ulster* a thousand Horse, and 6280 Foot: And in *Connaught*, two thousand three hundred, all at *Tir-Oens* command: And the Forces of the *English* under *Norris*, not much fewer, with whom the Deputy himself joyned, and marched together to *Armagh*; which so terrified the Rebels, that *Tir Oen* forsaking the Fort of *Blackwater*, began to hide himself. Whereupon the Deputy returned, leaving *Norris* to follow the War, with the title of General of the Army. But this satisfied not *Norris*, and therefore out of emulation betwixt himself and the Deputy, he performed nothing worth the speaking of, and seemed to favour *Tir-Oen*, as much as the Deputy hated him; insomuch, as he had private Conference with him (a thing not lawful with proclaimed Traytors) and upon his submission, and Hostages given, a Truce was granted both to him and *Odonell*, till the first of *January*. When the Truce was expired, *Tir-Oen* exhibited certain petitions, protesting if they were granted, he would then perform all duties of a loyal subject. In consulting about which Petitions, another Truce was concluded, till the first of *April*: During which Truce, *Tir-Oen* dealt secretly with the King of *Spain* for Aid to be sent him, making nevertheless a fair shew of willingness to obedience, so far, that by the procurement of *Norris* and *Fenton*, a pardon was granted him; the which he pretended to receive more joyfully, than the Instrument which conferred the Earldom upon him; yet all this was but dissimulation, to win time for his own ends.

Sir John Norris is sent into Ireland with an Army to aid the Deputy.

The Earl of Tir-Oen proclaimed Traytor.

Norris out of emulation to the Deputy favours Tir-Oen.

Tir Oen to win time, dissembles.

In the midst of these *Irish* Affairs, *Albertus* Arch-Duke of *Austria* and Cardinal, whom the King of *Spain* had newly set over the *Netherlands*, mustered together the *Spanish* Forces, upon pretence of raising the Siege of *La Fere* in *Picardy*; but upon a sudden turneth aside, and besiegeth *Calice*; and taking *Newnham* Fort, the very first day became Master of the Haven. The Queen informed hereof, forthwith upon the very Sunday in time of Divine Service, commanded to levy Souldiers, whom she committed to the Earl of *Essex*; but before they could be shipped, certain news came, that the town and Fort were taken by the *Spaniard*: Whereupon the Queens Army was dismissed, and only some money lent to the *French* King.

Albertus Duke of *Austria* takes *Calice* by a sudden assault.

But a few days after, a far greater, and more select Army is raised in *England*, wherein many of Noble Houses served as Volunteers: For the Queen, to divert the King of *Spain* from invading her Borders, thought it the best way to invade his: Whereupon a Navy of a hundred and fifty Ships was made ready; where were Souldiers under pay, Six thousand three hundred and threescore; Volunteers of the Nobility and Gentry, One thousand; Mariners, Six thousand seven hundred seventy and two, besides the *Dutchmen*, who brought two and twenty Ships, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, were made Generals with equal Authority; but the Admiral to hold Prerogative at Sea, *Essex* at Land. To these, for a Council of War, were joyned the Lord *Thomas Howard*, *Walter Rawleigh*, *Francis Vere*, *George Carew*, and *Conyers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; The Admiral commanded the first; *Essex*, the second; the Lord *Thomas Howard* the third, and *Rawleigh* the fourth. The Officers of the Army were *Francis Vere* Serjeant Major General, or Marshall; *John Winkfield* Quarter-Master General; *George Carew* Master of the Ordnance; *Conyers Clifford* Serjeant Major. Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Sussex*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*; *William Winkfield* was Commander of the Volunteers; and *Anthony Ashley* Secretary to the Council of War, was to Register their Acts and Consultations. The Commission being drawn, the Queen gave them private Instructions, and withal, a Prayer of her own making, to be daily used in every Ship.

Robert Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral, are sent with Forces against *Spain*, who take *Cales*, and the passages of it.

This Fleet set forth from *Plimouth* at the beginning of *June*. Nigh unto *Cape S. Vincent* they lighted upon an *Irish* Barque, which told them, That at *Cales* they were secure, and then in the Haven there were at Anchor Gallies, Ships of War, and a great many Merchant Vessels. The twentieth of *June*, they cast Anchor on the West side of the Island; within two days they were

agreed to ſet upon the *Spaniſh* Ships, whereat the Earl of *Eſſex* caſt up his Cap for joy. This buſineſs was allotted to the leſſer ſhips, becauſe the Road was too ſhallow for the great. The Gallies quickly fled, and creeping along the ſhore, ſhifted away, but the *Spaniſh* Ships that lay at Anchor at *Puntal*, turned their broad ſides; ſo as the *Engliſh* fight with them laſted from break of day till noon; at which time the *Spaniards* having their Gallions miſerably torn, and many of their men ſlain, reſolved to fire the ſhips, or run them on more. The *Spaniſh* Admiral being fifteen hundred Tun of Burden, was fired by a *Moor*, and two other Ships which lay next her took the fire, and were loſt likewiſe. When this Sea-fight was ended, *Eſſex* landed Eight hundred Souldiers at *Puntal*, a league from the Town of *Cales*, when half a mile from the Town, the *Spaniſh* Horſe and Foot ſhewed themſelves, and preſently gave back again; but ſtraightway cometh forth a greater number: Then *Eſſex* commanded his Forces to make a fair retreat; and having enticed forth their Enemies, they turned upon them with ſuch violence, that they forced them back into the Town. Then the Earl got up to a Bulwark newly raiſed, near the Gate, where he ſpied a paſſage into the Town, but ſo high from ground, that they muſt leap a Spears length to get down. Yet *Evans* the Earl of *Suſſex* his Lieutenant, *Arthur Savage* and others leaped down; and the mean while Sir *Francis Vere* broke the Gate, and ruſhed in, and the reſt with him. In the Market place *John Winkfield* was ſhot in the head, and with ſtones from the top of Houſes divers were wounded; amongſt whom *Samuel Bagnall* received eight Wounds, and *Arthur Savage* was bloody all over, which two were Knighted in the Place. The next day the Caſtle was yielded, upon condition, That the Inhabitants might depart with the Clothes on their backs, the reſt to be left for ſpoyl. For five hundred and fourſcore thouſand Duckets the Caſtle was to be redeemed; and for the payment, forty of the chief Citizens to be ſent Hoſtages into *England*. Now *Rawleigh* was commanded to fire the Merchants Ships lying at *Port-Real*, when they promiſed two Millions of Duckets to redeem them: But this the Admiral would not hear of, ſaying, He was ſent to deſtroy Ships, not to diſmiſs them upon compoſition. A world of Munition was found in the City, and great ſtore of Money privately carried away, every one ſhifting for himſelf. It was thought by the wiſer ſort, That the *Spaniard* could not be damnified leſs by this Expedition, than Twenty Millions of Duckets. None of Note was ſlain amongſt the *Engliſh*, but only *Winkfield*, who alſo ſlew a *Spaniſh* Captain; and now at laſt, threeſcore Military Men were honoured with Knighthood. After this, having ſpoyled the whole Iſland, and demoliſhed the Fort, they returned into *England*, much againſt the will of *Eſſex*, who would fain have been attempting ſome other enterpriſe.

The Queen received them home with much affability, giving many thanks to thoſe of principal Note, but extolling the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Admiral above the reſt. And now bethinking her ſelf of a fit man to be Governour of the *Brill*, which was given by the *States* as a Caution Town for money due, ſhe made choice of Sir *Francis Vere*, although *Eſſex* commended other to her for the place. But another thing he took with great Indignation, That in his abſence ſhe had made Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary, whereas he had formerly with great inſtance commended Sir *Thomas Bodley* to her.

Sir *Robert Cecil* is made Secretary of State.

And now the King of *Spain* to recover his Honour loſt at *Cales*, fetteth forth a Navy for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great number of *Iriſh* Fugitives; but being at Sea, moſt of his Ships were either run upon Rocks, or caſt away in ſtorms; ſo as this Expedition came to nothing.

But the Queen, at this time, for her better ſecurity, entred a League of Defence and Offence with the *French* King, againſt the *Spaniard*, upon certain Conditions, which League ſhe confirmed by Oath, in the Chappel at *Greenwich*, the nine and twentieth of *Auguſt*, laying her hand upon the hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bulloigne*, and Marſhal of *France*; the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* holding forth the Evangeliſts, and a great Company of the Nobility ſtanding round about. In *September* following, *Gilbert Talbot* Earl of *Shrewbury*, was ſent on Embaſſage into *France* to take the *French* Kings Oath, and to preſent Sir *Antony Mildmay* for the Queens Ambaſſadour in Ordinary in the room of Sir *Henry Unton* lately there deceaſed, and to inveſt the King with the Order of the Garter. Soon after, *Baskervile* waſted into *Picardy* with Two thouſand Souldiers; for no more were by agreement to be ſent this year.

Queen *Elizabeth* enters a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the King of *France*.

It was now the year 1596, and the Nine and thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when *Thomas Arundel* of *Warder* returned into *England*, from the War in *Hungary* againſt the *Turk*, whom, for his good ſervice done there, the Emperor by his Letters Patents, had created Earl of the Sacred Empire, and all and ſingular his Heirs and their poſterity, Males or Females, lawfully deſcended from him, to be Earls and Counteſſes of the holy Empire for even Thoſe who are graced with this Title, have a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may purchaſe Lands in the Emperor's Dominions, may take up voluntary Souldiers, and are not bound to anſwer any matter before any Judge, but only in the Chamber of the Empire. At his return, a great Queſtion came in agitation, Whether Titles of Honour given to the Queens Subjects without her privity, ought to be accepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earl ſtuck in the ſtomachs of the *Engliſh* Barons, who inwardly grudged to give him place. The matter was long diſputed on both ſides, but what iſſue it had, or whether he were permitted this honour here at home, I find not: Certain it is, That Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and Sir *Antony Sherley*, whom the *French* King two years ſince received into the Order of St. *Michael*, were laid in Priſon at their coming home, and charged to reſign their Robes of the Order.

1596

An. Reg. 39. *Thomas Arundel* of *Warder* is by the Emperour made Earl of the Empire; and what the Priviledges of that honour are.

Whether Honours given to the Queens Subjects without her privity are to be admitted.

This

Many great persons die.

This year many great persons dyed; *John Puckering* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, whom *Thomas Egerton* succeeded; *Richard Fletcher* Bishop of *London*, who for marrying the Lady *Baker* (as goodly a Lady as he was a Prelate) incurred the Queens Displeasure; and to cure his Cares, fell immoderately to drinking of Tobacco, and so expired. *Henry Cary* Baron of *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's House, and her Cousin German Sir *Francis Knolls*, who married *Hunsdon*'s Sister, in Quen *Mary*'s days an Exile in *Germany* for the Gospel, by Queen *Elizabeth* made first Vice-Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guard, afterward Treasurer of the Houshould, and Knight of the Garter. *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, and President of the Council in the *North*, who spent his estate upon Puritan Ministers: *Francis* Lord *Hastings*, Nephew to him by his Brother *George*, who succeeded him in the Earldom; and *Margaret Clifford* Countess of *Derby*, (who descended of the Blood Royal from *Charles Brandon*) consulted with Sorcerers and cunning men, and thereupon a little before her end, was in a manner excluded from the Queen's favour.

The Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others are sent to seize the *Spanish* Fleet, but are distressed by Tempests.

The Queen at this time was told, That the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet against *Ireland*; whereupon to encounter him, she also prepared a Navy of a hundred and twenty Ships, seventeen of the Queen's, three and forty lesser Ships of War, the rest for the carriage of Provision. They were parted into three Squadrons: *Essex* commanded the first, who was also chief Commander in the Expedition, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the second, and *Rawleigh* the third. In this Fleet were sundry of the Nobility and Gentry, *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, *Vere*, *Carew*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwel*, *Rich*, and many others. The ninth of *July* they weighed Anchor from *Plymouth*, and were to direct their course to *Feral* and the *Groyn*, to seize upon the *Spanish* Fleet in the Harbour, and towards the Isles called *Azores*, and to intercept the *Indian* Fleet at their return into *Spain*; but this Expedition was crossed and overthrown by tempests, for they had not sailed forty Leagues from *Plymouth*, when they were shaken with such a terrible Tempest for four days together, that the Mariners themselves were at their wits end, and the Fleet had much ado to recover *Plymouth*: The Navy being amended, they hoised up Sail the second time, but the Wind fell presently again so cross, that for a whole months time they could not get out of the Haven; returning to *Plymouth*. the seventeenth of *August* they got out of the Haven; and now the third time, with a side-wind hoised up sail, but before they came in view of *Spain*, they were dispersed by another horrible Tempest, wherein of the two great ships which were taken at *Gales*, one was dashed in pieces, the other wandred no man knew whither. At the Island *Flores* the Fleet met again, where *Rawleigh* being distressed for Water went on shore without leave; and ere he had watered, had charge to follow *Essex* to *Fayal*: but not finding him there, he observed the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders wished him to set upon the place, and not let slip so fair a Booty. Upon this *Rawleigh* with some of the prime Voluntiers, got to shore, and won the Town, but found no booty in it. The next day *Essex* came thither, whom *Merrick* informeth what *Rawleigh* had done, affirming spitefully, That he had done it only to prevent his Lordship in the honour of the exploit: whereupon some perswaded the Earl to call a Council of War, and then displace him: others again, to take off his head for going to Land without the Chief Commanders leave; saying, He was never like to have such another opportunity to be rid of his Adversary; upon this *Sidney*, *Brett*, *Berry*, and others of *Rawleigh*'s Company were displaced, and laid by the heels; *Rawleigh* himself was sent for, and entertained with a grim look by *Essex* and all his party; *Essex* rebuketh him angerly for landing his forces, which none upon pain of death might do, without the Generals Command; *Rawleigh* made answer, that the Captains indeed, Shipmasters, and the rest were within the compass of that Law; but not the Three prime Commanders, of whom himself was One: That he had a long time waited his coming, and longer would have waited, but that the Islanders provoked him to fight. And now the Lord *Thomas Howard* mediated, that no severity might be used against *Rawleigh*, and perswaded him to acknowledge his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the displaced Captains were restored to their places, for the Earl was of a placable disposition; easily apt to take offence, and as easily to remit it.

Rawleigh without leave goes ashore, and takes *Fayal*.

For this he is questioned by the Earl; but his Answer and the Lord *Tho. Howard*'s mediation, reconciles all.

From hence they sail to *Gratiosa*, where the Inhabitants craved mercy, and obtained it; and here *Essex* would have tarried, in expectation of the *Indian* Fleet; but that *Graves* the Pilot dissuaded, because the Harbour was not good. And now see the unluckiness of ill counsel, for the *English* were not gone above an hour or two from this place, when loe, the *American* Fleet (wherein were forty Ships, and seven of them loaden with treasure) cometh thither, which hearing that the *English* were thereabouts, directed their course to *Tercera*, where they gained the Haven, all but three Ships, indifferent wealthy; which the *English* took, and then were minded to set upon the rest in the Port; but finding the attempt not feasible, they passed from thence to *St. Michaels*; where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Bredon* and *Dockwray* were knighted. And then *Essex* landed within six miles of the Town, nigh unto *Villa Franca*, a fair Town and well furnished with Merchandize, Wine, Wood, and Corn; where they tarried six days: and the common Souldiers found good booty. And now a Caraque was espied, coming out of the *East-Indies* which by a warning piece shot off in a *Dutch* Ship, perceiving that the *English* were there, run her self ashore, unloaded her Merchandize, and then fired her self. Thus the *English* had ill luck every where in this expedition: And the ninth of *October* they hoised sail for *England*; but within two days, a terrible tempest from the Northward dispersed them; and the *Spanish* Fleet also at the same time, so as they never came in view of one another: one *Spanish* Ship was cast upon *Dartmouth*, the Mariners and Souldiers half starved in her; who intimated, that the *Spanish* Fleet intended to seize upon some Haven in *Cornwall*, which being nigh the mouth of the Channel, might be convenient to receive Forces from

The *English* miss the *Spanish* Fleet, through ill counsel.

Spain: but the Divine Providence fruſtrated the deſigns both of the *Spaniard* and the *Engliſh*.

But now at his return, the Earl of *Eſſex* found that done in *England*, in his abſence, which infinitely diſcontented him; Sir *Robert Cecill* made Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; and which was more, *Charles* Lord *Howard*, created Earl of *Nottingham*, with relation in his Patent to the Victory in Eighty eight, and his good ſervice at *Gales*: This glory he envied him, and beſides ſtomached it, that he muſt now take place of him: It being enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, That the chief Officers of the Kingdom ſhould have Precedence of all men of their degree. Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was fain to create him Earl Marſhal of *England*, by which he recovered his place again.

Charles Howard Lord Admiral is created Earl of *Nottingham*, to the diſcontentment of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

The Earl of *Eſſex* is made Earl Marſhal, of purpoſe to take place of the Admiral.

About this time, an Ambaſſadour came into *England*, from the King of *Poland*; who, when the Queen expected he ſhould give her thanks for having procured a peace between the King his Maſter, and the *Turk*, he clean contrary expoſtulated unkindneſs, for breach of Priviledges, in trading with *Spain*, requiring a preſent remedy, or elſe the King would otherwiſe right himſelf. The Queen not a little offended, ſuddenly replied; How was I deceived? I expected an Ambaſſadour, and behold a Herald; ſuch a ſpeech I never heard in all my life-time. And after ſome further checking of him for his boldneſs, ſhe referred him to her Council; and then retired into her Cloſet. The Ambaſſadour afterward in private Conference with ſome of the Council, excuſed himſelf, ſaying, That his Speech was penned by others, and then given him in Writing. To his Meſſage, the Council gave the like anſwer as they had given before to the Hanſe-Towns, upon the like occaſion: though now again, the Hanſe-Towns obtain of the Emperour, to prohibit the *Engliſh* from trading in *Germany*, which made the Queen to prohibit the Hanſe-Towns from trading in *England*; and put them out of the Steel-yard till this difference was accorded.

The ſawcy ſpeech of a *Poliſh* Ambaſſador to the Queen, and her Anſwer.

This year the Chancellour of *Denmark* came into *England* to reſtore the Garter, which ſhe had beſtowed upon the King's Father, and withal offering the King's help, to make a Peace for the Queen with the *Spaniard*. The Queen thanked him; but meant not to uſe his help for that which ſhe did not deſire, and eſpecially not now, when he had newly moleſted the King of *France* her Ally, and had taken *Amyens* the ſtrongeſt Town in *Picardy*: Though why ſhould the Queen be ſo tender of the *French* King, when now to get an Aid of four thouſand Souldiers from her, he fell to devices; intimating unto her, That he was now offered by the Pope's Nuntio a very commodious Peace, if he would but forſake her. But while theſe things were in Treaty, *Amyens* was recovered again by the valour of *Baskervile*, (who died at the Siege) and of Sir *Arthur Savage*, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledged.

Baskervile and Sir *Arthur Savage*'s Service in recovering of *Amyens*.

About this time a Parliament was holden at *Weſtminſter*, where Subſidies were willingly granted; and to this Parliament was called the Lord *La Ware*, and reſtored to his blood, which by Act of Parliament in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth was tainted. Alſo to this Parliament was called *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, by the Title of Baron *Howard* of *Walden*.

The Lord *Howard* is made Baron of *Walden*.

In *Ireland* at this time, a great part of *Ulſter*, and almoſt all *Connaught* was in Rebellion; whereupon *Ruſſel* the Deputy was called home, and *Thomas* Lord *Burroughs* ſent in his place, a man very ſtout and couragious, but no Souldier: This infinitely diſcontented *Norris*, who thought himſelf ſure of the place, and now to ſee his Rival preferred before him, and himſelf to be under him, Preſident of *Munſter*, drave him into ſuch a melancholy, that in a very ſhort time (and as he thought to himſelf with much diſgrace) he ended his life.

The Lord *Burroughs* is ſent Deputy into *Ireland*.

Norris that expected the place, diſcontented, falls ſick and dies.

And now the Earl of *Tir-Oen* craveth and obtaineth a months Truce of the new Deputy; at the months end the Deputy marcheth againſt the Rebels, and gaineth the Fort at *Black-water*, when ſuddenly the Rebels ſhew themſelves upon a hill hard by, againſt whom the Earl of *Kildare*, marcheth and puts them to flight; but yet with ſome loſs of his own ſide, as *Francis Vaughan* the Deputies Brother in Law, *Turner* a Serjant Major, and two Foſter-Brothers of the Earl of *Kildare*, whoſe death he took ſo heavily, that within a few days he died himſelf.

The Fort of *Blackwater* gained by the Deputy.

As ſoon as the Deputy had fortified the Caſtle at *Black-water*, and withdrawn his Army, the Rebels began to beſiege it again; (for this was the main place of their ſtrength) which cauſed the Deputy with all poſſible ſpeed to make thither, but unhappily died by the way. Whereupon the Rebels ſet upon the Fort more fiercely than before: but being ſtill repelled, they comforted themſelves with this, that there was not many days proviſion left in the Fort; yet the admirable fortitude of *Thomas Williams* the Captain and the Gariſon Souldiers ſaved the place, who, when their Horſe-fleſh, was all ſpent, fed upon weeds growing within the Trenches, and endured all kind of miſery. And now the Lord *Burroughs* the Deputy being dead, the Army by direction from *England*, was committed to the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Government to two Lords Juſtices, *Adam Loſthouſe* Archbiſhop of *Dublin* and Chancellour, and *Robert Gardner*: to this new Lieutenant, *Tir-Oen* exhibiteth a Bill of his oppreſſions and grievances with requeſt of pardon, and at the ſame time ſtirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion in *Lemſter*.

The Lord *Burroughs* dies.

Tir-Oen complains to the new Lieutenant of his grievances; and at the ſame time ſtirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion.

In *France* at this time, the *French* King being importuned by the Pope, and by his own Subjects begain to incline to a Peace with *Spain*; which the Queen underſtanding, ſhe ſent into *France* Sir *Robert Cecil*, *Herbert* and *Wilks*, (who died at his landing in *France*:) The States likewiſe ſent thither *Juſtine* of *Naſſaw*, and *Barnevelt*, and others likewiſe into *England* to diſſuade the Peace, but notwithſtanding all they could ſay or do, the *French* King ſhortly after concluded a Peace, to the great diſcontentment of the Queen and the States, but to the great good, and eſtabliſhmment of the *French* commonwealth.

The King of *France* concludes a Peace with *Spain* againſt Queen *Elizabeths* liking.

And now the Queen providing for her own and her Peoples ſafety, ſent Sir *Francis Vere* to the States, to know if they were willing to joyn in a Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniards*: if not, what

what they would afford towards a War; and to deal earneſtly with them about repayment of money due to her from them. At home in the mean time was holden a great Conſultation, Whether a Peace with *Spain* were convenient for *England*, or no? and many Reaſons were on both ſides alledged. *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer was for Peace, *Eſſex* for War, and ſo vehement in it, that the Treaſurer, after a long debating, in a ſtrange manner of Preſage, reached forth the Book of the *Pſalms* to him, pointing him to that Verſe, *The bloody minded man ſhall not live out half his days.* Which made *Eſſex* afterward ſet forth an Apology, with Reaſons for juſtification of his Opinion.

A Conſultation, whether a Peace with *Spain* were convenient for *England* or no. *Burleigh* is for it, *Eſſex* againſt it.

But now another Conſultation was held about a fit man to be Deputy of *Ireland*; The Queen intended to ſend Sir *William Knolles*, *Eſſex* his Uncle; but *Eſſex* was violent for Sir *George Carew*, whom he had a mind to remove from the Court; and when he could not by any means perſwade the Queen to it, he then, forgetting himſelf and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuouſly turned his back upon the Queen, muttering certain words. Whereupon ſhe growing impatient, gave him a box on the ear, and bid him be gone with a vengeance; *Eſſex* laid his hand upon his Sword hilt, and ſwore a great Oath, That he could not, nor would not put up ſuch an indignity; and that he would not have taken it at King *Henry* the Eighth his hands; and ſo in rage flung away from the Court. But afterward, admoniſhed by the Lord Keeper, he became more mild; and in a ſhort time returned into the Queen's favour.

The Queen gives the Earl a box on the Ear, and why: and how he took it.

About this time, *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, and high Treaſurer of *England*, finding himſelf to droop with age, (for he was now threeſcore and ſeventeen years old) ſent Letters to the Queen, intreating her to releaſe him of his publick charge; whereupon ſhe went to viſit and comfort him; but within a few days he ended his life, after he had been the principal ſtay of the *Engliſh* Common-wealth for many years together. One great good he did to his Country a little before his death, that he brought the States of the *Low-Countries* to a Compoſition for the payment of Eight hundred thouſand pounds, by Thirty thouſand pounds yearly; likewiſe a new League to be concluded with them.

The Lord *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer dies.

The King of *Denmark*'s Subjects having lately ſeized upon ſome goods of the *Engliſh* as Prize, to the value of a hundred thouſand Dollars; the Queen ſent the Lord *Zouch*, and *Chriſtopher Perkins* Doctor of Law, in Embaſſage to the *Dane*, both to congratulate his late marriage with the Elector's Daughter of *Brandenburg*; and alſo to crave reſtitution of the *Engliſh* Goods; who obtained, that in lieu thereof, Threeſcore thouſand Dollars were repayed. And now *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, having with a Navy of eleven Ships, waited for *Portugal* Caraques, and the *American* Fleet, till the ſeaſon of the year was paſt, (they not daring to ſtir forth) he at laſt ſet upon *Port-Rico* and took it; but ſeven hundred of his men falling ſick of Calentures, and dying within forty days, he was fain to return home with ſome honour, but little profit.

The Earl of *Cumberland* takes *Port-Rico*.

About this time, one *Edward Squire* was Arraigned of high Treaſon; he had been at firſt an ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queen's Stable, and going as a Souldier in *Drake*'s laſt expedition, was taken priſoner and carried into *Spain*, there he came acquainted with one *Wallpole* an *Engliſh* Jeſuite, who cauſed him to be put into the Inquiſition for an Heretick, and the fellow taſting of miſery, was eaſily drawn to become a Papiſt, and afterward to attempt any thing for the Catholick cauſe. His ghoſtly father perſwaded him it were meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſent him into *England* with a certain poiſon, wherewith to anoint the Pommel of the Queen's Saddle, and the chair in which the Earl ſhould ſit, which he accordingly performed, but neither of them took effect, whereupon *Wallpole* ſuſpecting *Squire*'s fidelity was bent to revenge it, and ſent one into *England*, who in general terms ſhould lay this aſperſion upon him; whereupon *Squire* is called in queſtion, and never thinking that his Confeſſor would detect him, directly denied all at firſt, but after ſeeing himſelf betrayed, confeſſed all the matter and was executed.

Edward Squire executed, and why.

This whole year the Rebellion was hot in *Ireland*; for *Tir-Oen* notwithſtanding his pardon lately obtained, all on a ſudden beſieged the Fort at *Black-water*, to the raſing of which Siege, the Lieutenant General (for there was as yet no Deputy) ſent thirteen Companies under the command of the Marſhal, *Tir-Oen*'s ſworn adverſary, him *Tir-Oen* ſlew, and put his whole Army to rout, and atchieved ſuch a Victory, with ſo great loſs to the *Engliſh*, as they had never felt the like ſince they firſt ſet footing in *Ireland*; for thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Souldiers were ſlain at this skirmiſh, and ſoon after the Fort of *Black-water* was yielded up. And now *Tir-Oen*'s fame began to reſound as the Aſſertor of the liberty of the Nation, and upon a ſudden all *Munſter* break forth into Rebellion. For the Cheriſhing whereof *Tir-Oen* ſent thither *Owny Mac-Rorye* and *Terrell* (who originally an *Engliſh* man was grown a deadly enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation) with four hundred *Kerns*. Againſt theſe, *Thomas Norris* Preſident of the province, marched to *Killmallock* with a good force; but finding that the *Iriſh* Souldiers of his Company were ready to revolt, he was fain to diſperſe his Army and retire to *Cork*. Hereupon the Rebels grew inſolent, ſpoiled the Country, and in cruel manner put all the *Engliſh* to the ſword. Furthermore they declare *Fitz Thomas* to be Earl of *Deſmond*; but upon condition he ſhould hold of *O-Neale*, that is, of *Tir-Oen*, who now diſpatched Letters to the *Spaniard*, relating his Victories to the full, and vowing to accept no terms of peace with the *Engliſh*, and yet at the ſame inſtant (after his wonted treacherous manner) proffered ſome kind of ſubmiſſion to the Lieutenant, but withal made unreaſonable demands.

Tir-Oen breaks openly into Rebellion, and gives the *Engliſh* a great defeat.

Yet at the ſame time makes ſome offer of Submiſſion.

The State of *Ireland* being thus in combuſtion a ſerious conſultation is holden whom to ſend to quench it: the Queen and moſt of the Council thought Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* the fitteſt man; but *Eſſex* covertly intimated, that he had no military experience, and beſides was too Bookiſh to prove a good Commander: he ſeem'd to aim at the place for himſelf, though he made a ſhew modeſtly to refuſe it, and yet ſtill ready with

1597.

A Conſultation is held, whom to ſend againſt *Tir-Oen*.

with his exceptions if any other were nominated: many thought it dangerous to have an Army put into his hands, for his followers talked of great matters, that he (forsooth) was descended of the Blood Royal of *Scotland* and *England*, and had better right to the Crown than any other of the Competitors. In conclusion, he is appointed Vice-Roy, with ample Authority to make War or conclude Peace, and pardon all offenders, even *Tir-Oen* himself. An Army is allotted him as great as he desired: Indeed greater than ever *Ireland* had seen before, twenty thousand Foot and thirteen hundred Horse: with these, and a great Retinue besides of the Nobility, he passeth into *Ireland*; where as soon as he had taken the Sword, contrary to his Commission (which was to go immediately against the Arch rebel) he marched towards *Munster* against the petty Rebels, taketh the Castle of *Cahir*, and driveth the Rebels into the Woods and Groves adjoyning. His Forces being now impaired, he tarrieth to make them up, but in the mean time sendeth directions to Sir *Conierds Clifford*, President of *Connaught*, to set upon the Rebels in one place, (thereby to sever their forces) while he assaulted them in another; *Clifford* marched toward *Belike*, with 1500 Soldiers, where the Rebels are upon them at unawares, under the conduct of *O-Rork*, (his Son that was hanged here in *England*.) The *English* repel them at first with ease, and march along, but the Rebels finding they wanted Powder, set upon them again, and put them to flight; in which skirmish *Clifford* and many of the old Soldiers were slain.

At last the E. of *Essex* is sent with ample authority.

Essex having by this received new supplies out of *England*, and a check for neglecting the Queen's Command, setteth forth at length towards the Borders of *Ulster*, with thirteen hundred Foot and five hundred Horse; being come thither, *Tir-Oen* by a messenger requested parley, *Essex* refuseth, saying, he might speak with him the next morning between the two Armies; the next day word is brought to *Essex* that *Tir-Oen* craved the Queen's mercy, and that he might only be heard speak, appointing the shallow of *Balla Gliath* for a most convenient place; thither came *Essex* alone, with whom *Tir-Oen* (riding his Horse up to the girts) had private conference a full hour. A while after, *Con* (*Tir-Oen's* base Son) came to *Essex*, requesting in his Fathers name a second parley, and that some of the chief on both sides might be present: *Essex* consented, so there came not more than six. At the day appointed, many words had not passed, but it was agreed, that their Delegates should Treat the next day concerning a Peace: between them it was concluded, that a Truce should be held from six weeks to six weeks till *May-day*.

He hath private Conference with *Tir-Oen*.

A Truce is concluded.

By this time, the Queen understanding that no more was done, after so much time and money spent, in a great anger taxeth the Earls proceedings, and I know not how, it fell from her to some others that stood by, that he had other thoughts in his mind, than the good of his Prince and Country: And thereupon dispatched very sharp Letters to him, blaming his delay, and letting slip every fair opportunity: with which Letters *Essex* was so nettled, and chiefly troubled that the Queen had now made *Cecil* Master of the Wards, which he expected himself; that he began

The Queen writes to *Essex*, blaming his delay.

to cast strange projects within his mind, and held private consultations of returning into *England* with part of his Forces, to surprize his Adversaries; But from this course, the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Christopher Blunt* disswaded him, as being dangerous and wicked. Yet within a month over he went, and came to the Court at *Nonesuch*, to inform the Queen of the State of *Ireland*. By the way the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* crossed him, but saluted him not; whom one of his followers offered to kill for his Contempt; but *Essex* would not suffer him; and made such haste, that early in the morning he was upon his Knees before the Queen in the Privy Chamber. She entertained him courteously, but not with the Countenance she was wont: and after a little talk bid him keep in his Chamber; and soon after, committed him to Custody, in the Lord Privy Seal's house; where entring into consideration of his case, he giveth himself wholly to Divine Contemplation, and writeth wonderful Letters to his friends, of the vanity of the things of this life.

Essex without leave comes over to the Queen.

Is welcomed with comming him to the Lord Privy Seal.

It was now the year one thousand six hundred, and the two and fortieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when after the departure of the Earl of *Essex*, *Tir-Oen* began to carry himself as Monarch of *Ireland*, and sendeth *Kernes* to make spoil in the possessions of such as continued in their loyalty to the Queen, under *Mac-Guir* their Captain, who lighting casually upon Sir *Warham Saint-Leger*, thrust him through with a spear, and was himself thrust through withal. Whereupon the Queen sent Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* to take upon him the Deputies place, who loseth no time, but first of all marched towards *Ulster*, buildeth a Fort within eight miles of *Armagh*, which in honour of Sir *John Norris*, under whom he had his first military schooling, he called by the name of *Mount Norris*; there he placed *Edward Blayne*, who kept the Rebels in awe in those parts; from thence back he goeth into *Leinster*, where in the *Glynnes* he reduceth into order, *Donel-Spaniah*, *Phelim Mac-Pheoph*, and the rebelling Nation of the *O-Tooles*, taking hostages of them, then back into *Ulster* again, being Victor where soever he cometh, and at *Tredah*, receiveth into protection *Mac-Henry*, *Mac-Cowly*, and other Rebels, who fell at his feet for mercy. All this and more he did in his first year, and no less successful was *Carew* President of *Munster*, who drave out of the County the Titular Earl of *Desmond*, and having found *Munster* a turbulent Province, in *April*, he overcame it, and made it so quiet by *December* following, that the Rebels maintained no one Fort in it against the Queen.

1600

The Earl of *Tir-Oen* upon *Essex* his departure carries himself as Monarch of *Ireland*.

Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* is sent Deputy into *Ireland*.

And now a new Consultation was holden in *England*, touching a Peace with the King of *Spain*, the which he sought both by the *French* King, and by *Albertus* the Arch-Duke, who was now returned into the *Netherlands* out of *Spain*, where he was married to the *Infanta*: The Queen consenting to a Treaty, left it to the *French* King to nominate both the time and place for the meeting of the Delegates, who set down the month of *May*, and *Bullogn* in *France*; But now foreseeing that a question would arise about Precedency, some were appointed to search Ancient Records concerning that point. These men found in the Book of the Ceremonies of the

A Treaty of Peace is agreed on with *Spain*.

Court

Court of *Rome*, which (according to the Canons) gives Place to the rest, as the Lady and Mistris, that amongst Kings, the first place is due to the King of *Navarre*, the second to the Kings of *England*, and the third to the King of *Castile*; That the *English* quietly held this priviledge in the General Councils of *Basil*, *Constance*, and others: besides the Kingdom of *Castile*, (which is the *Spaniards* first Title, and which is but an upstart in regard of *England*) had Earls, but no Kings till the year 1017. In like manner, Pope *Julius* the third gave sentence for *Henry* the seventh of *England*, against *Ferdinand*, who was then King of *Castile*.

The *English* Commissioners have a charge not to give Precedence to *Spain*; and why.

At the day appointed, the Delegates met at *Bullogne*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Leiger Ambassador, Sir *John Herbert*, *Robert Beal*, and *Thomas Edmunds* for the *English*, and other for the King of *Spain* and the Archduke. The *English* had instructions, first concerning Precedency, in no case to give way to the King of *Spain*; yet if they contended, to put the matter to the decision of Lots, rather than the Treaty should be dissolved; and for the rest, to purpose and mention the reviewing of the ancient *Burgundian* League, freedom of Commerce, &c.

The *Spaniards* being denyed Precedence, break off the Treaty.

At the meeting, when they had severally shewed their Commissions; the *English* challenge the Precedency, the *Spaniards* do the like, and in so peremptory a manner, that without it they would dissolve the Treaty. Hereupon the *English* made a proposition, to let pass the question of Precedency; and to transact the business by writing, and Messengers between them: Or that the Treaty might be intermitted only for threescore days, not quite broken off; but all was too no purpose; and at three months end they parted.

The States the mean while were so far from regarding a Peace, that at this time they thought upon reducing the Sea Coast of *Flanders* into their Command; and thereupon they hauled an Army there of fourteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, under the conduct of *Maurice* of *Nassaw*; and fifteen hundred of the *English* under the command of Sir *Francis Vere*, and his Brother *Horatio*. At which time happened the famous Battle of *Newport* against the Archduke, where nine thousand of the *Spaniards* were slain, and the victory, by the valour of the *English*, fell to the *Dutch*; for so forward were the *English* in this Battel, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were slain and sore wounded, eight Captains killed, and of the rest every man hurt.

The Famous Battel of *Newport*, won by the valour of the *English*.

All this year, and the year past, sundry quarrels and complaints arose between the *English* and *French*, touching reprisals of goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation: Also touching Customs and Impositions, contrary to the Treaty of *Blois*, and deceit in *English* Clothes, to the great Infamy of the Nation. In *Denmark* likewise arose controversies touching commerce, and the Fishing of the *English* upon the Coast of *Island* and *Norway*. The Queen also at that time, for the increase of Navigation and Commerce, Founded the Company of the *East-Indie* Merchants, allowing them large Priviledges. But whether this birth proved beneficial to the Common-wealth, (there having been by this means such a mass of money and great store of other commodities caried out of the Kingdom, and so many Mariners lost every year) men make a question.

The Company of *East-India* Merchants Founded by the Queen.

About this time also, Pope *Clement* the eighth, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, sent two Breves into *England*, the one to the Popish Clergy, the other to the Laity, to suffer no person whatsoever, to take the Kingdom upon him after the Queens death, but one that should promise by Oath, to promote with all his might the *Roman* Catholick Religion, how near soever otherwise, he were allyed to the Blood Royal of the King of *England*.

This year by reason of intemperate weather, happened a great scarcity of Corn in *England*, and thereby many grievous complaints were occasioned. The common people cast out reproachful slanders against the Lord Treasurer *Buckhurst*, as the granter of Licenses for transportation of Corn; but he appealing to the Queen, she forthwith defended his Innocency, and made it known by open Proclamation, imputed the fault upon Broggers of Corn, and Forestallers of Markets, and gave order that the slanderers should be apprehended and punished.

The Earl of *Essex*, who had now been Prisoner six months in the House of the Lord Privy Seal, he then began to repent in good earnest, resolving to put away his perverse Counsellors *Gilley Merick* and *Henry Cuffe*, and then he shewed so much patience and great submission, that the Queen then sent him to his own house, and to be there confined, always protesting, that she would do nothing that should be for his ruine, but only that, which should be for his amendment. Nevertheless, whereas the common people extolled his Innocency, she could not for the removal of suspicion of injustice, free her self and her Counsellors, but bring him to trial; not in the Star-Chamber, lest the Censure should fall too heavy on him, but in the house of the Lord Privy Seal, where the Cause should have a plain hearing before the Lords of the Council, four Earls two Barons, and four Judges of the Realm. The objections were, That contrary to his Commission he had made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horse, had drawn his Forces into *Munster*, neglecting the Arch-rebel *Tir-Oen*, entertained a Parlee with him against the Dignity of the Queens Majesty, and the person of a Viceroy, which he represented: And that the said Parlee was suspicious, in regard it was private. Some aggravations the Lawyers added from abrupt sentences, in his Letter to the Lord Privy Seal, written two years since; as these: *No storm is more fierce than the indignation of an impotent Prince. What Enemies Princes are? May they not injure their Subjects?* and such like.

The *E.* of *Essex* upon his penitence is allowed to live at his own house.

Yet he is brought to a private Trial in the Lord Privy Seals house, and what was objected against him.

He falling upon his knee at the end of the Board, protested he would not contest with the Queen, but excuse the faults of his young years either in whole or in part; Protesting that he always meant well, howsoever it fell out otherwise, and that now he would bid the World farewell, withal shedding many tears, so as the standers by wept also. Yet could he not contain himself, but begin to plead excuses, till the Lord Privy Seal interrupted him, advising him to proceed

The Earl protests his innocency, and sheweth his repentance with tears.

cent as he began, to fly to the Queens Mercy, who would not have him questioned for disloyalty but only for a contempt; and that he did not well to pretend obedience in words, which in deeds he had not performed. At length, in the name of the rest, he pronounceth this Sentence against him; That he should be deposed from the Office of a Privy Counsellor, suspended from the functions of the Earl Marshal, and Master of the Ordnance, and be imprisoned during the Queens pleasure. She had given express charge, not to suspend him from the Office of Master of the Horse (minding shortly to take him into favour) and that his Censure in no case should be Recorded. After this he made shew of wonderful humility and mortification, which so affected the Queen, that shortly she removed *Berkley* his Keeper, and gave him leave to go at large; only admonishing him, To make his own Discretion his Keeper, and not to come at the Court, or in her Presence.

What his Censure was.

Yet upon his humility he had leave to go at large.

After this Sentence, *Cuffe*, who always perswaded the Earl to stand stoutly in his own defence, began so plainly to tax him of cowardize and pusillanimity, that the Earl in anger commanded his name to be put out of the Roll of his Servants; yet *Merrick* the Steward did it not, as being of *Cuffes* mind himself.

Cuffe taxeth the Earl for cowardize.

Essex being now ready to go into the Country, remembred himself to the Queen, by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in these words; *That he kissed the Rod, and the Queens hands, which had only corrected not overthrown him; yet he should never enjoy solid comfort, till he might see those blessed Eyes, which had been his load-stars, whereby he had happily steered his course, while he held on his way at lawful distance; But now he wished to eat grass with Nebuchadnezzar, till it pleased the Queen to restore his Senses.* She being greatly joyed with these his speeches; *Would to God* (said she) *his deeds be answerable to his words; He hath long wayed my Patience; I wish now make tryal of his humility, &c.*

The Earls submissive Letter to the Queen.

1601

And now the Earl grew so confident of the Queens favour, that he became a Suitor to her for the Farm of sweet Wines; But she to sound his temper, and with what mind he would bear a repulse, made him Answer, That she must first know what it was worth, and not give away things hand over head; and had Dreammes in her mouth, the Aphorism of Physicians, That foul bodies, the more you nourish them, the more you corrupt them. And indeed, this was the right way to find whether the Ulcer of his Mind were throughly cured or no; for being not throughly cured, it would endure no touching; and no more did his, but as though every denyal of a courtesie, were an injury that required revenge, his Melancholy was presently turned into Choler: Now he began to hearken to *Cuffe* again, telling him, That it was now plain, the Queen determined to make him as poor as *Job*, that he should live of the Basket, and gather crumbs under the Table. Hereupon he returned to *London*, *Southampton* his fear out of the *Low-Countries*, his doors are set open for all comers; *Merrick* his Steward receiveth to his own Table declared Souldiers, discontented and audacious persons; Sermons are made there every day by Puritan Ministers, to which the Citizens flock, and all signs of Popularity appeared; which matters coming to the Queens ears, alienated her affection from him daily more and more; but especially she was exasperated, that her Person was despised by him; for (not to say the worst) he had muttered, That the Queen was now old and decrepit and withered as well in mind as body.

Being denyed the Farm of sweet Wines, he grows again discontented.

Wisely all the ways of pacification.

And now again, he runneth upon desperate counsels, for the removal of his adversaries from the Court, seeketh to screw himself into the King of *Scots* favour, to whom he traduceth his adversaries, by name *Rawleigh*, *Cobham*, *Cecil*, and the Admiral, as inclined to the *Spanish* Faction, and at one and the same time, seeketh to win to him both Puritans and Papists. Many were of his party, but few of his Counsel; and these were the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Captain of the Garrison of *Plymouth*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and some others. With these he met privately in *Drury* House to avoid suspicion, where he first giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobility and Gentry that favoured him, to the number of a hundred and twenty. Then they consult, Whether it were better to set upon the Tower of *London*, or the Queens Palace; this latter they resolve upon, which should be done in this manner; *Blunt* should keep the great Gate with a select number of men, and *Davers* seize upon the Presence Chamber: Then *Essex* with his Company should come from the *Mues*, and present himself before the Queen. But now suspicions arising from divers circumstances, Secretary *Herbert* was sent to call him before the Council, at the Treasurers House; but he doubting the matter, excuseth himself that he was not very well. And now the Plot of seizing upon the Court, which had been four months in contriving, was by this means quite dashed, for they had ready at the present, neither Souldiers, nor Munition, so as some speedier course must now be thought on. At which time very opportunely cometh one to them (set on no doubt by *Essex* his Adversaries) as if he had been sent on purpose from the Queens, to promise him their Aid; which made *Essex* to applaud his own great good fortune.

Who were his chief adherents and Counsellors.

They resolve to set upon the Queens Palace, and in what manner.

But are prevented.

And now were four of the Lords, namely the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worcester*, Sir *William Knolls*, and the Lord Chief Justice of *England* sent by the Queen to *Essex* House, who could hardly be suffered to come in, all their Attendants were kept out, save he that carried the Seal before the Keeper. In the Court they found a confused number of people, and the Earls of *Essex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton* in the midst of them. The Keeper coming himself to *Essex*, told him, The Queen had sent him and the rest to understand the cause of this concourse, promising Justice, if any person had done them wrong. *Essex* with a loud voice cryed out, they lye in wait for my life, we are met to defend our selves. The Keeper urging *Essex* again to unfold some part of his grievance; the unruly multitude cryeth out, Away, let us be gone, they come to betray you, Kill them, cast away that Great Seal. *Essex* retireth into the house, the Lords follow him; he chargeth them to make the doors fast, and turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while (saith he) I must go into the City to dispatch a little business with the Mayor and Sheriffs, I will return presently.

The Lord Keeper and three other of the Privy Council, sent to *Essex* House, to know the cause of this concourse, And his Answer.

But presently giving charge to keep the Lords, he goes into the City.

There

There the Lords are kept prisoners; *Essex* maketh haste into the City, with a Troop of 200 men at his heels; the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and other Lords meeting him by the way joyn themselves: coming into *London*, he cryeth out aloud, *For the Queen, for the Queen, they lay wait for my life.* The Citizens came running to gaze, but not so much as one person took Arms to take his part. Passing along the City, he came all in a sweat to the Sheriff *Smith*'s house, who shifteth himself forth at a Back-door, and goeth to the Lord Mayor. By this time certain of the Nobility entred the City with a Herald, declaring *Essex* and his adherents Traytors. Hereupon, hearing also that the Lord Admiral made towards him with an Army, he began to be disheartned; *George* taketh care for himself, requesteth he might be sent to release the Counsellors, and with them to crave the Queens mercy, whiles the issue was yet doubtful. The Earl was content that *Popham* only should be freed; but he refused, unless the Keeper also might be dismissed. Then *George* freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by water.

He becomes to Sheriff Smith's house, looking for aid, but Smith was gone.

Essex is proclaimed a Traytor.

George goeth and setteth all the Lords at liberty.

Now when *Essex* thought to return, he found a Chain fastned cross the street, at the West end of *Pauls*, and men in Arms on the other side: then he began to draw his Sword, and having once given the word, *Blunt* letteth fly at them, slew one of them incontinent, himself being sorely wounded and taken. *Essex* himself had his Hat shot through; whereupon retiring, he took Boat at *Queen-Hythe*, and went to *Essex* House, where, finding the Counsellours all dimissed, he grew extream angry and dismayed, and cast certain papers into the fire, saying, They should tell no tales. By and by the Admiral besiegeth the House, commandeth them to yield. *Southampton* offereth, if the Admiral would give Hostages to secure them, they would present themselves to the Queen. The Admiral answereth him by *Sidney*, That Rebels are not to proser conditions. Within an hour, *Essex* finding the case desperate, resolveth to rush forth; and the Lord *Sands* (the most aged in the company) greatly urged it, saying, it were better to die valiantly than by the hands of a Hang-man. But *Essex* his mind upon a little deliberation altering, they fell upon their knees, and deliver their Weapons to the Admiral, when it was ten a clock at night. *Owen Salisbury*, and one or two more were slain with Musket shot, and as many of the Besiegers. The next day *Thomas Lea*, Commander of a Company of Souldiers in *Ireland*, who to one *Crosse* a Sea-Captain (that detected him) intimated, how noble an exploit it were, for six stout Fellows to go to the Queen, and compel her forcibly to release *Essex* and *Southampton*, was presently apprehended, examined, found guilty, and executed. *Essex* and *Southampton* were carried first to *Lambeth*, to the Archbishops house, because it was a dark night; but anon were sent to the Tower, by the Queens direction; and with them *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Mounteagle*, *Danvers*, and *Bromley*, the rest were put in common prisons.

Essex returning and finding the Counsellors all dismissed, grows much dismayed.

At ten a clock at night, Essex yields himself to the Lord Admiral.

He is sent to the Tower, together with the Earl of Southampton and other Lords.

On the nineteenth of *February*, *Essex* and *Southampton* were called to their Arraignment before their *Peers* in *Westminster*-Hall, where *Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, was appointed Lord High-Steward of *England* for that time. The Peers being severally called by their names, *Essex* demanded if it were not lawful for them to except against some of the Peers, as private persons might do against the Jurors. The Judges made answer, That the credit and fidelity of the Peers of *England* was presumed to be such, That in Tryals they were not bound to take an Oath, nor are they lyable to any exception. Then were they joyntly indicted of High-Treason; namely, that they plotted to deprive the Queen of her life and Kingdom, To surprize her in her very Palace; and that they brake forth into open Rebellion, by imprisoning the Councellors of the Kingdom; by exciting the *Londoners* to Rebellion with vain fictions; by assaulting the Queens loyal Subjects in the City; and by defending of *Essex* House against the Queens Forces. Hereunto they pleaded, Not guilty: *Essex* withall averring, That they had done nothing but of necessity, and the Law of Nature. *Yelverton* aggravateth the specialties; and *Edward Coke* Attorney argueth, That the Earl could not excuse himself from the Law of Nature, seeing Majesty is not to be affronted for private revenge. The Earl of *Essex* with great confidence made answer, That to his Prince and Country, he always had and would bear a loyal affection. Then *Francis Bacon* (one that was little expected to speak against *Essex*, by whom he had been raised) in defence of *Cobham*, *Cecill*, and *Rawleigh*, aggravateth his crying out, That the Crown of *England* was sold to the *Spaniard*: whereto *Essex* replyed, That he heard indeed, that *Cecill* the Secretary, should say to one of the Lords of the Council, That the right of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Kingdom of *England*, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this *Cecill* (who stood by as an Auditor) steppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beseecheth the Steward, that with his good leave, he might quit himself from this foul aspersion: which leave being granted him, he provoked *Essex*, if he durst, to name the Councellor; but he would not: therefore (saith *Cecill*) it is a Fiction; still *Essex* averreth it. Then *Cecill* turning himself to *Southampton*, besought him by all manner of Obtestations to name the man. He referreth it to the Honourable Assembly, and to *Cecill* himself if in Honour and good Reason he ought to do it: they affirming, He might, *Southampton* named Sir *William Knolls*, *Essex* his Uncle. He being sent for, at *Cecill*'s intreaty, said, That *Cecill* two year since told him, that one *Dolman* in a Book, had asserted the Right of the *Infanta*; and had spoken no otherwise than so.

They plead not guilty.

Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was Law in the matters alledged, the Earls, by the Stewards direction, were taken aside: Then the Peers rose, and went apart, and having consulted about an hour, returned to their seats, and in their order, pronounced the Earls guilty of High-Treason. Then the high Steward advising *Essex* to implore the Queens mercy, giveth Sentence, and that done, brake his Staff, and departed.

But are found guilty by their Peers.

Essex and *Southampton* are arraigned.

The next day, Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Edward Baynham*, *Littleton*, *Cuff*, Captain *Whitlock*, *Jobs* and *Christopher Wright*, and *Orell* an old Souldier, were called to their Tryal: but the Queen (informed by Sir *Fulk*

Grevil, That moſt of them were drawn unwittingly into the danger) commanded that only *Littleton*, *Baynham*, and *Orell* ſhould have their Tryal, the reſt to be ſent back to priſon. Theſe were all condemned, but their lives ſpared, which favour *Rawleigh* (for a good ſum of money received of *Baynham*) procured.

Eſſex in the mean while, requeſted he might ſpeak with ſome of the Counſellors, to whom he reconciled himſelf, and to *Cecil* eſpecially; and then intimating that the Queen could not be in ſafety while he lived, he requeſted he might be executed privately in the Tower: He grievouſly inveigheth againſt ſome of the Conſpiracy; and wiſheth to ſpeak with ſome of them, but eſpecially with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*; whom as ſoon as he ſaw, he brake forth into theſe words; *O Cuft, ask pardon of God, and the Queen, for thou haſt chiefly provoked me to this diſloyalty.* Alſo he intimated Sir *Henry Nevill*, ordinary Ambaſſadour in *France*, to have been acquainted with the Conſpiracy; and that others in *Scotland*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, and the Lord *Mountjoy* Deputy of *Ireland* knew of his purpoſe, and others in *England*; who being many in number, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, ordering the Affairs of *Ireland* in good faſhion, the Queen wiſely would take no notice of it.

Eſſex complains of *Blunt* and *Cuffe*.

The five and twentieth day of *Feburary*, which was to be the fatal day, there were ſent to the Earl divers Miniſters, to give him ghoſtly comfort. The Queen now wavering in her ſelf, one while remembring the ancient kindneſs ſhe had ſhewed him, ſhe commanded he ſhould not be executed; then again, thinking of his ſtubborneſs, that he would not once ask her mercy, and had ſaid openly, That he could not live, but ſhe muſt periſh; countermanding her former word, ſhe gave order that he ſhould be executed.

He is executed in the Tower.

Then was he brought forth into the Yard, where a Scaffold was erected, and ſundry of the Nobility preſent, among whom *Rawleigh* alſo; but being told, it was an inhumane thing to ſtand by and behold the death of his Adverſary, he withdrew himſelf into the Armory, and from thence beheld the Tragedy. *Eſſex* being aſcended the Scaffold, uncovered his head, caſt up his eyes towards Heaven, and crying God mercy for the manifold ſins of his youth, but this laſt ſpecially, which he ſaid was a bloody, crying and contagious ſin; craved pardon of the Queen and her Counſellors, commended his ſpirit into the hands of God, and had his head taken off at the third blow, though the firſt bereft him both of his ſenſe and motion.

Cuffes pleading for himſelf at his Tryal.

The fifth of *March*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gyllie Merrick* and *Cuff*, were brought to their Tryal in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before the Queens Delegates. The Heads of their Indictments, were the ſame which were objected to *Eſſex* and *Southampton*. The others ſaid little in their defence, only *Cuffe* ſtood upon theſe two anſwers; Whereas (ſaith he) I am challenged of Treaſon, becauſe I was in *Eſſex* houſe the day of the Rebellion; by the ſame Argument the Lyon in the Cellar might be indited; all that day I lamented the Earls fortune, and dealt with him to fly to the Queens mercy. And as for the Conſultation in *Drury*-Houſe, it is no more to be called High-Treaſon, than an Embryo may be accounted a perfect man. The Lawyers on the other ſide demonſtrated, That no neceſſity lay upon him to tarry in the Houſe; and that the Conſultation in *Drury*-Houſe was it ſelf a Treaſon, though it had never broke forth into act. *Merrick* ſaid only this, The Earl of *Eſſex* raiſed me, and he hath overturned me.

Merrick and *Cuffe* are drawn to *Tyburn*, and there executed

The thirteenth of *March*, *Merrick*, and *Cuffe* are drawn to *Tyburn*, where *Cuffe* entring into a long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and then after prayers to God, and deſiring God and the Queen to pardon him, he was caſt from the Ladder: a man of great Wit and Learning, but of a boyſterous and turbulent diſpoſition. In the ſame manner dyed *Merrick*.

Sir *Charles Davers* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* beheaded at the *Tower* hill.

The fifteenth of *March*, Sir *Charles Davers* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* were beheaded on the Tower-Hill, albeit *Davers* offered ten thouſand pounds to redeem his life, though with perpetual impriſonment. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Sheriff *Smith* were kept priſoners; though *Smith*, after ſome time, was upon ſureties ſuffer'd to go at large. The eighth of *July* Sir *Henry Nevill* was cited before the Lords of the Council, where it was laid to his Charge, That he was preſent at the Conſultation in *Drury*-Houſe, yet had not revealed their ſiniſter purpoſes; and had imparted to *Eſſex* the ſecrets of his *French* Embaſſage. He confeſſed, That at the Earls intreaty, he ſhewed him the Commentaries of the *French* proceedings, was preſent at one of their Conſultations only, but contemned their counſels, yet durſt not be an Informer againſt ſo great Perſonages. Hereupon he had a grievous check given him, and was committed to priſon.

One act by the by, is not here to be omitted. *Eſſex* at his Arraignment had complained, That his hand-writing was counterfeited. It happened the Counteſs of *Eſſex* being fearful in her Husbands behalf, gave a Letter which ſhe had received from him, to the Cuſtody of one *Rhibove*, a *Dutch* woman that waited on her: this *Dutch* womans husband named *Daniel*, lighted by chance upon the Letter, and perceiving ſome paſſages in it which might bring the Earl of *Eſſex* into danger, got a cunning Fellow to draw a counterfeit Copy of the ſaid Letter; with this he cometh to the fearful Lady, who was newly brought to bed, threatning to give the ſame to her husbands Adverſaries, unleſs ſhe would preſently give him three thouſand pounds. She to ſhun the danger, paid him eleven hundred and ſeventy pounds at the very inſtant; yet did he deliver her the counterfeit Copy only, meaning to make uſe of the true one, to get another ſum of the Earls Adverſary. This impoſture being found out, he was cenſured to perpetual impriſonment, condemned in three thouſand pounds (two of which were to go to the Counteſs) and his Ears nailed to the Pillory, with this Writing over his head; *A notorious Cheater*.

The Qu. ſets forth a proclamation, declaring all Monopolies to be void.

Soon after a Parliament was aſſembled, wherein grievous complaints being tendered to the lower Houſe touching Monopolies, the Queen, by way of prevention, ſendeth out Proclamations, declaring the ſaid Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving ſome part to the diſcuſſion of the Laws: which thing was ſo acceptable to the lower Houſe, that they preſently ſent

eighty

eightly select perſons, together with the Speaker, to give the Queen thanks; and he on the other ſide gave them thanks for being ſuch faithful Monitors to her, to recal her from an error, whereinto thro' ignorance, not willfulneſs, ſhe was fallen.

1602. In *Ireland*, the Deputy at the entry of the Spring, draweth his Forces together, and driveth *Tir-Oen* from where he had fortified himſelf. *Carew* Preſident of *Munſter*, ſeeketh the ſirular Earl lurking in a Cave, and receiveth intelligence, that the *Spaniards* invited by *Tir-Oen*, had a purpoſe to land in *Munſter*; yet could not perſwade the Deputy they had any deſign for *Ireland*; but in the midſt of *September*, certain News was brought, the *Spaniards* were in ſight, who wanting wind to carry their Fleet to *Cork*, put into *Kinſale* the three and twentieth of *September*, and land their Souldiers without reſiſtance. *Richard Percy* having but few Souldiers to defend the Town, is commanded to come away, and leave *Kinſale* to the *Spaniard*, into which they enter with Enſigns diſplayed, and by the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants were bidden welcome.

The Spaniards land in Ireland, and take Kinſale.

D'Aquila, who commanded the *Spaniards*, publiſhed a Declaration, wherein he ſheweth, That Queen *Elizabeth* was depoſed from her Kingdom by ſentence of the Pope, her Subjects abſolved from their Allegiance; And that the *Spaniards* were now come to deliver *Ireland* from the jaws of the Devil. *Tir-Oen*, joyneth his Forces with them, ſo as they were now ſix thouſand Foot, and five [illegible] and Horſe, and promiſed themſelves aſſured victory, the *Engliſh* being not near ſo many. The four and twentieth of *December* a Battel is joyned, where after long fight, the Victory inclined to the *Engliſh*. *Tir-Oen*, *Odonell*, and the reſt faſt away their weapons, and ſave themſelves by flight. *Alphonſo O Campo* chief Rules of the *Spaniards*, together with three other Captains, was taken priſoner, and ſix Enſign-bearers, twelve hundred were ſlain, nine colours taken, whereof four belonged to the *Spaniards*: of the *Engliſh* not many were ſlain, but a great number wounded.

Tir-Oen joyneth his Forces with the Spaniards, which another make a great Army, but in a Battel are defeated.

Alphonſo O-Campo their chief Leader is taken Priſoner.

After ſix days, *D'Aquila* ſendeth Letters to the Deputy by a Drummer, requeſting that ſome perſon of account might be ſent to him, with whom to confer; Sir *William Godolphin* is ſent, to whom he complained of the Cowardiſe, and (he feared) treachery of the *Iriſh*; and therefore, altho' he wanted nothing to hold out the Siege, and did daily expect great Forces from *Spain*, yet was willing to make Compoſition: whereupon, at laſt it was agreed, The *Spaniards* ſhould yield up *Kinſale* to the Deputy, as alſo the Caſtles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Bere-Haven*, and *Caſtle-Haven*, and ſhould depart with life and goods, and colours diſplayed. The *Engliſh* at reaſonable price, ſhould furniſh them with victuals and proviſion into *Spain*; and that they ſhould not carry Arms againſt the Queen of *England*, till they were arrived in *Spain*, &c.

D'Aquila who commanded the Spaniards, requires a Compoſition, and departs.

And now the *Spaniards* being driven out of *Ireland*, the Queen, to prevent their coming again, ſendeth out Sir *Richard Leviſon* and Sir *William Monſon*, with eight ſhips of her own, and ſome ſmaller ſhips of War, to attempt ſomething upon the Coaſts of *Spain*. On the nineteenth of *March*, *Leviſon* hoiſeth Sayl, and *Monſon* afterward having in vain tarried behind for ſome *Dutch* ſhips to join with them. *Leviſon* in the mean time lighted upon the *Spaniſh* Navy of eight and thirty ſhips, which brought the Treaſure from *America*, and ſet upon them, but to no purpoſe. When *Monſon* was come with the reſt of the Fleet, they had certain notice, That a mighty *Indian* Caraque of ſixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coaſt of *Portugal*. There indeed they found it, but it lay cloſe under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies; and the Caraque it ſelf appeared as big as a Caſtle; yet they reſolved to fire it, if they could not take it. The next day they thundred ſo violently againſt the Gallies, that within ſeven hours the Marqueſs of St. *Cruz*, together with the *Portugal* Gallies which he commanded, withdrew themſelves; two of them were taken and fired; and in them was great ſtore of powder, which was going for the *Low-Countries*. And now *Leviſon* ſignifieth to the Captain of the Caraque, That the Gallies which they truſted to, were driven away, and therefore, if they now refuſed mercy, they muſt expect none hereafter. After much ſpeech to and fro, it was at laſt agreed, That the Caraque, with the Ordnance and Merchandize ſhould be yielded up. Thus the *Engliſh* having a fair wind returned home with a Booty, to the value of a Million of Duckets, by the *Portugal* account, and not paſt five of their men loſt in the Voyage.

But he takes a Caraque of 1600 Tun, worth a Million of Duckets.

At this time there aroſe a Conteſtation amongſt the Popiſh Clergy here in *England*; for the Jeſuits and ſecular Prieſts made bitter invectives in their writings, one againſt the other. The original of the Prieſts quarrel was, That *Blackwell*, one wholly at the beck of the Jeſuits, was ſet over them as Arch-Presbyter, who firſt of all deſpoiled them of their Faculties; and when they appealed to the Pope, cauſed them to be declared Schiſmaticks and Hereticks. They in ſundry Books extolled the Queen very highly, as one that dealt mildly always with the Catholicks, till ſuch time as they ſet all in a combuſtion in *England*; and by their Treaſons, cauſed moſt ſevere Laws to be enacted againſt the Catholicks. *Parſons* they tradaced as a Baſtard, an Equivocator and a Traytor. Whether they contended thus in good earneſt, or in jeſt only, is hard to ſay; but the Biſhop of *London* politickly nouriſhed the contention, and all he gained, was this, That the Queen and her Council, finding them dangerous to the Common-wealth, both the one and the other, upon penalty of the Laws, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdom preſently.

The Jeſuits and the ſecular Prieſts contend againſt one another.

Both of them are commanded to part the Realm.

In *France* the Marſhal *Biron*, for entring into dangerous attempts againſt the Publick Peace, was arreigned, and loſt his head. His confeſſion brought ſome other into danger; and amongſt them, the Duke of *Bulloign*, of the Proteſtant Religion, that when he was cited, he durſt not appear, but fled into *Germany*. Hereupon the King of *France* ſendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining that the Duke held his marriage unlawful, and the Popes diſpenſation nothing worth, pronouncing his Sons illegitimate; had deſtined the Prince of *Conde* to the Succeſſion of the Crown, and conſpired the Deſtruction of the prime of the Nobility. The Queen, by her

The King of *France* complains to the Queen againſt the Duke of *Bulloign*, and her Anſwer, to it.

Legier Ambaſſadour, adviſeth the King not too credulouſly to entertain thoſe reports, as doubting theſe ſuggeſtions might proceed from ſome of the *Spaniſh* Faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, ſaying, The Queen held a better opinion of the Duke than he deſerved, and that he was one of the chief Architects of *Eſſex* his Treaſon; and being queſtioned by the King about it, was not able to deny it. About this time alſo, the Duke of *Savoy*, by cunning ſleights, and open force, practiſed againſt the States of *Geneva*; and the Queen relieved them with a great ſum of money, gathered amongſt the Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

Tir-Oen yields himſelf to the Deputy abſolutely without any condition.

And now the Earl *Tir-Oen* perceiving himſelf in a deſperate eſtate, reſolved to ſue for mercy, and promiſed at laſt to ſubmit his life and fortunes to the Queens pleaſure, abſolutely without condition. Hereupon, being admitted to the preſence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the room, he fell on his knees; and then paſſing on a few ſteps, proſtrated himſelf again, ſaying, I confeſs and crave pardon for my great fault againſt God, and a moſt bountiful Prince my dread Sovereign; I fly to the Queens mercy, as a ſacred Anchor, permitting her to diſpoſe of my life and fortunes at her pleaſure. Upon this his ſubmiſſion, the Deputy commanded him to go aſide, and the next day took him along to *Dublin* with him, meaning to bring him into *England*, that the Queen might deal with him according to her Royal pleaſure: But before he could come into *England* the Queen dyed.

Her Taxations.

IN a Parliament holden the firſt year of her Reign, a Subſidy was granted, of two ſhillings eight pence the pound of Goods, and four ſhillings of Lands, to be paid at two ſeveral Payments, of every perſon Spiritual and Temporal. In her ſixth year in a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, one Subſidy was granted by the Clergy, and another by the Laity, together with two Fifteenths and Tenths. In her eighth year, in a Parliament then holden, there were offered to her four Subſidies, upon condition ſhe would declare a Succeſſor; but ſhe refuſed their offer, and directly remitted the fourth Subſidy which they had granted, ſaying, It was all one, whether the money were in her Subjects Coffers, or in her own. In her thirteenth year in a Parliament then holden, towards her charges of repreſſing the Northern Rebellion, there was granted her by the Clergy, a Subſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound; and by the Temporalty, two Fifteenths with a Subſidy of two ſhillings and eight pence in the pound. In her ſix and thirtieth year a Parliament was holden, wherein was granted by the Clergy, two whole Subſidies, and by the Laity three, beſides ſix Fifteenths and Tenths; but it was put into the Act, That this great Contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former Ages, ſhould not be drawn into example. In her fortieth year, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, were granted her by the Clergy, three entire Subſidies; and by the Laity as many, with ſix Fifteenths and Tenths. In her two and fortieth year, to furniſh her with money towards the *Iriſh* War, ſhe delegated certain Commiſſioners, to confirm the Crown Lands to the Poſſeſſors, that held any of controverted Titles, and to take money for the Confirmation, thereby to take away the troubles by concealers, who at this time were very buſie.

She refuſeth to burden her Subjects with Subſidies.

Controverted titles of Crown Lands confirmed by her.

Of her Laws and Ordinances.

IN a Parliament holden in her firſt year, an Act was made, That every perſon ſhould go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy-days, or elſe pay twelve pence to the poor. Alſo it was enacted, That Biſhops ſhould not let the Lands of the Church, longer than for one and twenty years, or three Lives, except to the Queen or her Succeſſors. In the third year, a Proclamation was made, That the Teſton coined for twelve pence, and in the Reign of King *Edward* embaſed to ſix pence, ſhould not be current but for four pence; the Groat, but for two pence; and the piece of two pence, but for a penny: And not long after, all the ſaid baſe Moneys were called in, and fine Sterling money was allowed for them after the Rate. For *Ireland* alſo, ſhe coyned Sterling money; where nine pence in *England*, went for twelve pence there. The Queen was the firſt that brought certain Countries to deliver proviſion at a certain rate, that ſo they might be freed from the Purveyors: Alſo the firſt that granted allowance to Judges for their Circuit. In her ſixth year, in a Parliament then holden, it was made Treaſon to refuſe taking the Oath of Supremacy; [illegible] with this limitation, That by it the blood ſhould not be diſhonoured, nor goods confiſcate; nor the Oath to be required of any Baron of the Kingdom. Alſo this year by a Common-council in *London*, it was enacted, That all ſuch Citizens as from thenceforth ſhould be conſtrained to ſell their Houſhold-ſtuff, Leaſes of Houſes, or ſuch like, ſhould firſt cauſe the ſame to be cryed thro' the City, by a man with a Bell, and then to be ſold by the common Outcryer appointed for that purpoſe, and he to receive one farthing upon the ſhilling for his pains. In her three and twentieth year, ſhe repreſſeth by Proclamation exceſs in Apparel, Gold Chains, and Cloaks which Men wore down to their heels. The length of Swords was limited to three Foot, and Daggers to twelve Inches, beſides the hilts. Buildings likewiſe in the Suburbs were reſtrained, In-mates forbidden, and expreſs charge ſet forth, That no dwelling houſe ſhould be new built within three miles of any City Gates, under pain of impriſonment, and loſs of the materials. In her time was ſet on foot by Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Law made for the ſerving of Colleges with proviſion, to the great benefit of thoſe Scholaſtical Societies. In her two and fortieth year, [illegible]reth forth Proclamations againſt the Tranſ[illegible]tion of Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought, according to the former Acts of Parliament in that caſe provided. This year alſo ſhe founded the Company of the *Eaſt-India* Merchants, and allowed them ample Priviledges. In her three and fortieth year, all Monopolies are called in by Proclamation. In her four and twentieth year, ſevere Laws are made againſt Papiſts, ſome inflicting death, ſome fine and impriſonment. In her eight and twentieth year, a Proclamation was ſet forth, prohibiting to

Biſhops limited for letting their hands.

All baſe moneys called in.

Proviſion for the Queens houſe firſt ordained.

Allowances to Judges in their Circuit firſt ordained.

Out-cries for ſale of Goods firſt ordained.

Buildings in *London* reſtrained.

College rents to be paid part in proviſion, firſt ordained.

The Company of *Eaſt-India* Merchants firſt ſet up.

All Monopolies called in by Proclamation.

ſow

Wood not to be sowed near the Queens Houses.

sow Wood within eight miles of any of the Queens Houses, and four miles of any Cities or Towns Corporate. In her five and twentieth year, was first instituted and founded a publick Lecture in Chirurgery, to begin to be read in the College of Physicians in *London*, and the Reader to have a stipend no less than those of the Universities erected by King *Henry* the eighth.

Affairs of the Church in her time.

The protestant Religion is by degrees established.

ON Sunday the first of *January* next after the Queens coming to the Crown, by vertue of her Proclamation, the *English* Litany was read accordingly as it was used in her Graces Chapel, in all Churches thro' the City of *London*, and likewise the Epistle and Gospel of the day, begun to be read at Mass time in the *English* Tongue. Also in a Parliament holden in her first year, the First-fruits and Tenths were restored to the Crown, and the Supreme Government over the State Ecclesiastical, and the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments in the *English* Tongue was restored, and by degrees the Protestant Religion was established. The Bishops that refused the Oath of Supremacy were all removed, and Protestant Bishops placed in their room. It was enacted also, That all persons should go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy-days, and a Fine of twelve pence imposed upon every one that should be absent, and the same to be given to the poor. In her fourth year, the Queen was solicited by Pope *Pius*, to send her Oratours to the Council of *Trent*, which she refused, as not acknowledging it a lawful Council. In a Parliament holden in her eighth year, it was enacted, and by a general consent declared, That the Election of the Archbishops and Bishops in *England*, together with their Consecration, Confirmation and Investiture (which some persons slanderously called in question) was lawful and Canonical, and that they were rightly, and according to the Acts and Statutes of the Kingdom, chosen and consecrated. In her eleventh year, there arose in *England* two contrary Factions in Religion: on the one side, *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders*, and other Divines that had fled out of *England*, began to exercise the Episcopal Jurisdiction upon the Queens Subjects, which they had derived from the See of *Rome*: On the other side, *Coleman*, *Burton*, *Hallingham*, *Benson*, and others, making profession of the pure Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, openly condemning the received Discipline of the Church of *England*, together with the Church Liturgy, and the very calling of Bishops, as savouring too much of the *Roman* Religion, protesting in the Pulpits, That it was an impious thing to hold any thing common with the Church of *Rome*, and used all diligence to have the Church of *England* reformed in every point, according to the Rule of the Church of *Geneva*. These, although the Queen commanded to be committed to Prison, yet it is incredible how upon a sudden their followers increased, known by the envious name of Puritans. This Sect so mightily encreased, that in her sixteenth year, the Queen and Kingdom, was extremely troubled with some of the Clergy, who breathing out nothing but Evangelical parity, cryed down the Ecclesiastical Form of Government (as a thing polluted with *Roman* dregs) and setting forth Books likewise, intituled, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, and the *Defence of the Admonition*: they refused to resort to the Divine Service publickly in use, and framed to themselves other Rites: Whereupon, the Queen to suppress them, whom by no means she liked, commanded every where the severity of the Law touching the Uniformity of Common-Prayer to be put in execution, and those Books, upon pain of Imprisonment, to be delivered into the hands of the Bishops, or some of the Queens Council. And this year were taken at Mass in their several houses, the Lord *Morley*'s Lady and her Children, the Lady *Guilford*, and the Lady *Brown*, who being thereof indicted and convicted, suffer the penalty of the Law in that case provided. Until the twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, the Papists in *England* were mercifully connived at, while they solemnized their own Rites within their private houses (though that also were against the Laws) but when as that Thunderbolt of excommunicating the Queen came abroad, then was the Law enacted against those who brought into the Kingdom any *Agnus Dei*, or hallowed Beads, or reconciled any of the Queens Subjects to the See of *Rome*; yet for six whole years together after this Law was made, it was not executed upon any Papist, till *Cuthert Mayn* a Priest, and an obstinate maintainer of the Popes authority against the Queen, was executed at *Launceston* in *Cornwall*, and the Gentlemans Goods that harboured him confiscate, and himself adjudg'd to perpetual Imprisonment. In her three and twentieth year, divers Priests and Jesuits came into *England*, amongst whom *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian* *English* Men and Jesuites being now bound for *England*, to promote the Catholick Cause; at which time a Proclamation was set forth, That whosoever had any Children beyond the Sea, should by a certain day call them home; and that no person should receive or harbour any Seminary Priest or Jesuite. At this time also there arose up in *Holland* a certain Sect, naming themselves, *The Family of Love*, who perswaded their followers, that those only who were adopted into that Family, were elected, and no other could be saved, but were all reprobates, and damned, and that it was lawful for them to deny upon Oath whatsoever they pleased, before any Magistrate, or whomsoever that were not of that Family. Many of their Books were printed under these titles, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, *The Lords Sentences*, *The Prophesie of the Spirit of Love*, *The publication of Peace upon earth*, by the Author *H. N.* but who this Author was they would by no means reveal: at last he was found to be *Henry Nichols* of *Leyden*, who blasphemously preached, That he was partaker of the Divinity of God, and God of his humane Nature: all which Books were by Proclamation commanded to be burnt. In a Parliament holden the eight and twentieth year of her Reign, some out of a desire of Reformation, began to pick quarrels at the Clergy, desiring to pass Laws for the restraint of Bishops in their granting of Faculties, conferring of Holy Orders, Ecclesiastical Censure, and the Oath *Ex Officio*. They complained likewise of the non-residency of

Severe laws against Papists, when and why enacted.

Parsons and *Campian* come into *England*.

The Family of Love, where and when it began.

Puritans how encreased.

of Ministers, and the like. But the Queen, who always hated Innovation (which for the most part changeth for the worse) would give no ear unto them; conceiving besides, That these proceedings in Parliament in Ecclesiastical Affairs derogated from her Prerogative. In her six and twentieth year, the Queen gave a special charge to *Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to settle an Uniformity in the Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Laws, which thro' the connivance of Bishops, and perverseness of the Puritans, lay now almost gasping: Whereupon he provided three Articles, to which every Minister should subscribe.

Parliaments not to meddle in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Three Articles to which every Minister must subscribe.

The first, *That the Queen had Supreme Authority over all persons born within her Dominions, of what condition soever they were; and that no other Prince, or Prelate, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Civil or Ecclesiastical, within her Realms and Dominions.*

The second, *That the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may lawfully be used, and that they will use that and no other.*

The third, *That the Articles agreed on in the Synod holden at* London *in the year* 1562, *and published by the Queens Authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to the Word of God.*

It is incredible what Reproaches the Archbishop incurred by setting forth these Articles, both from factious Ministers, and from some also of the Nobility; yet by his patience and constancy, he brought at last peace to the Church, making this his Motto, *Vincit qui patitur.* Neither did these at home only disturb the Peace of the Church, but others also from abroad, as *Robert Brown*, a young Student of Divinity in *Cambrige*, from whom came the Sectaries called *Brownists*; and *Richard Harrison* a petty Schoolmaster. These presuming to judge matters of Religion by their own private spirit, by Books set forth in *Zealand*, and dispersed at this time over *England*, condemned the Church of *England* for no Church, and ensnared many in the Nets of their new Schism. Neither could they be restrained, tho' their Books were prohibited by the Queens Authority, and soundly confuted by sundry learned Men; and one or two of the Ringleaders executed at Saint *Edmunds Bury*. In her one and thirtieth year, these Puritans flames brake forth again. Books are written by the names of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and *A Demonstration of the Discipline*, by *Penry* and *Udal* against the Government of Bishops; and nothing would please them, but the Discipline of *Geneva*: Many Abettors they had, *Knightly* and *Wigston*, Knights, besides *Cartwright* (the father of them) *Snape*, *King*, *Pardow*, *Bayn*, and others; who though called in question, fined and imprisoned, could never be reclaimed. In her six and thirtieth year, the Queen eased the severity of the Laws to be executed upon *Henry Barrow* and his Sectaries, for disturbing the Church and the publick Peace, by scattering of their monstrous Opinions, condemning the Church of *England* as no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical.

The Brownists Author, who.

Martin Mar-Prelate writeth against Bishops.

Works of Piety in her time.

THIS Queen converted *Westminster* Abbey into a Collegiate Church, and there ordained a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a Master, Usher, and forty Scholars, Vicars, Singing-men, and twelve Alms-men. In her third year, the Merchant-Taylors founded a notable Grammar-School in the Parish of St. *Laurence Pountney* in *London*. Also this year, *William Harper* Mayor of *London* founded a Free-School in the Town of *Bedford*, where he was born. In her seventh year, on the seventh of *June*, Sir *Thomas Gresham* laid the first stone of the Royal Exchange in *Cornhil*, which in *November* the year after, at his own charges was finished, being the year 1567. In her tenth year, the Citizens of *London* builded a new Conduit at *Walbrook* corner, near to *Dowgate*, the water whereof is conveyed out of the *Thames*. Also this year, Sir *Thomas Roe* Mayor of *London*, caused to be enclosed within a wall of Brick one Acre of ground near unto *Bedlam* without *Bishops-gate*, to be a place of Burial for the dead of such Parishes in *London* as lacked convenient ground within their Parishes: He also builded a convenient Room in *Paul's* Church-yard, on the South side of the Cross, to receive a certain number of Hearers at Sermon time. Sir *William Peter* having himself been born at *Exeter* in *Devonshire* gave to *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, a hundred pound Lands a year: He also builded at *Ingerstone* in *Essex*, Alms-houses for twenty poor people, and giving them some competent maintenance. Sir *Thomas Gresham* had his Dwelling house in *Broad-street*, *London*, which he dedicated to the profession of the Liberal Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Divinity, Civil Law, Physick, Geometry, Astronomy, Musick and Rhetorick, allotting to the Professors very competent allowances. In her seventeenth year died *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who founded a Grammer School in *Rochdale*, in the County of *Lancaster*: He also procured to *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*, thirteen Scholarships, and built two Chambers for Scholars, and the inward Library of the same College, and procured to it the Patronage of St. *Mary Aldermary* in *London*, with many other works of like kind. Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, gave for six Scholars to be found in *Benet* College in *Cambridge*, three pound six shillings and eight pence for ever. *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Free-School in *Cumberland*, where he was born, and gave many Pensions to both Universities. *Frances* Countess of *Sussex*, Sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*, founded *Sussex-Sidney* College in *Cambridge*: As likewise Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, founded *Emanuel* College in the same University. Sir *Thomas Bodley* erected and furnished the famous publick Library at *Oxford*. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Paul's*, endowed *Brasen-nose* College in *Oxford*, where he was brought up, with two hundred pounds per annum, and dyed in the year 1602. Sir *Peter Manwood*, chief Baron of the Exchequer, built seven

The Royal Exchange, when and by whom built.

Gresham College in Broad-street given to Professors of the Sciences.

Sussex-Sidney College in Cambrige Founded.

Emanuel College in Cambridge Founded.

The publick Library in Oxford Erected.

ſeven Almſ-houſes in *Canterbury*, giving to every Almſ-man four pounds yearly: and our worthy Country-man *William Lambert*, built an Almſ houſe at *Greenwich*, which he called, *The Colledge for the poor of Queen* Elizabeth. Alſo in her time, namely, in the year 1595, *Bevis Bulmar* Gentleman, builded a large houſe of great height, called an Engine, at the Bridge-foot, for the conveying and forcing of *Thames* water to ſerve in the middle and weſt parts of the City. Alſo in her time, namely, in the year 1596, *Ralph Rokeby* one of her Maſters of Requeſt, then dying, gave by his Will, to Chriſts Hoſpital in *London*, 100 *l.* to the Colledge of the poor of Queen *Elizabeth* in Eaſt *Greenwich*, 100 *l.* to the poor Scholars in *Cambridge*, 100. to the poor Scholars in *Oxford*, 100 *l.* to the Priſoners in the two Compters in *London*, 100 *l.* to the Priſoners in the Fleet, 100 *l.* to the Priſoners in Ludgate, 100 *l.* to the Priſoners in Newgate, 100 *l.* to the Priſoners in the Kings Bench, 100 *l.* to the Priſoners in the Marſhalſey, 100 *l.* to the Priſoners in the White-Lyon, 20 *l.* a liberal and pious Legacy; and worthy not to be forgotten.

Caſualties in her Time.

IN the firſt year of her Reign, dyed Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports of whom it is reported for a certain, That his pulſe did beat more than three quarters of an hour after he was dead, as ſtrongly as if he had been ſtill alive. In her third year there was found near *Keſwick* in *Cumberland*, a moſt rich Vein of pure and native Braſs, which had lain neglected a long time: Alſo the ſtone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is of great uſe in Braſs-Works, was firſt brought into *England* at this time, and in moſt plentiful manner. Likewiſe this Queen was the firſt that cauſed Gun-powder to be made in *England*, which before was had from foreign parts, and at dear rates. In her third year the Spire of the Cathedral Church of *Paul* being five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and ſixty from the ſquare Steeple where it was placed, and was made of wooden materials, but covered with Lead, was with lightning burnt down, together with the Roofs of that large Church, and that within the ſpace of five hours; the Roofs were after re-edified, but the Spire is yet wanting. The Queen gave towards it a thouſand Marks in Money, and a thouſand load of Timber; and the City granted a Benevolence, and three Fifteenths; and the Clergy alſo contributed to it. Alſo this year there were many monſtrous Births: A Mare brought forth a Foal with two heads, and a long tail growing out between the two Heads. A Sow farrowed a Pig with two Bodies, eight Feet, and but one Head. A man-child was born at *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*, having Arms and Legs like to an Anatomy, the Breaſt and Belly monſtrous big, about the Neck a great collar of fleſh and skin, growing like the ruff of a ſhirt. In her ſixth year, upon the returning of the Army from *Newhaven*, the Peſtilence was brought into *England*, but eſpecially into *London*; where, in one year there died one and twenty thouſand and five hundred. This year alſo, in the month of *December*, was driven on the ſhore at *Grimſeby* in *Lincolnſhire*, a monſtrous Fiſh, in length nineteen yards, his tail fifteen foot broad, and ſix yards between the eyes. Twelve men ſtood upright in his mouth to get the Oyl. In her ſeventh year, on the one and twentieth of *December*, began a Froſt, ſo extream, that on *New-years* Even people paſſed over the *Thames* on foot; ſome played at foot-ball, ſome ſhot at pricks, as if it had been firm ground. Yet this great Froſt, the third of *January* at night began to thaw, and by the fifth day there was no Ice at all to be ſeen; which ſudden Thaw cauſed great Inundations. In her eighth year, within the ſpace of ten Months, there dyed in *London* ſeven Aldermen, namely, *Edward Banks*, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sir *Martin Bowes*, Sir *Richard Mallory*, Sir *William Hewet*, Sir *Thomas White*, and *Richard Lambert*, one of the Sheriffs for that year. The ſame year alſo, in the Town of *Oſweſtre* in *Shropſhire*, two hundred houſes in the ſpace of two hours were conſumed with fire. In her tenth year, were taken in *Suffolk* at *Downham* Bridge near to *Ipſwich*, ſeventeen monſtrous Fiſhes; ſome of them being ſeven and twenty foot in length: And in the ſame year, many *Dutch* flying into *England*, to avoid the perſecution of the Duke *D' Alva*, were the firſt that brought into *England* the Art of making Bays, Sayes, Serges, and ſuch woven ſtuffs both Woollen and Linen. In her time a rich Vein of Copper was found in the Earl of *Northumberlands* Grounds, which ſhe by her Prerogative ſeized upon. In her thirteenth year, a prodigious Earth-quake happened in the Eaſt-parts of *Herefordſhire*, near a little Town called *Kinnaſton*. On the ſeventeenth of *February*, at ſix of the clock in the evening, the earth began to open, and a Hill with a rock under it (making at firſt a great bellowing noiſe, which was heard a great way off) lifted it ſelf up a great height, and began to travel, bearing along with it the Trees that grew upon it, the Sheep-folds, and Flocks of Sheep abiding there at the ſame time. In the place from whence it was firſt moved, it left a gaping diſtance forty foot broad, and fourſcore Ells long; the whole Field was about twenty Acres. Paſſing all along, it overthrew a Chappel ſtanding in the way, removed an Yew-Tree planted in the Church-yard, from the Weſt into the Eaſt; with the like force it thruſt before it High-ways, Sheep-folds, Hedges and Trees, made tilled-ground Paſture, and again turned Paſture into Tillage. Having walked in this ſort from *Saturday* in the evening, till *Munday* noon, it then ſtood ſtill. In her fifteenth year, in the month of *November*, a new Star or rather a Meteor (but that it was found to be above the Moon) was ſeen in *Cathedra Caſſiopeæ*, exceeding *Jupiter* in brightneſs, and in that place was carried with the Diurnal motion of the Heaven, ſixteen months together, though after eight months it was perceived to grow leſs and leſs. In her ſixteenth year, was a great Dearth, ſo as Wheat was ſold at five and ſix ſhillings the Buſhel, and other things in proportion. In her ſeventeenth year, a vaſt mighty Whale was caſt upon the Iſle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, twenty Ells long, and thirteen foot broad from the belly to the back-bone, and eleven foot between the eyes. One of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more than a Cart with ſix Horſes could draw; the Oyl

The Pulſe to beat of one that was dead.

A Vein of Braſs found.

Alſo the Stone called *Lapis Calaminaris*.

Gun-powder firſt made in *England*.

The Spire of *Paul's* Church burnt down with Lightning.

Many monſtrous Births.

A monſtrous Fiſh taken in *Lincolnſhire*.

An extream Froſt.

The Art of making Bays and Serges; when and by whom brought firſt into *England*.

A prodigious Earth-quake.

A mighty Whale taken in *Thanet* in *Kent*.

Oyl being boyled out of the head, was *Parmacitte*. This year also, the River *Thames* ebbed and flowed twice within an hour: and in the month of *November*, the Heaven seemed to be all on a fire. Also on the four and twentieth of *February*, being a great Frost, after a Flood, which was great, there came down the River of *Severne* such a swarm of Flys and Beetles, that they were judged to be above a hundred Quarters; the Mills thereabout were dammed up with them for the space of four days, and then were cleansed by digging them out with Shovels. In her two and twentieth year, a strange apparition happened in *Somersetshire*, threescore personages all clothed in black, a furlong in distance from those that beheld them; and after their appearing, and a little while tarrying, they vanished away, but immediately another strange company, in like manner, colour and number appeared in the same place: and they encountred one another, and so vanished away. And the third time appeared that number again, all in bright armour and encountred one another, and so vanished away. This was examined before Sir *George Norton*, and sworn by four honest men that saw it, to be true. In her three and twentieth year, in the begining of *April*, about Six a clock afternoon, happned an Earthquake not far from *York*, which in some places struck the very stones out of Buildings, and made the Bells in Churches to jangle. The night following, the earth trembled once or twice in *Kent*, and again the first day of *May*. In this year also, in the Town of *Walsham* in *Sussex*, a Child of eleven years old, named *William Withers*, lay in a trance for the space of ten days without any sustenance; and at the last coming to himself, he uttered to the standers by, many strange speeches, inveighing against Pride, Covetousness, coldness of charity, and other enormous sins. In her six and twentieth year, being the year 1588, the like Prodigy happened in *Dorsetshire*; as in the year 1571. had happned in *Herefordshire*; A Field of three Acres in *Blackmore*, with the Trees and Fences, moved from its place, and passed over another Field, travelling in the High-way that goeth to *Herne*, and there stayed. In her eight and twentieth year, Tobacco was first brought out of the *West-Indies*, into *England* by *Ralph Lane*. In her five and thirtieth year, there was so great a drought, that not only the Fields, but the Springs themselves were dryed up, and many Cattle every where dyed for want of water. The River of *Thames* likewise did so fail, that a horseman might ride over at *London-Bridge*. In her six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as there dyed this year in *London* and the suburbs, seventeen thousand eight hundred and ninetey, besides the Lord Mayor, and three Aldermen; and *Michaelmas* Term was holden at St. *Albans*. For the price of Victuals in her time, we may take a pattern of the rest by one kind; for *John Stow* reporteth, that in his youth he fetched many a half-penny worth of Milk from a Farm by the *Minories*, and never had less than three Ale-Pints for a half-penny in Summer, nor less than two Ale-Pints for a half-penny in the Winter. Also in the year 1522, a fat Ox was sold at *London* for twenty six shillings at the most; a fat Weather for three shillings four pence; a fat Calf the like price; a fat Lamb for twelve pence, three pound of Beef for a penny.

Another Prodigious Earth quake.

Tobacco first brought into *England*, and by whom.

Of Her Personage and Condition.

SHe was of stature indifferent tall, slender and straight, fair of Complexion, her hair inclining to pale yellow, her fore-head large and fair, her eyes lively and sweet, but short-sighted, her Nose somewhat rising in the midst; the whole compass of her countenance some what long, yet of admirable beauty, but the beauty of her mind was far more admirable: She had been a Subject which taught her to Rule; She had been in misery, which taught her to be merciful; and indeed, never Prince ruled with more justice and with her justice mingled more mercy: She had more Valour in her than was fit for a woman, but that she was Ruler over men; and more Humility in her than was fit for a Prince, but that she meant to be a President to women. She delighted in nothing so much, as in the love of her people, which she procured by ordaining good Magistrates, and forbearing Impositions. Her way not to need them was frugality; and her way to have them when she needed them, was liberality. She made honour in her time the more honourable, by not making it common; and in deed knowing it to be an influence from her self, she kept it as her self, a Virgin, and would not prostitute it to unworthy persons. She declined being a Mother of Children, to the end she might be a Mother of her Country; and indeed, no mother ever loved her children more, than she did her people; and therefore never children loved a mother more, than her people did her. She coveted not so much to be an owner of riches, as of rich Subjects: for she thought money did as well in their Coffers as in her own: and indeed she never wanted, when they had it; and they always had it, when she needed it. Never Prince had a wiser Council than she, yet never Prince needed it less; for she was her self a Counsellor to her Council. In sum, whatsoever may in flattery be said of a wise, just, merciful, religious, and learned Prince, may truly be said of her: in all which, if ever she had an equal, yet she never certainly had a superiour. In playing her game of Fortune, she loved not an attergame, for she liked Preventions better than Remedies. She was admirable in expressing her mind, both by speech and writing: and if collection could be made of her Apothegms, and extemporal Orations, it would certainly excell any thing extant in that kind: and for her writing, Sir *Henry Savile* affirms, That he had seen some Translations of hers, which far exceeded the Originals. Never Prince kept greater State with less statelines: Her Pensioners and Guard were always the tallest and goodliest Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Kingdom: Her Maids of Honour and other Women about her, the fairest and most beautiful Ladies of the Realm; and yet her self a *Diana* amongst her Nymphs; insomuch that a great Lord of *France* being intertained at Court, and the Queen asking him how he liked her Ladies, made answer, It was hard to judge of Stars, in the presence of of the Sun.

Of

Of her Death and Burial.

IT was now the year 1602. when she feeling some Infirmities of old Age and Sickness, retired her self at the end of *January*, to *Richmond*; at which time, in a sad Omen, she commanded the Ring to be filed off her Finger, wherewith she was solemnly at the first inaugurated into the Kingdom, and since that time had never taken it off, it being grown into the Flesh in such manner, that it could not be drawn off without filing. At the beginning of her Sickness, the Almonds of her Jaws began to swell, and her Appetite by little and little failed her; withal she gave her self wholly to Sadness and heaviness, which some imputed to her care for the Loss of the Earl of *Essex*; others, because she heard, that divers of the Nobility sought the favour of the King of *Scots*, adoring him as the Sun-rising, and neglecting her: but howsoever, in *March*, a kind of benumbedness seized upon her, with a deep Melancholy, so as she would sit silently, refrain her Meat, and not admit of any Conference, but with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with whom she prayed fervently, till such time as her Speech failed her, which failed a Day before she died. She being in this case, it was thought fit the Admiral and Secretary should go to her, to know her Mind concerning a Successor; to whom she gave this Answer: My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, I would not have a mean Fellow should succeed me. The Secretary requiring her to speak more plainly, I will (said she) have a King succeed me, and what King, but the King of *Scots*, my nearest Kinsman. After this, the Archbishop exhorted her to think of God; That do I, (said she) nor do my Thoughts ever wander from him. And when her Tongue no longer served her, it was evident by the lifting up of her Hands and Eyes, that her Thoughts were fixed upon him. And so on the 24th. Day of *March*, being the last day of the year 1602. she yielded up her Soul to God, when she had lived Three-score and nine years six months and seven days, Reigned Four and forty years, four months, and seven days. Her Body was embalmed, wrapped in Lead, and brought to *Whitehall*; from whence, on the 28th. of *April* following, in great solemnity, it was carried to the Collegiate Church of Saint *Peters* at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Vault of her Grandfather, King *Henry* the Seventh, in his magnificent Chappel, where our renowned Sovereign King *James* hath built her a Princely Monument, inscribed with Epitaphs to her Eternal Glory. At her Funeral were said to be Mourners in Black, to the number of One thousand and six hundred Persons.

Men of Note in her time.

THE Ocean is not more boundless, than the number of Men of Note in her time; but though all of them cannot be reckoned, yet some of them must not be omitted. And to begin with Statesmen: An exquisite Statesman for his own ends, was *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; and for his Country's good, Sir *William Cecill*, Lord *Burleigh*, as also Sir *Francis Walsingham*, that great undermeiner of Conspirators. Famous Seamen, were the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterward Earl of *Suffolk*: and of meaner rank, Sir *John Hawkins*, Sir *Martin Forbysher*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Cavendish*, *Preston*, *Ryman*; and to name the worthiest last, Sir *Francis Drake*, who though he were but a short square-bodied Man, yet his great Acts have made the *Spaniards* believe that he was some goodly Personage. Great Commanders by Land, were *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *Roger Williams*, *Baskervile*, *Savage*, and the Honour of his Family, and our *English* Nation, Sir *John Norris*. Learned Gentlemen and Writers, were Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, employed by Queen *Elizabeth* as her Legier in *Spain*, who wrote Five Books of the restoring of the *English* Common-wealth, in Elegant Verses, while (as he said) he lived in a Stove in Winter, and in a Barn in Summer: *Roger Ascham*, born in *Yorkshire*, notably skilful in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, who had sometimes been School-master to Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue; but taking too great delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting, he both lived and died in mean Estate, yet left behind him sundry Monuments of Wit and Industry. Sir *Thomas Smith*, born at *Saffron-Walden* in *Essex*, some time Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth, who wrote an imperfect Work of the *English* Common-wealth, a singular Book of the Orthography of the *English* Tongue, and another of the Pronunciation of the *Greek*; the first Man that set on foot the Law for serving the Colleges with Provision. Sir *Henry Savill*, Provost of *Eaton*, and Reader to Queen *Elizabeth*, who set forth all St. *Chrysostom*'s Works in *Greek*; and by translating of *Cornelius Tacitus*, deserved as much of the *English* Tongue, as he of the *Latin*. But above all, the admirable Sir *Philip Sidney*, who by writing in a light Argument, shewed how excellently, and beyond all comparison he could have done in a grave. Learned Divines were *John Jewel*, born in *Devonshire*, a Student in *Corpus-Christi* College in *Oxford*, in Queen *Mary*'s time an Exile, by Queen *Elizabeth* made Bishop of *Salisbury*, who wrote an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, and died at scarce Fifty Years of age, in the Fourteenth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*. *John Whitaker*, Master of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, who learnedly answered all the Books of *Bellarmine*. *Bilson*, Bishop of *Winchester*, sometimes Fellow of *New College* in *Oxford*, who, amongst his other learned Works, hath written notably of Christ's Descent into Hell. *Richard Hooker*, Preacher at the *Temple*, who with too much meekness smothered his great

Roger Ascham his delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting.

Learning, yet hath ſomething diſcovered it in his Five Books of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and died in the Year 1599. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Pauls*, who forbearing deeper Works, ſet forth a Catechiſm, according to the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Church, and died in the Year 1620. After ſuch Men it might be thought ridiculous to ſpeak of Stage-players; but ſeeing Excellency in the meaneſt things deſerves remembring, and *Roſcius* the Comedian is recorded in Hiſtory with ſuch Commendation, it may be allowed us to do the like with ſome of our Nation: *Richard Bourbidge* and *Edward Allen*, two ſuch Actors as no Age muſt ever look to ſee the like: and, to make their Comedies compleat, *Richard Tarleton*, who for the Part called the Clown's Part, never had his match, never will have. For Writers of Plays, and ſuch as had been Players themſelves; *William Shakeſpeare* and *Benjamin Johnſon*, have ſpecially left their Names recommended to Poſterity. Famous Players, and Play-makers.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in her Reign.*

In her Firſt Year,
Sir *William Hewet* was Mayor.
Thomas Lodge, *Roger Martin*, Sheriffs.

In her Second Year,
Sir *William Cheſter* was Mayor.
Chriſtopher Draper, *Thomas Roe*, Sheriffs.

In her Third Year,
Sir *William Harper* was Mayor.
Alexander Avenon, *Humphrey Baskervile*, Sheriffs.

In her Fourth Year,
Sir *Thomas Lodge* was Mayor.
William Allen, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sheriffs.

In her Fifth Year,
Sir *John White* was Mayor.
Edward Banks, *Rowland Hayward*, Sheriffs.

In her Sixth Year,
Sir *Richard Mallory* was Mayor.
Edward Jackman, *Lionel Ducket*, Sheriffs.

In her Seventh Year,
Sir *Richard Champion* was Mayor.
John Rivers, *James Hawes*, Sheriffs.

In her Eighth Year,
Sir *Chriſtopher Draper* was Mayor.
Ri. Lambert, *Amb. Nicholas*, *Jo. Langley*, Sheriffs.

In her Ninth Year,
Sir *Roger Martin* was Mayor.
Thomas Ramſey, *John Bond*, Sheriffs.

In her Tenth Year,
Sir *Thomas Roe* was Mayor.
John Oliph, *Rob. Harding*, *James Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In her Eleventh Year,
Sir *Alexander Avenon* was Mayor.
Henry Beecher, *William Dane*, Sheriffs.

In her Twelfth Year,
Sir *Rowland Hayward* was Mayor.
Francis Barnebam, *William Bowe*, Sheriffs.

In her Thirteenth Year,
Sir *William Allen* was Mayor.
Henry Miller, *John Branch*, Sheriffs.

In her Fourteenth Year,
Sir *Lionel Ducket* was Mayor.
Richard Pipe, *Nicholas Woodroffe*, Sheriffs.

In her Fifteenth Year,
Sir *John Rivers* was Mayor.
James Harvey, *Tob. Pullocett* or *Pulleſon*, Sheriffs.

In her Sixteenth Year,
Sir *James Hawes* was Mayor.
Thomas Blanche, *Anthony Garnage*, Sheriffs.

In her Seventeenth Year,
Sir *Ambroſe Nicholas* was Mayor.
Edward Osborne, *Wolſtan Dixie*, Sheriffs.

In her Eighteenth Year,
Sir *John Langley* was Mayor.
William Kempton, *George Bond*, Sheriffs.

In her Nineteenth Year,
Sir *Thomas Ramſey* was Mayor.
Nicholas Backhouſe, *Francis Bowyer*, Sheriffs.

In her Twentieth Year,
Sir *Richard Pipe* was Mayor.
George Bond, *Thomas Starkie*, Sheriffs.

In her One and twentieth Year,
Sir *Nicholas Woodroffe* was Mayor.
Martin Calthrop, *John Hart*, Sheriffs.

In her Two and twentieth Year,
Sir *John Branch* was Mayor.
Ralph Woolcock, *John Allot*, Sheriffs.

In her Three and twentieth Year,
Sir *James Harvey* was Mayor.
Richard Martin, *William Webbe*, Sheriffs.

In her Four and twentieth Year,
Sir *Thomas Blanche* was Mayor.
William Roe, *John Hayden* deceaſed, *Cuthbert Buckle* ſucceeded, Sheriffs.

In her Five and twentieth Year,
Sir *Edward Osborne* was Mayor.
William Maſham, *John Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In her Six and twentieth Year,
Sir *Thomas Pullocet* was Mayor.
Stephen Slany, *Henry Billingſley*, Sheriffs.

In

In her Seven and twentieth Year,
Sir *Wolstane Dixie* was Mayor.
Anthony Ratcliffe, *Henry Prowell*, Sheriffs.

In her Eight and twentieth Year,
Sir *George Barne* was Mayor.
George Houfe, *William Elkin*, Sheriffs.

In her Nine and twentieth Year,
Sir *George Bond* was Mayor.
Thomas Skinner, *John Catcher*, Sheriffs.

In her Thirtieth Year,
Sir *Martin Calebrop* ſerved one part,
Sir *Richard Martin* the other.
Hugh Offley, *Richard Saltonſtall*, Sheriffs.

In her One and thirtieth Year,
Sir *John Hart* was Mayor.
Richard Gurney, *Stephen Some*, Sheriffs.

In her Two and twentieth Year,
Sir *John Allot* ſerved one part,
Sir *Rowland Heyward* the other.
Nicholas Maſley, *Robert Dowe*, Sheriffs.

In her Three and thirtieth Year,
Sir *William Webbe* was Mayor.
William Rider, *Benet* or *Benedict Barnham*, Sheriffs.

In her Four and thirtieth Year,
Sir *William Ryc* was Mayor.
John Garret or *Garard*, *Robert Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In her Five and thirtieth Year,
Sir *Cuthbert Buckle* ſerved one part,
Sir *Richard Martin* the other.
Paul Banning, *Peter Houghton*, Sheriffs.

In her Six and thirtieth Year,
Sir *John Spencer* was Mayor.
Robert Lee, *Thomas Bennet*, Sheriffs.

In her Seven and thirtieth Year,
Sir *Stephen Slany* was Mayor.
Thomas Lowe, *Edward Holliday*, Sheriffs.

In her Eight and thirtieth Year,
Sir *Thomas Skinner* ſerved one part,
Sir *Henry Billingſley* the other.
John Watts, *Richard Godard*, Sheriffs.

In her Nine and thirtieth Year,
Sir *Richard Saltonſtall* was Mayor.
Henry Rve, *John More*, Sheriffs.

In her Fortieth Year,
Sir *Stephen Some* was Mayor.
Edward Holmeden, *Robert Hampſon*, Sheriffs.

In her One and fortieth Year,
Sir *Nicholas Maſley* was Mayor.
Humphrey Weld, *Roger Clarke*, Sheriffs.

In her Two and fortieth Year,
Sir *William Rider* was Mayor.
Thomas Smith, *Tho. Cambel*, *Will. Craven*, Sheriffs.

In her Three and fortieth Year,
Sir *John Garret* or *Garard*, was Mayor.
Henry Anderſon, *William Glover*, Sheriffs.

In her Four and fortieth Year,
Sir *Robert Lee* was Mayor.
James Pemberton, *John Swinnerton*, Sheriffs.

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

An. Dom. 1603. JAMES the Fourth, King of *Scotland*, married *Margaret* eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England*, by whom he had *James* the Fifth, who had one only Child, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, who had one only Son, *James* the Sixth, who from *James* the Fourth had undoubted Right to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and from *Margaret*, King *Henry* the Seventh's eldeſt Daughter, (the Male line being clean extinct) unqueſtionable Title to the Crown of *England*: Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* being dead, about 10 a Clock in the Morning the 24th. of *March*, King *James* the Sixth, King of *Scotland*, was the very ſame Day (Mr. Secretary *Cecill* himſelf reading his Title, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Will) proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by ſound of Trumpet, firſt at *Whitehall*, and then in *Cheapſide*, in preſence of all the Lords of the Council, and other of the Nobility, with a general Acclamation of all ſorts of People, that we may truly ſay, Sorrow was never more deceived than at this time: for where, upon the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was expected there would be nothing for a long time but ſorrowing and lamenting; now that very Sorrow was ſwallowed up of Joy, her Death bringing with it no other alteration but only of Sex, in all other Points in a manner the ſame; the like Wiſdom, the like Learning, the like Juſtice, the like Religiouſneſs in them both: only bettered in this, that we changed a Queen of 70 Years old, whom we could not look to keep long, for a King of 36, whom we might well hope to enjoy many Years.

King *James* is Proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Queen *Elizabeth* was no ſooner dead, but Sir *Robert Cary*, a younger Son of the late Lord *Hunſdon*, poſted away, unſent, to King *James* in *Scotland*, informing him of the accident: for bringing which News, the King afterwards rewarded him with making him a Baron of the Realm, and Lord of *Leppington*. But though it were ſufficient for the King's information, that he heard the News by Sir *Robert Cary*, yet it was not ſufficient for the Lords of the Council, in diſcharge of their duty, if he heard it not from them; and therefore within a very few Days, as ſoon as they could provide fit Men, they ſent firſt Sir *Charles Percy*, and Mr. *Thomas Somerſet*, and after them Sir *Thomas Lake*, Clerk of the Signet, a Man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to acquaint him with the general applauſe of all the Realm, to receive him for their Soveraign, and alſo inform him in what terms the ſtate of the Kingdom ſtood, ſo that he might not come altogether a ſtranger when he came into it.

Sir *Robert Cary* acquaints him with the Queen's Death.

Queen *Elizabeth* indeed had left him not only a Kingdom, but a Kingdom without incumbrance; no Wars abroad, no Sedition at home; and not only ſo, but a Kingdom furniſhed with all the Fruits of Peace, plenty of all things neceſſary; and of all neceſſary things the chiefeſt, a Wiſe Council: for he left Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Lord-Chancellour; *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurſt*, Lord-Treaſurer; *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord-Admiral; and Sir *Robert Cecill*, Principal Secretary. Four ſuch Men, that the meaneſt of them were ſufficient to ſit at the Helm of any Kingdom. Yet to theſe and divers other beſides (all whom the King now by his Letters authorizeth to exerciſe their ſeveral Places, as formerly they had done) he addeth certain new ones of his own chuſing; as namely, the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and then after the Lord *Henry Howard*; the one the Brother, the other the Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who had ſuffered ſo much, that at laſt he ſuffered for the Queen his Mother. But although the calling of theſe two laſt to ſuch a place, was done (no doubt) out of favour to that Houſe; yet one of them being known, the other doubted to be a Papiſt, it was preſently apprehended as a favour to that ſide; and the Catholicks were not a little confident of his

The King adds new Counſellors.

his good Inclination to them all in general. And it was indeed but neceſſary they ſhould at this time have ſuch a Conceit; for in the late Queen's ſickneſs, a little before her death, Pope *Clement* the VIII. had written two Brieves to the Catholicks in *England*, to admit of none to ſucceed in the Kingdom, when that miſerable Woman ſhould happen to die, (ſo he pleaſed to ſtile the moſt Glorious Queen that ever lived) but ſuch a one, of whoſe good Inclination to the See of *Rome*, they ſhould at leaſt be well perſwaded. And now King *James* having ſetled the Government of his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and made convenient Preparation for his Journey, on the 5th. of *April* 1603. he ſets forward, and rode that Day from *Edenburgh* to *Dunglaſſe*, and from thence the next Day to *Berwick*; where having ſtayed two Days, the 8th. of *April* he rode to *Withrington*, a Houſe of Sir *Robert Carie*, from thence the 9th to *Newcaſtle*, where he ſtayed *Sunday*, and heard the Biſhop of *Durham* preach; and ſo joyful were the Townſmen of his being there, that all the time of ſtay they bore the charge of his Houſhold. The 13th of *April* he ſet forward to *Durham*, and from thence the 14th to *Waltworth*, the 15th. towards *York*, where his Train encreaſed to ſuch a multitude, that he was fain to publiſh an Inhibition of the People's reſorts, and flocking to him. At *York*, it was a Queſtion to whom it belonged to bear the Sword before the King in that Place: for both the Earl of *Cumberland* claimed it as hereditary to his Houſe, and the Preſident of the North claimed it as belonging to his Place; but it was adjudged to *George* Earl of *Cumberland*, who accordingly did it. From *York*, the 18th. Day, the King rode to *Grimſton*, to a Houſe of Sir *Edward Stanhop*, the 19th. to *Pomfret*, and ſo to *Doncaſter*, where he lodged at the Sign of the *Bear and Sun*: the 20th. of *April* he rode towards *Worſuppe*, a Houſe of the Earl of *Shrewſbury*: from thence the 21ſt. to *Newark* upon *Trent*, where a Cut-purſe being taken in the Fact, was by the King's Warrant hanged; a moſt unſeaſonable delinquent, who would force the King to a work of Juſtice at a time when he intended nothing but Mercy: the 22d. to *Beaver-Caſtle*, a Houſe of the Earl of *Rutland's*, hunting all the way as he rode: from *Beaver* the 23d. to *Burleigh*, where having ſtayed 2 or 3 Days, the 27th. he removed to *Hinchinbrook*, a Houſe of Sir *Oliver Cromwel*, where the Heads of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* met him: from thence he rode towards *Royſton*, and as he paſſed through *Godmanchester*, a Town cloſe by *Huntington*, the Bailiffs of the Town preſented him with 70 Team of Horſe, all frained to fair new Ploughs; at which the King wondring, they ſaid, it was the ancient Cuſtom ſo to do when any King of *England* paſſed through their Town, and by which, as being the King's Tenants they held their Land. At *Royſton*, he lodged that Night at Mr. *Cheſter's* Houſe, at his own Charge, which he had not done before ſince his coming into *England*: the 30th. of *April* he rode to *Standen*, a Houſe of Sir *Thomas Sadlers*, where he ſtayed *Sunday*, and heard the Biſhop of *London* preach: the ſecond of *May* he removed to *Brotherton*, a Houſe of Sir *Henry Cocks*, Coffe-rer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where met him the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Admiral, and divers other Lords. The 3d. of *May* he came to *Theobalds*, a Houſe of Sir *Robert Cecils*; when all the Lords of the late Queen's moſt Honourable Privy-Council preſented themſelves, and there the Lord-Keeper made a grave Oration. At this Houſe, the 4th. of *May*, the King made divers Noblemen of *Scotland* of his Privy-Council here in *England*, namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and Sir *George Hume*, Treaſurer of *Scotland*, Sir *James Elpingſton* his Secretary, and the Lord of *Kinloſſe*, made afterward Maſter of the Rolls: *Saturday* the 7th. of *May*, he rode towards *London*, where by the way, the Sheriff *Swinnerton*, and the Aldermen met him; and by their Orator, Mr. *Richard Martin*, made him an Eloquent Oration; and then he rode on to the *Charter-houſe* neer *Smithfield*, a Houſe belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he ſtayed 4 Days; and at his departing thence, made the Lord *Zouch*, and the Lord *Burgley* of his Privy-Council. But we muſt not here omit, that from the King's firſt ſetting forth of *Scotland*, as he was in all Places received with Royal Entertainment and rich Preſents, ſo he again carried himſelf moſt affable, and diſtributed his Favours in moſt plenteous manner: in ſome Places diſcharging all Priſoners, but ſuch as lay for Treaſon or Murther; but eſpecially in conferring the Order of Knighthood, of which ſort the firſt he made, was Mr. *John Payton*, Son to Sir *John Payton*, Lieutenant of the Tower; after him, divers *Scots* in ſundry Places: at *Theobalds* 28. (of which number, the Compiler of this Work, though the unworthieſt, was one;) at the *Charter-houſe* above 80. and not many Days after, no fewer than at leaſt 200; and before the Year went about, God knows how many Hundreds, that one would wonder what the King would do with ſo many *Miles*, having no War toward: But it was indeed fit to have a vent to the Paſſage of Honour, which during Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, had been ſo ſtopped, that ſcarce any County of *England* had Knights enow to make up a Jury.

Before we go farther, it will not be amiſs to ſhew what great Men attended King *James* out of *Scotland*; as namely, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and many other great Lords: and many other, whom he afterward made great Lords, as being in his ſpecial favour; firſt Sir *George Hume*, made afterward Earl of *Dunbarre*; then Sir *Thomas Erskin*, made Earl of *Kellie*; then Sir *John Ramſey* made Earl of *Holderneſſe*, (which two laſt had the fortune to come firſt into his Reſcue againſt the *Gowries*;) then Sir *James Hay*, made afterward Earl of *Carlile*; and then Sir *Richard Preſton*, made Earl of *Kildare* in *Ireland*: but whoſe great Fortune by marrying the Heir of that Earldom, was afterward the occaſion of his great Misfortune; for coming one of *Ireland*, he was unfortunately caſt-away and drowned.

But though King *James* was now ſafely come himſelf to *London*; yet he accounted himſelf but half come, until his Queen and Children were come to him: and therefore there is now appointed to go to conduct them; of Lords, the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, and Sir *George Carew*, Knight, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*; of Ladies, the Counteſs of *Worceſter*, the Counteſs of *Kildare*, the Lady *Anne Herbert*, Daughter to *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*;

The King ſets forward into *England*.

To whom it belonged to bear the Sword before the King at *York*.

At *Godmanchester* the King is preſented with 70 Team of Horſe, and why.

Divers Noblemen of *Scotland* made of his Privy-Council.

What number of Knights the King made.

With what great Lords the King came attended out of *Scotland*.

Sir *Richard Preſton*, Earl of *Kildare*, unfortunately drowned.

What Lords and Ladies were ſent to attend the Queen at her coming.

broke; the Lord *Scroop's* Lady, the Lady *Rich*, Wife to the Lord *Rich*, and the Lady *Walsingham*, one of the late Queen's Bed-chamber. But although these only were appointed to go, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went of themselves to attend Her Majesty; as, the Countess of *Bedford*, the Lady *Hastings*, the Lady *Cecill*, the Lady *Hatton*, the Lady *Harrington*, and divers other: and with this Princely Attendance, the Queen, with two of her Children, namely Prince *Henry* of the age of 9 Years, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, on the 11th. of *June* came to *York*: where resting themselves some few Days, on the 27th. of *June* they came to *Easton* in *Northamptonshire*, a House of Sir *George Fermors*, where the King met them at Dinner; and afterward they rode together to a House of Sir *John Forteſcue*, and so to *London*. The King's younger Son, *Charles* Duke of *Albany* came not at this time, as being not 3 Years old, and therefore not thought able to endure such a Journey; but the Year following, falling sick of a Fever, Doctor *Atkins*, one of the King's Physicians, was sent to conduct him, who in 6 Weeks cured him of his Fever; and the 1st. Week of *October* brought him safe to *Windsor*, where the King then lay: for which Service he was so well rewarded, that together with the Gains of his usual Practice, he grew to a greater Wealth than was usual for Physicians.

Lords made by the King.

King *James* had distributed the meaner Order of *Knighthood*, very plentifully; now he thinks fit to raise his *Distributions* to a higher degree; and thereupon the 20th. of *May*, he made Sir *Robert Cecill* Baron of *Essindon*, Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst*, Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Greys*, and Sir *Edward Wooton* Baron of *Morley*; and not long after, he made the Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Thomas Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurst*, he made Earl of *Dorset*.

Ambassadors from all Princes of *Christendom*, come to congratulate the Kings happy coming to the Crown.

The King had by this time found the Love and Affection of his own People; but the Affection of neighbouring Princes towards him stood yet in suspence: when now to take away that doubt, came first in the beginning of *June*, an Ambassador from the *Palsgrave* of *Rhine*; presently after another from the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*; another from the Archduke of *Austria*; another from the King of *Spain*; from the Seigniory of *Venice* another; another from the Duke of *Florence*; and lastly, on the 8th. of *June*, Monsieur *de Rosny* from the King of *France*; all congratulating his happy coming to the Crown of *England*. For Entertainment of which Ambassadors, and all other which should come after, the King had erected an Officer by the Name of *Master of the Ceremonies*, allowing him 200 Pounds a Year, Fee: and the first that had the Place was Sir *Lewis Dyve*, a Gentleman, who, besides other good Parts, was very skilful in the neighbouring Languages.

The Office of the Master of the Ceremonies erected.

Fourteen Serjeants of Law made.

Upon the 25th. of *May* this Year, were made 14 Serjeants at Law; whereof 11 had received Writs the last Year of Queen *Elizabeth*; namely, *Thomas Coventry*, *Robert Houghton*, *Lawrence Tenfield*, *John Crook*, *Thomas Foster*, *Edward Philips*, *Thomas Harris*, *James Altham*, *Henry Hubbard*, *Augustine Nicholls*, and *Robert Parker*; to whom the King added three new; *John Sherley*, *George Snigge*, and *Richard Hutton*, who all kept their Feast together in the middle Temple-Hall.

Valentine Thomas, for Offences against Queen *Elizabeth*, is hanged and quartered.

One would think that at this time all Offences against Queen *Elizabeth* had been forgotten; but King *James* more tender of Wrongs done to her than to himself, would not suffer *Valentine Thomas* so to escape; who after he had lain many Years Prisoner in the Tower, was on the 4th. of *June* arraigned at the King's-Bench Bar; and for Conspiracy against the late Queen and some of her Council, was on the 7th. of *June*, after 6 a Clock at Night, drawn to St. *Thomas Watrings*, and there hanged and quartered.

The Lord *Montjoy* brings *Tir-Oen* into *England*, who is fully pardoned.

About this time, the Honourable *Charles* Lord *Montjoy* returned out of *Ireland*, bringing along with him *Hugh O-Neal*, Earl of *Tir-Oen*; at whose coming to the King, the Lord *Montjoy* was sworn of the King's Privy-Council; and the Earl of *Tir Oen*, who had been the cause of so much English Blood-shed, was yet pardoned, and Proclamation made, That by all Men he should be used with Respect and Honour.

The Earl of *Rutland* sent with the Garter to the King of *Denmark*.

The Lord *Spencer* to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*.

All this while the King had moved within his own Sphere, and had done nothing out of the Realm; his first Employment abroad was now in *June*, to his Brother the King of *Denmark*, to whom he sent in Ambassage the Earl of *Rutland* upon two occasions: the one to be Godfather to his Son, who was named *Christianus*; the other to present him with the Order of the Garter: upon the like Employment soon after, he sent the Lord *Spencer* to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtenberg*; which Lords saw the said Princes invested with the Garter, and after honourable Entertainment returned home.

A Treason of a strange composition.

It was now a time that every Man might sit under his Vine, and enjoy the Happiness of a peaceable Government: When suddenly, like a Storm in a fair Summer's Day, brake forth a Treason of a strange Composition: for where in all Treasons commonly they are all of some one Faction, in this there were People of all sorts, Priests and Lay-men, Papists and Protestants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen, that one would think it should be a well manag'd Treason, and yet was the shallowest that ever was set on foot; so shallow that it could scarce be observed, either what the Authors of it aimed, or what it was they would have done. Indeed the great Favour which King *James*, at his first coming to the Crown, shewed to the Earl of *Southampton*, was like to breed no good Blood to those that were his Opposites; and it was said (how true I know not) that as the King had sent to enlarge the Earl of *Southampton*, and appointed him to meet him upon the way; so when he heard of an Intention that the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* had to meet him, he sent them word they should spare their labour. But whether it were so or no, it seems they found some cause of Discontentment, and Discontentment will never want Complices: and by this means was the composition of this Treason made up, and thereupon were apprehended *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, and *George Brook* his Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *William Raleigh*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham*, Knights; *Bartholomew Brookley*, and *Anthony Copley*, Gentlemen; *William Watson*, and *William Clerk*, Priests: But though they were apprehended in *July*, yet they came not to their Arraignment till

November following; for by reason of the sickness, which was then hot in *London*, the Term was put off till *Crastino Martini*, and then to be kept at *Winchester* in *Hampshire*, only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards and Liveries, and the Dutchy of *Lancaster* were kept in the King's Manour at *Richmond*, in the County of *Surrey*; and so on the 4th. of *November* following, all the foresaid Delinquents were removed from the Tower of *London*, and other Prisons, by strong Guards to *Winchester*, and there Arraigned; whose Indictment was for Conspiring

1. To kill the King.
2. To raise Rebellion.
3. To alter Religion.
4. To subvert the State.
5. To procure Invasion by Strangers.

The Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others arraigned at *Winchester*, and why.

Concerning the first Point, it was proved, That the Lord *Grey* intended to obtain the levying of 2000 Men, for defence of the *Low-Countries*, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and take the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Points, it was proved, That the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, met at St. *Martins in the Fields*, and there conferred about raising Sedition, moving Rebellion, altering Religion, subverting the State, and to set up the Lady *Arbella*. And particularly for the Point of subverting the State, it was proved, That *Watson* was designed to be Lord Chancellor, *George Brook* Lord Treasurer, Sir *Griffith Markham* Secretary, and the Lord *Grey* to be Master of the Horse, and Earl-Marshal of *England*. And for effecting of these Treasons, it was proved, That *Watson* the Priest had devised Oaths in writing, by which all Parties were bound to keep them secret. And for the last Point, it was proved, That Sir *Walter Raleigh* was appointed to treat with Count *Arenberg* for 600000 Crowns, and the Lord *Cobham* to go to the Archduke and the King of *Spain*, to perswade them to assist the Lady *Arbella*. These things being proved against them, on the Days in which they were severally Indicted, the most which was replied in mitigation of their Fault, was first by *Watson*, who affirmed it could not be Treason, because the King was not yet Crowned, and then by the Lord *Grey*, That it was but a verbal Matter, and never took Effect, and therefore could be no Treason. But those Allegations being both refused, they were all (except Sir *Edward Parham*, who only was acquitted) on their several Days of Indictment, found guilty of Treason, and had Judgment accordingly. The Priests *Watson* and *Clerk*, were executed at *Winchester*, the 29th. of *November*: *George Brook* was beheaded the 5th. of *December*. But then the Hand of Justice stayed, and this was the course which the King held in shewing Mercy. After the Death of the Three beforenamed, he signed Three other Warrants for the Execution of the late Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffith Markham*, on a certain Day then following; but before that Day, he privately framed another Warrant, written with his own Hand, to the Sheriff, (who was then Sir *Benjamin Tichborn*) by which he countermanded the former Warrants; and that there might be no notice taken of it, he sent it by Mr. *John Gibbs*, a *Scotch* Man, and one utterly unknown of all the Company, appointing him to deliver it so, that it might not take effect, till after their several Confessions, and at the very point of their Execution; which was accordingly performed. At which time it was a wonderful thing to see how the Delinquents falling upon their Knees, lamented their Mis-doings, and most of all how they extolled the King's unspeakable Mercy. But though thus pardoned, yet were they carried back to the *Tower*, where the Lord *Grey* not long after died, and in him was extinct that *Barony*, which had formerly brought forth many valorous and worthy Men. Sir *Griffith Markham* after some time was set at liberty, and passed beyond Sea, where he lived long after in meen account. The Lord *Cobham* likewise was afterward discharged of Imprisonment, but deprived of his Estate, lived many Years in great penury; and in him ended that noble Family, which had flourished in great Honour many Ages. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was kept in the *Tower*; where, to his great Honour, he spent his time in writing, and had been a happy Man if he had never been released. But such is our state, that no Man's Fortune is understood, whether it be good or bad, until it be discovered by the Event.

And all condemned but Sir *Edward Parham*. *Watson* and *Clerk* executed. *George Brook* beheaded. The rest spared, and the course the King held in it.

The Lord *Grey* dies in the *Tower*, in whom that *Barony* was extinct.

The Lord *Cobham* discharged of Imprisonment, but lived in great penury, and in him that *Barony* also was extinct.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* is kept in the *Tower*: where and how he spent his time.

But in this mean time many things had passed for his Majesty having deferred the Feast of Saint *George*, until his being at some of his own Houses, held now the said Feast at *Windsor*, the 2d. of *July*, where the Prince was installed Knight of the Garter; as also the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Marre*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*; and at the same time were elected the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; though their investing have been spoken of before.

The Prince and others made Knights of the Garter.

And now was Preparation made for the King's Coronation; and for a Preparative unto it, he first restored the Earl of *Southampton*, and then raised in Honour these following: Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Lord Chancellor, he made Baron of *Ellesmere*; Sir *William Russel*, Baron of *Thornaugh*; Sir *Henry Grey*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harrington*, Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Danvers*, Baron of *Dauntsey*; Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Baron of *Gerrard Bromley*, in the County of *Stafford*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormleighton*. After this, he conferred inferiour Orders, and made Knights, all the Judges and Sergeants at Law; all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers, and divers others; and lastly, made 62 Knights of the *Bath*, most of them Noblemen's Sons, and the rest Gentlemen of special worth. These things done, on the 25th. of *July*, being Saint *James*'s Day, the King and Queen were together crowned and anointed at *Westminster*, by the Hand of *John Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in presence of the Nobility and others; namely, Sir *Robert Lee*, Lord Mayor of *London*, in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, his Brethren the Aldermen in Gowns of Scarlet, and 12 Principal Citizens admitted to attend on them: all other Citizens stayed from passing thither, either by Water or Land, by reason of the Sickness; and the 1st. of *August* following, all Suitors were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court till the Winter following.

Divers Lords made.

The King & Queen are crowned together.

The Fifth of *August* kept holy-day, for the King's deliverance from the *Gowries*.

At this time the King forgot not a deliverance he had formerly had; which though it were had in *Scotland*, yet he would have notice of it taken in *England*; which was his deliverance from the Conspiracy of the *Gowries* on the 5th. day of *August* three years before; and thereupon *Friday* being the 5th of *August*, was by commandment appointed to be Holy-day, with Morning Prayer, Sermons, and Evening Prayer that day, and Bonfires at night; which was then and after, during his Life, solemnly observed.

All Letters of Mart called in. A Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, and who were Commissioners.

King *James* had in him as it were two Persons; one as he was the King of *Scotland*; and in this he was in perfect amity with the King of *Spain*: another as he was King of *England*; and in this he had some difference with *Spain*; but he, as *Rex pacificus* took the best from both, and was altogether for the Olive branch; and thereupon when at his coming into *England*, he found Letters of Mart granted against the *Spaniards*, he first caused them all to be called in, and then consented to a Treaty of perfect reconcilement: In which Treaty handled at *London*, the 18th. of *August*, 1604. the Commissioners for the King of *England* were *Tho.* Earl of *Dorset*, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, *Charles* Earl of *Devonshire*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Robert* Viscount *Cranborne*. For the King of *Spain*, *John de Velasco*, Constable of *Castile*, *John de Taxis* Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Rebidius* Professor of the Law in the College of *Millain*: For the Archdukes, *Charles* Count of *Aremberg*, *John Richardot* President of the Privy Council, and *Lodowick Verreiken* principal Secretary: by whom a Peace being concluded and continued in many Articles; the Summer following, the King of *Spain* sent Don *John de Velasco* Constable of *Castile*, and Duke of *Frias*, also *Pedraca de la Sierra*, his great Chamberlain, accompanied with divers Marquesses, Earls and Barons, who coming into *England*, were by the Earl of *Devonshire* on the 25th. of *August* brought to the Court, where the King in his Chappel in the presence of the Commissioners and other *English* Lords, (the Duke of *Frias* holding the King's Hands between his) took his Oath upon the Holy Bible, religiously to observe and keep all the Articles of the Peace and League agreed upon: and in *March* following, being now the Third year of King *James*, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*, was sent into *Spain* to take in like manner the King of *Spain*'s Oath: who accompanied with three Barons, and many Knights, Gentlemen and others, to the number of Six hundred and fifty, the 15th. of *April* arrived at *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted to *Valladolid*, Three hundred Miles off, where the King of *Spain* then kept his Court, entertained in all places as he passed, at the King of *Spain*'s charge, with so great provisions and such demonstration of love and gladness, that it plainly shewed the *Spaniards* were as glad of our friendship as we of theirs. The Lord Ambassador being come to the Court, he caused *Thomas Knoll*, Esq; to deliver the Presents sent from the King of *England*, which were six goodly Horses, with Saddles and Saddle-clothes very richly imbroidered, whereof three for the King, and three for the Queen; two Cross-bows, with sheafs of Arrows; four Fowling-pieces inlaid with Plates of Gold; and a couple of Lyme-hounds of singular qualities: which the King and Queen in very kind manner accepted; and then on the 30th. of *May*, the Lord Ambassador being sent for, the King came forth into a large Room; where having a little Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix, the Archbishop of *Toledo* read the Oath, at the reading whereof the Lord Ambassador held the King's Hands between his, and the King kneeling down, laid his Hands upon the Book, and after his Oath, subscribed to the Articles formerly concluded. Whilst the Earl of *Nottingham* was thus imployed in *Spain*, the Right Honourable *Edward* Earl of *Hertford*, was likewise sent Ambassador to *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Archdukes of *Austria*, to take their Oaths, for confirmation of the said Articles of Peace, which were taken at *Bruxels* the 1st. of *May* with great state and solemnity: After which, as the Earl bestowed on the Archdukes Servants, to the full summ of 3600 Pounds; so the Archduke, at his departure, bestowed upon the Earl a Jewel worth 900 Pounds, and a Suit of Arras worth 500, and bore his Charges all the time of his stay at *Bruxels*. And now was King *James* truly *Rex pacificus*, in peace and amity with all Princes of *Christendom*, which few of his Ancestors were.

Ostend taken by Marquis *Spinola*.

A little before this, in the Month of *August*, in the year 1604. the strong Town of *Ostend* in *Flanders*, after above 3 years siege, and the slaughter of above two hundred Men of both sides; and in defence whereof Sir *Francis Vere* General, and his Brother Sir *Horatio Vere* had shewed great Valour, was by the Marquis *Spinola* taken: for which Service, the King of *Spain* made him Duke of *Santa Severina*, and the Lord General of all the Forces in the *Low-Countries*.

An. Reg. 3. 1605.

In this same the third year of King *James* his Reign, when he kept Saint *George*'s Feast at *Greenwich*, and there made two new Knights of the Garter; namely, the High and Mighty Prince Duke *Ulrick*, Heir of *Sweden*, and Brother to our gracious Queen *Anne*; and the Right Noble Lord, *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Northampton*. And upon the Second, following, in the Hall at *Greenwich*, being richly hanged with Arras, he created three Earls, one Viscount, and four Barons, namely, Sir *Robert Cecil*, Viscount *Cranborne*, he created Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Bindon*, his eldest Brother, he created Earl of *Exeter*, and Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, he created Earl of *Montgomery*; then *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penshurst*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, he created Viscount *Lisle*: Sir *John Stanhope*, Vicechamberlain to the King, he made Lord *Stanhope* of *Harrington*: Sir *George Carew*, Vicechamberlain to the Queen, he made Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*: Mr. *Thomas Arundel* of *Devonshire*, he made Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*: and Mr. *William Cavendish*, he made Lord *Cavendish* of *Hardwick*.

Earls and Barons created.

Richard Haidock pretending to preach in his sleep.

About this time, a strange Fancy possessed the Brains of a professed Physician, one *Richard Haidock*, of *New-College* in *Oxford*, who pretended to preach at night in his sleep, in such sort, that though he were called aloud or stirred and pull'd by the Hands or Feet, yet would make no shew of either hearing or feeling. And this he did often, in the presence of many honourable Persons that came

Charles E. of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral is sent into *Spain* to take the King's Oath, and his Entertainment.

The Kings Presents to the King and Queen of *Spain*.

came to hear him, so as within a short time his Fame was spread through the Land, by the name of the *Sleeping-Preacher*. At length, the King commanded him to be brought to the Court, where His Majesty sate up the most part of the Night to attend the Event: when at last *Haidock* making a shew to be asleep, began to pray; then taking a Text, made his Division, applying it to his Purpose; for in his Preaching his use was to inveigh against the Pope, against the Cross in Baptism, and against the last Canons of the Church of *England*: and having ended his Sermon, seemed to continue sleeping. His Majesty having well observed the manner of his carriage, after a few Days called the said *Haidock* before him, and in Conference with him (as he had indeed an admirable sagacity in discovering of Fictions) made him confess, that all he did was but imposture; and thereupon to fall upon his Knees, and ask Forgiveness: which the King granted, upon Condition, That in all Places he should openly acknowledge his Offence; because many were brought into belief, that his nightly Preaching was either by inspiration, or by vision.

Discovered by the King.

We may not here think it unworthy the relating, seeing King *James* thought it not unworthy the seeing; thereby to observe the nature of the *Lyon*, and to make a solemn matter of it: for on *Monday* the 3d. of *June* (taking with him the Duke of *Lenox*, and divers Earls and Lords) he went to the Lyons Tower, and caused two Lyons, a Male and Female, to be put forth, and then a live Cock to be cast before them; which they (as being their natural Enemy) presently killed, and sucked his Blood: Then a live Lamb to be put down to them; which the generous Lyons (as having respect to its innocency) never offered to touch, though the Lamb was so bold as to go close unto them: Then the King caused those Lyons to be taken away, and another Lyon to be put forth, and two Mastiffs to be put in to them, who presently flew upon the Lyon, and turned him upon his Back; and though the Lyon were superiour to them in strength, yet it seems they were his matches in courage, and so much superior as they were the first Assailants; with whom otherwise, perhaps the Lyon would not have offered to meddle.

The King tries the nature of the Lyon, with a Cock and a Lamb.

Charles, the King's younger Son was created Duke of *York*, and the solemn manner of it.

On *Friday* the 4th. of *January*, in the King's second Year, *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, the King's second Son, being then but four Years old, was created Duke of *York*; which because it was done with extraordinary solemnity, is not unworthy to have the manner of it here related. First were appointed Knights of the *Bath*, the Duke of *Albany* himself, then the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, *Will. Cecill* Son and Heir to the Viscount *Cranborn*, *Allen Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Somerset*, second Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, *Francis Mannors*, Brother to the Earl of *Rutland*, *Thomas Howard*, second Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*; and *John Harrington*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Harrington*: the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* were Esquires to the Duke of *Albany*. All the Knights took their Lodging that Night in the first Gate-house going to *King's-street*; where they supped, and had Baths provided for them: the next Morning, being *Saturday*, they went out into the Park in their Hermits-Weeds, the Minstrels playing, and the Heralds going before them into the Court, and so into the Chapel, where every Knight with his Esquires went to the Alter, and there offered, (the Dean of the Chapel, in a rich Cope, holding the Basin.) After this they went up into their Lodgings, and there new attired themselves in Robes of Crimson-Taffaty, with Hats and white Feathers, and so went back to the great Chamber: where, by the King, they were girded with the Sword, and had gilt Spurs put upon them. This done, they were solemnly served at Dinner, and after went again to the Chapel, and there offered their Swords. The next Day being *Sunday*, and *Twelfth-day*, in Robes of Purple-Sattin, with Doctors Hoods on their Shoulders, and Hats with white Feathers, they issued out of the Revestry with the Duke of *Albany* (being then to be made Duke of *York*) into the Hall, where the King sat under the Cloth of Estate; and then the Heralds going before, the Knights of the *Bath* followed, and then the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord-Chamberlain came alone, then followed *Henry Howard* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Charles Blount* Earl of *Devonshire*, carrying the Robes of Estate for the Duke of *York*; after whom, *Wriothesley*, Earl of *Southampton*, carried the Coronet, *George Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, the Golden-Rod, the Earl of *Worcester* the Cap of Estate, and the Earl of *Nottingham* bore the Duke of *Albany* in his Arms, supported by the Earls of *Dorset* and *Northumberland*; who all coming in this Order before the King, the Duke of *Albany* was, after the Patent read, created Duke of *York*, with the Robes and Coronet put upon him, and the Golden-Rod delivered into his Hand. All which performed, they went to Dinner, and the Solemnity ended.

About this time, on the 15th of *June*, *Thomas Douglas*, a *Scotch* Man, was committed to the Tower, and had Irons put upon him, being sent hither but 3 Days before, from the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. His Offence was, That he had Counterfeited the King's Privy-Seal to divers Princes of *Germany*; one to the Archbishop of *Cullen*, another to the Archbishop of *Tryer*, another to the Duke of *Cleve*, another to the Archbishop of *Mogustia*, and a fifth to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; whereof being examined and convicted, he was drawn on a Hurdle into *Smithfield*, and there hanged and quartered.

Thomas Douglas a Scotch Man hanged in *Smithfield*; and why.

And now was a second Parliament appointed to be held at *Westminster* on the 19th. of *March* following: when four Days before the Day of sitting, the King, the Queen, and Prince, rode solemnly in great State through the City of *London*, where in divers Places were erected Pageants, Presents given, Orations made, and all demonstrations of love and observance: And then the Parliament beginning, the King made a long and loving Speech to the House, wherein he signified the cause of his calling it. But in the time when it should have proceeded, there was suddenly discovered a Plot of Treason (so dammable and foul, that Posterity will hardly think it true, when they shall hear of it:) The Plot was to blow up with Gunpowder both Houses of Parliament at a time, when the King, Prince, and all the Nobility should be sitting in the Upper-House, and all the Knights and Burgesses in the Lower.

The Gunpowder-Treason.

By whom first plotted.

The principal Contriver of this Plot was *Robert Catesbie*, a Gentleman of great Account in *Northamptonshire*, descended from that *Catesbie*, who had been special Counsellor of King *Richard* the III. to whose Family the Divine Providence had now ordained to give a disastrous Period. This *Catesbie*, not able to perform the Work himself alone, draws in many to assist him,

And with what Assistants.

as namely, *Thomas Piercy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *John Wright*, *Francis Tresham*, *Guido Fawkes*, and at last Sir *Everard Digby*, all earnest Papists, and all bound by Oath, and by receiving the Sacrament to be secret. For effecting of this Plot, they hired a House close adjoining to the Upper-House of Parliament, where they were to dig through a Wall, for the fit placing of their Powder. About *Candlemas* they had wrought the Wall half through; when suddenly they heard a noise in the next Room, which made them fear they had been discovered: but sending *Guy Fawkes* (who went now under the Name of *John Johnson*, as Master *Piercy*'s Man) to see what the Matter was, he brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-coals had been laid, and there now a selling; and the Room offered to be let for a Yearly Rent. This Room therefore, as most fit for their purpose, being right under the Parliament-House, Master *Piercy* presently went and hired, laying into it 10 Barrels of Powder, which they covered with Billets and Faggots, for fear of being discovered. Thus the first part of the Plot was put in good readiness. It now remained to consider what was to be done, when the Blow should be given; for though the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of *York*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* should still be safe, and so they should be no nearer their End then now they were. This Work therefore, for surprizing the Duke of *York*, *Piercy* undertook, and for surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*, they agreed upon a match of Hunting, near to *Duncburch*, under colour whereof they would draw company together, and surprize her at the Lord *Harrington*'s House in *Warwickshire*, where she then lay, and then proclaim her Queen, and so be sure to have

By what means first discovered.

all things done as they would themselves. Thus far their bloody Plot went fairly on, and had perhaps gone on so still, if they had continued only bloody: but now a tenderness of Heart took some of them, left their Friends should perish together with the rest, and this tenderness overthrows them; for to prevent such promiscuous slaughter, a Letter was framed, and sent to the Lord *Montagle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, brought him by one of his Foot-men, which he received from an unknown Man in the Street. The Letter was this: *My Lord, Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would wish you, as you tender your life, to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: And think not slightly of this advertisement; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt this Letter; and I hope you will make good use of it.*

My Lord having read this Letter, though much perplexed, yet went presently to the Court at *Whitehall*, (the King being then a Hunting at *Royston*) and delivered it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, principal Secretary of State; and the Earl having read it, acquainted first the Lord-Chamberlain with it, and then the Lord-Admiral, the Earl of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, who, as soon as the King was returned from Hunting, acquainted him with it; the Earl of *Salisbury* telling him, that he thought it must be written either by a Fool or Mad-man, because of those Words, (*for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter*;) for if the danger were so soon past, what needed any warning? But the King considering it more deeply, apprehended presently some violent motion; and that it must be some sudden danger by blowing up with Powder: and thereupon commanded, that diligent search should be made in the Parliament-House, and all other Rooms and Lodgings near adjoining; which search was made by the Lord-Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, who entring the Cellar under the Upper-House, found there great store of Faggots and Billets; which was answered to be for Mr. *Piercy*'s own provision: but then it being considered why such store should be laid in for Mr. *Piercy*, who used to make but little stay in Town, and thereupon more diligent search being made, there was found under the Billets one of the Barrels of Powder, and after that all the rest, being 36; together with other Instruments fit for their purpose: and then espying the said *Fawkes* to stand suspiciously, they apprehended him, and found in his Pocket a piece of Touch-wood, a Tinder-box to light the Touch-wood, and a Watch, which Mr. *Piercy* had bought the Day before, to try the short and long burning of the Touch-wood, which he had prepared to give fire to the train of Powder. The Plot being thus discovered, yet the most of the Confederates met at *Duncburch*, as they had agreed; where they divulged many detestable Untruths against the King and State; signifying withal, that they were there met for advancement of the Catholick Cause, hoping thereby to have many to join with them in their Rebellion. But this availed them nothing; for first Sir *Richard Verney*, High-Sheriff of *Warwickshire*, chased them from thence; and Sir *Richard Walsh*, Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, knowing them to be entred into Mr. *Littleton*'s House at *Walbach*, beset them round, where *Catesbie* and *Piercy* issuing forth, were both slain with one shot of a Musquet; and after them, both the *Wrights*, *John* and *Christopher*, were likewise slain outright; *Thomas Winter* was taken alive: all which time, *Francis Tresham* remained still about the Court, offering his service for their suppression: but being suspected, was examined, and sent to the Tower, where he confest all, and within a few Days after died of the Strangury. On the 27th. of *January* following, a Commission was directed to divers Lords and Judges of both Benches, for tryal of the rest of the Confederates; namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Guido Fawkes*, *Robert Keys*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoodingtree* in *Warwickshire*, Esquire, *John Grant* late of *Northbrook*, in the County of *Warwick*, Esquire; *Ambrose Rookwood*, late of *Stamingfield*, in *Suffolk*, Esquire;

Fawks first apprehended.

Catesbie and *Piercy* slain.

The rest of the Confederates arraigned, condemned, and executed.

Sir

Sir *Everard Digby*, late of *Gothurst* in *Buckinghamshire*, Knight, who were all condemned, and had Judgment to dye; and on the *Thursday* following, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Grant* and *Bates*, were accordingly drawn, hanged and quartered on the West end of *Paul's* Church in *London*: and the *Friday* the other Four, namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Keyt*, *Rookwood*, and *Fawks*, were executed in the Parliament-yard at *Westminster*. Of all whom, none was so much lamented as Sir *Everard Digby*, and indeed worthily; for he was a goodly Personage, and of excellent Parts, and had it seems been cunningly drawn in, and bound to Secrecy by Oath, when he little thought of any such Treason.

The Earl of *Northumberland* committed to the *Tower*; and why.

The 7th. of *November* the Earl of *Northumberland*, upon suspicion of being acquainted with the Plot, was first commanded to his House, and after a while committed to the *Tower*. And thus was this great Plot discovered, and the Plotters punished to the great rejoycing of all People: insomuch that even the King of *Spain's* and Archduke's Embassadors made Bonfires, and threw Money among the People in token of Joy. And at this time, on the 4th. of *January*, the *Spanish* Embassador delivered a Present to the King from the King his Master; namely six Jennets of *Andalusia*, with Saddles very richly imbroidered, and Saddle-cloths of Cloth of *Tissue*: one of which Jennets was Snow-white, and had a Mane which reached to the ground. But this was a Present sent before any knowledge had of the Powder-Treason. But as soon as this was known, there was presently another Present sent from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*, of purpose to congratulate the King's happy Deliverance from the intended Powder-Treason; and the Present was brought by Don *John de Mendoza*, which was a Robe of Murry-Sattin, imbroidered all over with Amber-Leather; and upon the Leather, in every seam and skirt twice imbroidered about with Gold, the fore-part whereof was set with 48 Tags, three inches long of beaten Gold, hallow within, and filled with Ambergrease: also two large Chains of Ambergrease; two Carkanets of Ambergrease, a Velvet-Cap, with Gold-Buttons, curiously enamelled, and a Girdle suitable to the Buttons: all which were presented together in a large Vessel of Gold, in form of a Bason; so as it seems there was none rejoiced more for the overthrow of this Plot for the Catholick Cause, than the Catholick King himself. And now King *James*, not to be unmindful to the Lord *Monteagle*, for being the means of discovering this Treason, he gave unto him in Fee-Farm of Crown-land 2000 *l.* to him and his Heirs, and 500 *l.* a Year besides, during his Life. And not to be unthankful to God for the Deliverance, he caused the 5th. of *November*, being the Day of the Discovery, to be kept Holy, with Prayer and Thanksgiving to God; which was then solemnly performed, and hath been since, and is likely for ever to be continued.

A Present from the King of *Spain* to K. *James*.

Another from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*.

The Lord *Monteagle's* Reward for being a means of discovering the Treason.

The Fifth of *November* kept Holy in thankfulness for this Deliverance.

A Rumour spread, That the King was slain at *Oking*, but false; and the joy upon the hearing the Truth.

But in the midst of this great Joy, there was suddenly spread a rumour of great Sorrow; for on *Saturday* the 22d. of *March*, news was brought to the Court for certain, That the King was slain at *Oking*, 20 Miles from *London*, stabbed with an invenomed Knife: whereupon the Court-Gates were presently shut, and double Guard set in all Places about *London*, and all Mens Minds were infinitely distracted: but within two Hours, all these Clouds were clean dispersed, and the Sun began to shine out again; and it was certainly known, that the King was safe, and in perfect health. For which a Proclamation was presently sent forth to signifie it to the People; and that Afternoon the King came himself to *Whitehall*, where thousands of People, ravished with joy, came flocking to see him: and so general was the Rejoycing, that the *Spanish* Embassador gave Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Master of the Ceremonies, a Chain of Gold, of good value, for bringing him the News; though afterward it was thought by some, that this Rumour was but politickly devised to make the Parliament and People more tender of the King's safety, and by making them more sensible what a Treasure they had of his Life, to make them more willing to part with their Treasure for his Living, as indeed this Parliament they did, giving more Subsidies than are usual.

The 28th of *March* following, *Henry Garnet*, Provincial of the *English* Jesuites, was arraigned in *Guild-hall*, for concealing the foresaid Treason; where he had judgment to be hang'd, drawn and quartered: and accordingly, on the 3d. of *May*, was drawn from the *Tower* to the West-end of *Paul's* Church, and there executed. At his death he confessed his Fault, asked Forgiveness, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any Treason against the King or State, as a course which God would never prosper.

Henry Garnet, a Jesuite, executed and why.

On *Tuesday* the 20th. of *May* were installed at *Windsor*, Knights of the Garter, *Robert Cecill*, Earl of *Salisbury*; and *Thomas Howard*, Viscount *Bindon*: both of them honourably attended; but the Earl of *Salisbury* beyond ordinary proportion.

There was yet a Fag end of the late Powder-Treason behind to be examined: whereupon two Barons of the Realm; namely, *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, were brought from the *Tower* to the *Star-chamber*, and there not charged indeed with any Point of the Treason, but only reflectingly, because they neglected to appear at the Parliament, according to the Summons; for which neglect only, without any further Charge, they were fined to pay to the King, the Lord *Mordant* 30000 Marks, and the Lord *Sturton* 6000: and to be Prisoners during the King's Pleasure. But on the 27th. of *June*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* was likewise brought from the *Tower* to the *Star-chamber*, and more directly charged with Circumstances concerning the Treason, specially in regard of *Thomas Piercy*, whom he had admitted to be one of the King's Gentlemen Pensioners, without ministring unto him the Oath of *Supremacy*, knowing him to be a Recusant: for which, and some Misprisions, he was fined to pay to the King 30000 Pounds, to forfeit all his Offices, and to be kept Prisoner during the King's Pleasure; as indeed he continued many Years, and at last released, was yet confined.

Henry Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, fined, and why.

Henry Earl of *Northumberland* fined, and why.

1606.

Christiernus King of *Denmark*, the Queens Brother, comes into *England*, and of his Entertainment.

It was now the Fourth Year of King *James* his Reign, and was a time of Princely Visitation; for this Summer the 17th. of *July*, *Christiernus*, King of *Denmark*, Brother to the Queen, having been long expected, with eight Ships came into the River of

Thames, and anchored before *Gravesend*; to whom the next Day, King *James*, with Prince *Henry*, and divers of the Lords went by Barge, and conducted him to *London*, where he stayed till the 12th. of *August* following; in which time he was entertained with all the Magnificence that could be devised; the King and he riding in great State through the City, where Pageants in many Places were erected: And after he had been shewed the chief Places about *London*; as namely, the *Old Change*, the *Tower*, the Monuments at *Westminster* and had gone up to the top of *Paul's*, had been feasted by the King, by the Earl of *Salisbury*, four Days together at *Theobalds*, had seen Tilting, Fencing, Wrestling, and many other Pastimes, on the 12th. of *August*, conducted by the King, the Queen and Prince, with many other great Lords, he departed to his Ships, and in eight Days arrived at home. A happy thing when Princes can converse together like Private Persons, and are not kept asunder with jealousies of State.

Frauncis Prince of *Vaudemont* comes into *England*, with what great Train, and of his Entertainment.

After the King of *Denmark*'s departure, on the 23d. of *September* arrived at *London*, *Frances* Prince of *Vaudemont*, third Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, accompanied with 7 Earls, 10 Barons, 40 Gentlemen of Quality, and 200 common Persons; who all, the 24th. of *September* went by Coach to the King at *Hampton-Court*, where 14 Days together they were feasted, and royally entertained, and then returned.

An Insurrection in *Northamptonshire*, *Warwickshire*, and *Leicestershire*, about Inclosures, by Captain *Pouch*, and how suppressed.

But these Festivals were followed with a little Disturbance: for in *May*, the Year after, great Assemblies were gathered together in *Northamptonshire*, *Warwickshire*, and *Leicestershire*, throwing down Inclosures at first, without any particular Head; but at last rose up a base Fellow, called *John Reynolds*, whom they named Captain *Pouch*, because he had a great leather Pouch hanging by his side, who affirmed to the Company, That in that Pouch he had sufficient to defend them against all Comers: but when he was afterward apprehended, and his Pouch searched, there was nothing found in it but a piece of green Cheese. Proclamation was made, commanding them to surcease their disorder; but this prevailed nothing, till the King sent *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas* Earl of *Exeter*, *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, and Sir *Edward Cook* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, to suppress them by force of Arms, and to punish the Levellers according to the nature of their Offences; some by death, as for Treason, some by Fines, as for Routs; but Captain *Pouch* was made Exemplar.

The King is made Free of the *Clothworkers*.

On *Friday* the 11th. of *June*, his Majesty, attended with divers Lords, dined with the Lord-Mayor Sir *John Watts*, who after Dinner presented him with a Purse full of Gold, and humbly besought his Majesty, that he would be pleased to be Free of his Company the *Clothworkers*. To which the King graciously condescended; and thereupon called to Sir *William Stone*, Master of the Company, and said, *Stone give me thy Hand, and now I am a* Clothworker: *And in token of my special Favour to this Fraternity, I do here give to this Company a brace of Bucks yearly for ever, against the time of the Election of the Master and Wardens.* At which time also many Lords and Gentlemen were made Free of the *Clothworkers*.

On *Thursday* the 16th. of *July*, the King and Prince, with many Lords, dined at *Merchant-Taylors*-Hall, where the Master and Wardens of that Society presented the King with a Purse of Gold, giving him humble Thanks for gracing their Fraternity with his Royal Presence; and therewithal shewed him a Roll, wherein were registred the Names of 7 Kings, 1 Queen, 17 Princes and Dukes, 2 Dutchesses, 1 Archbishop, 21 Earls, 68 Barons, 7 Abbots, 7 Priors, with a great Number of Knights and Esquires, who had been Free of that Company; which his Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, That he himself was already Free of another Company; but the Prince, his Son, should be free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his Head: whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a Purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, That not only himself would be Free of the *Merchant-Taylors*, but the Lords also that were with him should do the like. All which was performed with great solemnity.

The Prince is made Free of the *Merchant-Taylors*, and a List of Great Personages that had been of that Company.

Sir *Thomas Knevet*, and *Fervis Clifton*, made Barons by calling them to the Parliament.

The 4th. of *July* this Year, Sir *Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament, by the Name of Baron of *Estrick*; the next Day Sir *Julius Cæsar*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sworn a Privy-Counsellor; and the 16th. of *November* following, Sir *Fervis Clifton*, Knight, was called to the Parliament by Writ, by the Name and Title of Baron of *Leyton Bromefwold*, whose only Daughter and Heir was soon after married to *Esme Steward*, Baron of *Aubigny* in *France*, sole Brother of the Duke of *Lenox*; whom he afterward succeeded in that Dignity.

The Earl of *Tir-Oen* flies beyond Sea, to solicite Princes against the King.

About this time, *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Oen*, most ungrateful and utterly forgetful of the King's great Clemency to him, together with *Tyrconnel*, *Hugh* Baron of *Dungannon*, and divers other *Irish* Lords, fled into the Parts beyond Sea, with purpose to solicite foreign Princes against the King, and to offer the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope; which was presently signified to the Realm by Proclamation.

George Fervis, a Seminary Priest, and *Thomas Garnet* a Jesuite executed; and why.

On the 11th. of *April* this Year, *George Fervis* a Seminary-Priest, and the 23d. of *June* following, *Thomas Garnet* a Jesuite, were both executed at *Tyburn*: *Thomas Garnet* having the Favour offered him to be pardoned, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he refused.

The Earl of *Dorset*, Lord-Treasurer of *England* dies suddenly.

The 19th. of *April*, at *Whitehall*, died *Thomas* Earl of *Dorset*, Lord-Treasurer; whose Death (because he died suddenly as he sat at the Council-Table) was by some untowardly interpreted: But being dead, and his Head opened, there were found in it certain little Bags of Water; which whether by the straining of his study the Night before, in which he sate up till 11 a Clock, or otherwise by their own maturity, suddenly breaking and falling upon his Brain, caused his sudden death. So certain it is, that death comes not always by determinate Steps, but sometimes *per saltum*, and we all carry about us the Causes of sudden death, though unsensible of them till we be unsensible. This Lord was of excellent Parts, and in his Place exceeding industrious; and I have heard many Chequer Men say, there never was a better Treasurer, both for the King's Profit, and the Good of the Subject.

The

The 20th. of *May*, at *Windsor*, were made two Knights of the *Garter*, *George* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*: but the Earl of *Dunbar*, within a Year or two after loft both his Honour and his Life; but not his Life without Honour, having been a faithful Servant, and a wife Counsellor to the King, and was honourably interred in the Church at *Westminster*.

Divers *English* Pirates turn *Turks*.

About this time were many famous *English* Pirates that ftuck not some of them to turn *Turks*, and lived in great ftate at *Tunis*, of whom the chief were *Ward*, *Bishop*, Sir *Francis Verney*, and *Charnock*; whom after many depredations and outragious Acts at Sea, partly the King of *Spain* fupprefled, and partly the King of *England*; and 19 of their Affociates being taken, were hanged at *Wapping*.

The *New Exchange* on the *Strand* builded.

Alfo at this time, in the *Strand*, on the North fide of *Durham*-Houfe, where ftood an old long Stable, *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury*, now Lord Treasurer of *England*, caufed to be erected a ftately Building: which upon *Tuesday* the 10th. of *April*, in the Year 1609. was begun to be richly furnifhed with Wares; and the next Day after, the King the Queen, and Prince, with many great Lords and Ladies came to fee it: and then the King gave it the Name of *Britain's Burfe*.

Fifhing upon the *Englifh* Coaft forbidden to Strangers.

On the 8th. of *May* this Year, the King by Proclamation prohibited all Foreign Nations, That after *August* they fhould not fifh upon any of the Coafts of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, nor the Iles adjacent, without the fpecial Licenfe from the Commiffioners in that behalf ordained.

Allum firft made in *England*; and by whom.

At this time, the making of *Allum*, which heretofore, with great Charges had been fetched from Forreign Parts, was by divers that laboured in it, and now laftly by Sir *John Bennham*, brought to perfection in *England*; and thereupon the King prohibited, upon pain of confifcation, any *Allum* to be brought from beyond the Seas, and took the whole Traffick thereof to himfelf.

The King hath aid of his Subjects for making Prince *Henry* Knight.

And now the King, according to an ancient Cuftom, had aid of his Subjects through *England*, for making his eldeft Son, Prince *Henry*, Knight, which yet was levyed with great moderation; and the Prince, to fhew himfelf worthy of it, performed his firft Feats of Arms at *Barriers*, with wonderful skill and courage; being not yet full 16 Years of Age.

1610. An. Reg. 8.

It was now the 8th. Year of King *James* his Reign, being the Year 1610. when Prince *Henry* being come to the Age of 17 Years, it was thought fit he fhould be initiated into Royalty: and thereupon, the 30th. of *May*, this Year, he was created Prince of *Wales* in moft folemn manner; which was thus: *Garter* King at Arms bare the Letters-Patents, the Earl of *Suffex* the Robes of Purple-Velvet, the Earl of *Huntington* the Train, the Earl of *Cumberland* the Sword, the Earl of *Rutland* the Ring, the Earl of *Derby* the Rod, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Cap and Coronet, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Northampton* fupported the Prince, being in his Surcoat only and bare-headed: and in this manner being conducted to the King, attended on by the Knights of the *Bath*, 25 in Number, all great Men, and Great Mens Sons; the Earl of *Salisbury*, principal Secretary, read the Letters-Patents, the Prince kneeling all the while before the King: and at the Words accuftom'd, the King put on him the Robe, the Sword, the Cap and the Coronet, the Rod and the Ring; and then kiffed him on the Cheek, and fo the Solemnity ended.

The Prince is created Prince of *Wales*, and the folemn manner of his creating.

After this, it was thought fit he fhould keep his Court by himfelf; and thereupon Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governour, was now made his Lord-Chamberlain, Sir *Edward Philips* his Chancellor, and all other Officers affigned him, belonging to a Prince's Court: wherein he fhewed himfelf fo early ripe for Majefty, that he feemed to be a King while he was yet but Prince; and all Mens Eyes began to fix upon him.

He keeps Court by himfelf, and who were his great Officers.

King *James* had long fince fhut up the Gates of *Janus*, and was in Peace with all Princes abroad; his only care now was to keep Peace at home: and to this end, the three firft Days of *June*, in his own Perfon, he heard the differences between the Eccleſiaſtical and the Temporal Judges argued, touching the Prohibitions out of the *King's-Bench*, and *Common-Pleas*: to this end, the 8th. 9th. and 10th. of *June*, he heard the manifold Complaints of the Abufes of the Victuallers, and other Officers of his Navy-Royal: and this end, the 4th. of *June*, 1610. he once again, by Proclamation, commanded all *Romish* Priefts, Seminaries and Jefuites, as being the chief Incendiaries of Troubles, to depart this Kingdom by the 5th. of *July* next, and not to return upon pain of feverity of the Law: as alfo all Recufants to return home to their dwellings, and not to remain in *London*, nor to come within 10 Miles of the Court, without fpecial Licenfe. After which Proclamation, the Oath of Allegiance was prefently miniftred to all ſorts of People, and their Names certified to the Lords of the Council, that refufed to take it; and this he the rather did out of confideration of the bloody Fact committed lately by one *Ravillack*, upon the Perfon of the Renowned King of *France*, *Henry* the IV. and whereas Queen *Elizabeth*, in her 43 Year, had granted her Letters-Patents to continue for 15 Years to the *Eaſt-India* Merchants; now upon their humble Petition the King was pleafed to enlarge their Patents, giving them a Charter to continue for ever, enabling them thereby to be a Body Corporate and Politick: which fo encouraged the Merchants, that they built a Ship of 1200 Tun, the greateſt that was ever made in this Kingdom by Merchants; which the King and Prince honoured with going to *Deptford* to fee it, and then named it *The Trades Increaſe*: and at this time gave to Sir *Thomas Smith* (Governour of that Company) a fair Chain of Gold, with a Jewel, wherein was his Picture. But this great Ship having been in the *Red-Sea*, and returning to *Bantham*, was there loſt, and moſt of her Men caſt away. But then the King himſelf built the goodlieſt Ship of War that was ever built in *England*, being of the Burthen of 1400 Tun, and carrying 64 Pieces of great Ordnance, which he gave to his Son Prince *Henry*, who named it after his own dignity, *The Prince*.

Seminaries and Jeſuites commanded to avoid the Realm; and why.

The *Eaſt-India* Company made a Corporation, with large Privileges. They build a Ship of 1200 Tun called *The Trades Increaſe*, which was Caſt away in the *Red-Sea*. Thereupon the King builds a Ship of 1400 Tun, called *The Prince*, and gives it to the Prince.

And now whereas a Parliament had been holden this Year, and was prorogued to a certain Day; the King perhaps not finding it to comply with his Deſigns, or for ſome other Cauſe known to himſelf, on the laſt Day of *December*, under the great Seal of *England* diſſolved it.

The King diſſolves a Parliament under the Great Seal of *England*.

Before

Sir *Robert Carre* comes into the King's Favour, and of the many honours heaped suddenly upon him.

Before it is ime, one Sir *Robert Carre*, a Gentleman of *Scotland*, or of the Borders, at a time of Tilting before the King, chanced with a fall off his Horſe to break his Leg: upon which Miſchance, he was forced for ſome Days to keep his Bed, in which time the King was ſome time pleaſed to come and viſit him; and then it was firſt perceived, that the King had begun to caſt an Eye of Favour upon him: and indeed from that time forward (as he was a very fine Gentleman, and very wiſe) many great Favours were heaped upon him. So as on *Eaſter-Monday*, in the Year 1611. he was created Viſcount *Rocheſter*; on the 22d. of *April*, 1612. was ſworn a Privy Counſellor: on the 4th. of *November*, 1613. was created Earl of *Somerſet*; and the 10th. of *July* following, made Lord-Chamberlain.

But this Sun-ſhine of Fortune laſted not long; yet not by any Inconſtancy in the King, but by the Earl's own undeſerving; which thus fell out: The Right Hopourable *Robert*, Earl of *Eſſex*, had before this time married the beautiful Lady *Frances Howard*, Daughter of *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, who upon Cauſes judicially heard, were afterward Divorced, and left free to marry any other. After which Divorce, this great Favourite (the Earl of *Somerſet*) takes her for Wife; the King gracing their Marriage with all demonſtrations of Love and Favour; and the Lords gracing it with a ſtately Maſque that Night: and a few Days after, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with moſt of the Nobility of the Kingdom, were Feaſted at Merchant-Taylors Hall by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen. But ſee how ſoon this fair Weather was over-caſt. For it happened, that one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a very ingenious Gentleman, and the Earl's ſpecial Friend, who had written a witty Treatiſe of a *Wife*; and it ſeems not thinking the Lady in all Points anſwerable to his deſcription, had been an earneſt diſſwader of the Match; and to ſtrengthen his Diſſwaſion, laid perhaps ſome unjuſt Imputation upon the Lady's Fame: which ſo incenſed them both againſt him, that a leſs Revenge could not give them ſatisfaction, than to take away his Life. So true is that Saying,

His falling into Diſgrace; and why.

Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?

Upon this they find Pretences to have the ſaid Sir *Thomas* committed to the *Tower*, and there by their Inſtruments effect their Revenge; ſome ſay by a poiſoned Tanſey ſent him to eat, ſome by a poiſoned Cliſter miniſtered unto him, but howſoever, effected it was. For which Fact, Sir *Jervis Helwis* then Lieutenant of the Tower, and three or four other of inferiour condition were put to death: the Lady and Earl themſelves were arraigned and condemned; but through the King's great Clemency had their Lives ſpared: but in ſuch ſort, as was to them no leſs grievous than death it ſelf; being never after ſuffered to ſee the King's Face, nor to come near his Court.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* Poiſoned.

Sir *Jervis Helwis*, Lieutenant of the Tower executed. The Earl of *Somerſet* and his Lady condemned, but their Lives ſpared.

This Favourite being thus out of Favour, there was place made for entertaining another; for indeed King *James* was of ſo ſociable and loving a nature, that he could not be long without an *Alter idem*, a Boſome-Friend, with whom to communicate his *Internos ſenſus*, and upon whoſe Shoulders he might ſometimes lay a Burthen, which he was not willing to bear himſelf; and this new Friend was Mr. *George Villiers*, a Gentleman of a good Houſe, but a younger Brother, but of ſo delicate a compoſure of Body, and withall of ſo excellent parts of mind, as if nature had framed him on purpoſe to be a King's Favourite. And indeed, never any Man was partaker of the Royal Influence like to him; made firſt a Knight and Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, ſoon after made a Viſcount and Maſter of the Horſe; a while after created Earl of *Buckingham*, then Marquis of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admiral: Laſtly, made Duke of *Buckingham*, the greateſt Title of Honour that a Subject is capable of, and yet this Title not greater than his Power; for all Matters of Grace paſſed from the King by him; and to grace him the more, his Mother (who after her Father's death, had married a younger Son of the Lord *Compton's*) was created Counteſs of *Buckingham*, his Siſter, who had married a Gentleman of no extraordinary Family, had her Huſband made Earl of *Denbigh*, his two Brothers were made, one of them Viſcount *Purbeck*, the other Lord *Hay*, beſides many other of his Friends and Kindred highly advanced. For this Lord affected not an Advancement that ſhould be only perſonal, but rather be in common to all his Family, and was one of the diſpoſition of ſome, who like to great Oaks, love to keep all that are near them under-wood; though it be in truth, both againſt Nature and Policy, to ſtand alone, when they ſhould be leſs ſubject to the violence of Wrath, if more ſtood together. And though never any Man had juſter Cauſe to be envied than he, yet never any Man was leſs envied; becauſe though his Honours made him great, yet they made him not ſwell; but he retained the like temper of affable carriage after his Advancement, as he had done before.

Mr. *George Villiers* comes into the King's Favour, and of the many Honours heaped ſuddenly upon him.

But before all theſe Favours were heaped upon him, many other great Paſſages had interveened; for firſt after the death of *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet*, *Robert*, Earl of *Salisbury*, had been Lord-Treaſurer, and after him *Thomas*, Earl of *Suffolk*. But this Lord, though of moſt noble diſpoſition, yet as having had his training up another way, ſeemed leſs ready in diſcharging the place; and whether for this, or for his Lady, taking too much upon her by his indulgence, the Staff was ſoon after taken from him; after whom there came in ſuch a ſequence of Treaſurers as no Age before had ever ſeen; all wiſe and able Men indeed: but yet in whom the Office ſeemed an Employment rather to ennoble the Officers than to enrich the King. For firſt Sir *Henry Montague* was taken from the *King's-Bench*, and on the 4th. of *December*, 1620. made Lord-Treaſurer, and preſently upon it Earl of *Manchester*; and before the Year went about, put off. After whom Sir *Lyonel Cranfield*, from Maſter of the Wards was made Lord-Treaſurer, and ſhortly after Earl of *Middleſex*; and then not only put off, but fined to pay the King 50000 Pounds. After him, Sir *James Ley*, from Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench* was made Lord-Treaſurer, and ſoon after Earl of *Marlborough*; and then having made a good return of his place, put it off himſelf. After him Sir *Richard Weſton*, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord-Treaſurer, and ſoon

Thomas Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord-Treaſurer, hath the Staff taken from him.

Four Lord Treaſurers made in four Years.

soon after Earl of *Portland*: so as within the compass of little more then 4 Years, 4 Treasurers in a row were made 4 Earls; enough to make a prescription for all Treasurers hereafter, to claim a Right of being made Earls, which yet I speak not as derogating from those worthy Men, whose Memories I reverence, but as observing, *Fataque fortunasque Virum*; so rare, as that there was never any Precedent of the like.

1612. The Lord *Sanquer* of *Scotland* hanged; and why.

Also the 25th. of *June*, 1612. the Lord *Sanquer*, a Nobleman of *Scotland*, having in a private Revenge suborned *Robert Carlile* to murther *John Turner*, a Master of Fence, thought by his Greatness to have born it out; but the King respecting nothing so much as Justice, would not suffer Nobility to be a shelter for Villany; but according to the Law, on the 29th. of *June*, the said Lord *Sanquer* having been arraigned and condemned by the Name of *Robert Creighton*, Esquire, was before *Westminster*-Hall Gate executed, where he died very penitent.

A Lottery granted for the Plantation of *Virginia*.

About this time, the King, in special favour for the present Plantation of *English Colonies* in *Virginia*, granted a Lottery to be held at the West-end of *Pauls*; whereof one *Thomas Sculpit*, a Taylor of *London* had the chief Prize, which was 4000 Crowns in fair Plate.

At this time also, the Corps of *Mary*, late Queen of *Scotland*, the King's Mother, was translated from *Peterborough*, to St. *Peter's* Church in *Westminster*, and from thence was carried to the Chappel-Royal there, where it was interred in a Royal Tomb, which the King had erected for her.

Sir *Robert Sherly* comes into *England* Embassador from the King of *Persia*.

About this time also, Sir *Robert Sherly*, third Son of Sir *Thomas Sherly*, of *Sussex*, Knight, who 16 Years past had betaken himself to travel, and had served divers Christian Princes for the space of five Years; but chiefly *Rodolphus* the *Roman* Emperor: who for his Service made him an Earl of the Empire. He afterward went into *Persia*, and served the *Persian* Ten Years, who made him General of the Artillery; and held him in so great Account, that he gave him the Lady *Teresia* in Marriage, whose Sister was one of the Queens of *Persia*; after which the *Persian* imployed him to sundry Princes of *Europe*, and last hither in special Embassage into *England* to King *James*, to whom he delivered his Letters, and shewed his Commission; all which signified the *Persian*'s great Love and Affection to His Majesty, with frank offer of free Commerce to all His Highness's Subjects through all the *Persians* Dominions. After a Year's stay here, in which time his Lady lay in of a Son, to whom the Queen was Godmother, and Prince *Henry* Godfather, he left the Child here in *England*, and then with his Lady departed into *Persia*.

An. Reg. 10 Frederick Prince Palatine of the Rhine comes into England.

It was now the Year 1612. and the 10th. of King *James* his Reign, when the Illustrious Prince *Frederick*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, with whom a Treaty of Marriage had been before with the Lady *Elizabeth*, on the 16th. of *October* arrived at *Gravesend*; to whom the Duke of *Lenox*, and divers other Lords were sent by the King, who conducted him to *Whitehall*, and from thence into the great Banquetting-house, where the King, the Queen, Prince *Henry*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* entertained him in all kind manner, and after by Barge conducted him to *Essex*-House, appointed for his Lodging. It was many Years since any King's Daughter had been married in *England*; which now happening, and to so Illustrious a Prince, was just cause of triumph and rejoycing: but see the misery of Humane Affairs; Joy can no sooner be setting forth, but Sorrow will be sure to follow her at the heels, as now indeed it happened: for on the 29th. of *October*, the Prince *Palatine*, with all the great Lords of the Kingdom, in most jovial manner dining at *Guild-hall*, Prince *Henry*, who was also invited and expected, could not come, being newly fallen exceeding sick of a popular and malignant Fever, which reigned that Year in most parts of this Land; whereof, on the 6th. of *November*, between 7 and 8 a Clock at Night, at his Court of St. *James*'s, he died. But he being infinitely beloved of the People, and one that had given great hope of proving an Heroick Prince, it caused suspicion in many Men's Heads, that Death was not without violence offered to Nature: some said, by bunches of Grapes given him to eat; some by Gloves of a poisoned Perfume, given him for a Present: but these were but idle Rumours and Conceits. It seems the Divine Providence had ordained it should be said of him, *Hunc tantum terris ostendunt Fata, nec ultra esse sinunt*: whose Death would have given a great blow to the Happiness of this Kingdom, if there had not been another Prince left, of a milder Spirit, perhaps, but so accomplished with all excellent Endowments, that there could be no great want of Prince *Henry*, as long as there was left Prince *Charles*. The Corps of Prince *Henry*, who died at the Age of 18 Years, 8 Months, and 17 Days, was drawn in a Chariot to the Abbey-Church at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Chapel Royal, on the 7th. of *December* following.

Prince *Henry* falls sick and dies.

This Accident something appalled the general Joy, but yet Triumphs went on. Upon Saint *Thomas*'s day, the *Palsgrave* and *Grave Maurice* were elected Knights of the Garter; and the 27th. of *December*, the *Palsgrave* was betrothed to the Lady *Elizabeth*. On *Sunday* the 7th. of *February*, the *Palsgrave* in person was installed Knight of the Garter at *Windsor*, and at the same time was *Grave Maurice* installed by his Deputy, Count *Ludowick* of *Nassaw*: On the 14th. of *February*, being *Shrove-Sunday*, and Saint *Valentine*'s-Day, this happy Marriage of the *Palsgrave*, with the Lady *Elizabeth*, was solemnized in the Chapel at *White-hall*. The Bride was led to Church by two Batchelors, her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton*, Lord Privy Seal; she was attired all in white, having a rich Crown of Gold upon her Head, her Hair hanging down at length, curiously beset with Pearls and precious Stones, her Train supported by 12 young Ladies in white Garments: The King gave her in Marriage; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* married them, the Bishop of *Bathe* and *Wells* preached the Bridal Sermon: which ended, the Bride was led home by two married Men, the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Nottingham* Lord-Admiral. This Marriage was solemnized the first Night with a stately Masque of Lords and Ladies; the second Night with a magnificent Masque of the

The Count *Palatine* is betrothed to the Lady *Elizabeth*, is married to her: and the Solemnity of their Marriage.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple*, and *Lincoln's-Inn*: the third Night with a sumptuous Masque of the Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple*, and *Gray's-Inn*, provided indeed then, but was not performed till *Saturday* Night following, by reason the concourse of People was so great it would have hindred the Show. After this, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen gave the Bride a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valu'd at 2000 Pounds. Now when all things had been done for honouring their Marriage, which either love and observance could devise, or Art and Magnificence could perform, on the 16th. of *April* the Bridegroom, with his Bride, took leave of the King and the Queen at *Rochester*, (who had by Barge conducted them thither) and there taking Ship, on the 29th. of *April* they arrived at *Flushing*; from whence the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viscount *Lisle*, and the Lord *Harington*, waited upon them to their chief City of *Heydelberg*, in all Places as they passed, being received with all state and magnificence: but then on the 14th. of *June*, the *English* Lords returning home, the Lord *Harington* dyed by the way at *Worms*, whose Corps was brought over, and buried in *England*.

They take their Leave and depart.

The Extent and Largeness of the Palsgrave's Country.

And here it will not be amiss to shew of what extent and largeness the Palsgrave's Country is, because of the iniquity of some that seek to disgrace it. It is in length about 160 *English* Miles, taking the Lower and Upper Country: In the Lower, he hath 20 walled Towns, besides an infinite Number of fair Villages; and 22 Houses of Residence. In the Upper, not so many walled Towns, and Houses, but those that are, generally fairer than in the Lower, especially *Amberg* and *Neomarket*.

But it is now time to look home: In the Year 1609. the King having Care for the Quietness of *Ireland*, had granted to the City of *London* the present Possession and Plantation in the Province of *Ulster*; whereupon afterward, in the Year 1612. they sent thither about 100 Persons of all sorts of Handy-crafts Men, ready to inhabit the Two Cities of *London-Derry*, and *Coleraine*; where they obtained Assurance for the full Conveyance. And for the Effecting of this, or the like Plantation in *Ireland*, King *James*, about this time began a new Order of Knights, which are called *Baronets*, because they take place next to Barons younger Sons; and he appointed certain Laws, to make them capable that should be admitted. First, That they should maintain the Number of 30 Foot-Soldiers in *Ireland* for 3 Years, after the rate of 8 Pence a Day; and to pay the Wages of one whole Year, upon the Passing of their Patent: then, That they should be Gentlemen of Blood of three Descents: and lastly, Should have Land of Inheritance, in Possession or immediate Reversion, to the value of 1000 Pounds *per Annum*: And to keep this Order from swarming, he limited it within the number of only 200, and as the Issue should fail, the Order to cease. But he that will look how well the end of the Institution, and the Laws of it have been observed, shall perhaps find it to be here, as it was in the Order of St. *Michael* in *France*, into which at first there were none admitted, but Princes and eminent Persons: but afterwards, all sorts of Men, without any difference, were admitted, that it came almost to be doubted, whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace the Persons, or the meanness of the Persons disgrace the Order: and indeed, when the Laws of an Institution are not in some measure observed, it seems to make a kind of nullity in the Collation.

The Order of Baronets erected, and why.

About this time, on *Sunday* the 24th. of *October*, an exemplar Penance was imposed upon Sir *Peckfall Brockas*, Knight, which was to stand at *Paul's-Cross* in a white Sheet, holding a Stick in his Hand, having been formerly convicted before the high Commissioners, for many notorious Adulteries with divers Women.

Sir *Peckfall Brockas* stands in a white Sheet at *Paul's*, and why.

The Year 1614. in the Month of *July*, *Christianus*, King of *Denmark*, (out of his love to his Sister, and King *James*) came the second time into *England*; but, as being now secure of himself, privately, and with a small Company, so as he came to the Queen at *Somerset-House* unexpected, and before any knowledge was had of his coming. But King *James* being then in Progress in *Bedfordshire*, and hearing of it, came presently back: and after he had entertained him here with Hunting, Hawking, Running at Ring, Bear-baiting, Plays, Fire-works, and Fencing, on the 4th. of *August* Prince *Charles* brought him aboard his Ship, who then took his Leave, and returned home.

Christianus King of *Denmark* comes the second time into *England*; and how entertained.

In *October*, this Year, was a Call of Serjeants at Law, being 11 in number, namely, *George Croke*, *William Towse*, *Richard Bawtry*, *Henry Finch*, *Thomas Chamberlain*, *Francis Moore*, *Thomas Atton*, *John Moore*, *Francis Harvey*, *Charles Chibborn*, and *Thomas Richardson*; and in *Trinity-Term* before there had been two other called, namely, Sir *Randal Crew* of *Lincoln's-Inn*, and Sir *Robert Heath* of *Gray's-Inn*, Knights.

A Call of Serjeants at Law.

About this time an Embassador came from the Grand Seignior of *Turks* to King *James*, desiring his Continual Love and Amity, and to be a means of making Atonement between him and the King of *Poland*; and withal presented him with a rich Present of Pearls: which was no small Honour to the King of *Great-Britain*, so to have so great a Potentate as the Emperor of *Turks* solicite him to be his Mediator.

The Military Garden first erected.

The King, King *James*, out of a natural Goodness and Affection to Peace, yet out of Providence he neglected not to be prepared for War; and therefore in the Year 1610. had granted Privileges to a Society called of *The Military-Garden*; and this Year 1614. caused a Muster of them to be presented before him; which was performed to his great Liking, and to the great Commendation of the City.

Water brought to *London* from *Chadwell* in *Hertfordshire* by Sir *Hugh Middleton*.

About this time a memorable Act was performed by Sir *Hugh Middleton*, Citizen and Goldsmith of *London*, and born in *Denbighshire*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite Cost, and indefatigable Labour, brought Water to the City of *London*, from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* and *Amwell* in *Hertfordshire*; having cut a Channel from thence to a Place near *Islington*, whether he conveyed it to a large Pond, and from thence in Pipes of young Elms to all Places of the City. For as the Poet saith:

And

Aegrum nisi Vulnus.

Nothing is so commodious for the Life of Man, as Water.

Moorfields made and drained.

Another memorable Act was about this time done on the North-side of *London*, called *Moorfields*; which being before environed with deep stinking Ditches, and noisom Common-Sewers, was now not only made fair and sweet, but so levelled into Walks, and set with Trees, that it is the pleasantest Place in all the City.

1615.

Smithfield first paved all over.

The next Year, being 1615. another memorable Act, for the benefit and beauty of the City of *London*, was performed: For *Smithfield*, which was before a rude dirty Place, was now paved all over; and strong Rails, sequestring the middle part of it, were set up to make a fair walking Place, and fit for Market, or any other use.

The Lady *Arbella* secretly marries Mr. *William Seymour*, she dies in the *Tower*.

The Lady *Arbella*, a near Kinswoman of the King's, had sometimes before, without the King's privity, secretly married Master *William Seymour*, younger Son of the Earl of *Hertford*, now Earl of *Hertford* himself; for which they were both committed to the *Tower*. And now this Year, on the 27th Day of *September*, she ended her Life there, and was buried in the Chapel-Royal at *Westminster*.

This Year also in *July* were installed Knights of the *Garter*, *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *George Villers*, Master of the Horse, and Sir *Robert Sidney* Viscount *Lisle*; and in other kind of Honour, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Carew*, and Doctor *Andrews*, Bishop of *Ely*, were sworn Privy-Counsellors.

Wales by the Death of Prince *Henry*, had been a good while without a *Prince*; and now to supply that Place, Prince *Charles* is created Prince of *Wales*: In joy whereof, the Town of *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*, and the City of *London*, performed great Triumphs. And the more to honour his Creation, there were made 25 Knights of the Bath, all of them Lords or Baron-Sons. And yet more to Honour it, there were 40 selected Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court*, that performed stately Justs at Barriers, with great Magnificence.

Prince *Charles* is created Prince of *Wales*.

This Year was a Censure of divers great Delinquents: For first Sir *Edward Coke* was upon Displeasure discharged from being *Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench*; and two Days after his Discharge, Sir *Henry Hobart*, the King's Serjeant at Law, was placed in his room. Next to him the Lord *Egerton*, whether disabled by Sickness or Age to exercise the Place, or upon Displeasure also, had the Seal taken from him, which was delivered to Sir *Francis Bacon*, the King's Attorney; he was first made Lord-Keeper, and the Lord *Egerton* dying soon after, Lord-Chancellor. Not long after him, Sir *Henry Yelverton*, the King's Attorney, for adding new Privileges to the *London* Charter, without the King's privity, was, in Displeasure put from his Place: and in his room was placed Sir *Thomas Coventry*, the Solicitor. But a while after, Sir *Henry Yelverton* was made a Puisny Judge of the Common Pleas; having indeed the reputation of an excellent Lawyer.

Sir *Edward Coke*, the Lord *Egerton*, and Sir *Henry Yelverton*, put from their Places.

And yet this Work of Censuring stayed not here; for much about this time, *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord-Treasurer of *England*, had the Staff of his Office taken from him; which was soon after delivered to Sir *Henry Montague*, Lord Chief-Justice of the *King's Bench*. If Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the *Prerogative-Court*, had made a little more haste, he might have made one in this number of Delinquents: but he came short Three or Four Years; and then being charged by his own Servant with Bribery, he was put from his Place, and censured in the Star-Chamber to pay 20000 Pounds; and in his room was placed *William Byrde*, a Man of more Integrity.

Though King *James*, upon the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, came to reside in *England*, yet he forgot not that *Scotland* was his Native Country; and therefore, after he had spent some Years in *England*, to acquaint himself with the State of the Kingdom, in *March*, this Year 1616. he made a Journey into *Scotland*: for though he had left very able Men to sit at the Helm there in his Absence, yet he knew that it is the Master's Eye that makes the Horse fat. So it is the Prince's Presence sometimes that keeps out many Distempers in a State, that would otherwise creep in. And now, when in his staying Six Months there, he had seen all things well settled, both in the Ecclesiastical State, and in the Temporal, and made it appear that he resided not in *England* out of any neglect of *Scotland*, but to the end he might be in the Place of most Convenience to both Kingdoms. On the 15th. of *September* he returned to *London*, not more to the Grief of the *Scots* to leave him, than to the Joy of the *English* to receive him; so much was King *James* as a just and Wise Prince, beloved of both the Nations.

Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative-Court, put from his Place, and why.

The King makes a Journey into *Scotland*, where he stays Six Months.

1617.

The 15th of *February*, 1617. in the 15th Year of this King, *Francis Ashley*, of the *Middle-Temple*, *London*, Esquire, where he had been Reader the Year before, was by a Writ called to be Serjeant at Law, *Ea tempore solus Servientis ad legem electus*, and the 5th. of *July* following was Knighted; and about that time was Steward of the Marshalsea of the King's House; and by King *Charles*, the 9th. of *May*, in the First Year of his Reign, was by Letters-Patents made one of the King's Serjeants at Law, and so continued unto his Death, which happened by the Will of God, the 28th of *November*, 1628. at *Serjeants-Inn* in *Fleetstreet*, and was Recorder of *Dorchester* in *Dorsetshire*; where, together with his Lady, in the great Church he lies buried: leaving *Dorothy*, his only Daughter and Heir, (by the Lady *Anne* his Wife, the eldest Daughter and Co-heir of *Bernard Sanwayes*, of *Wymerborne St. Martyn* in the County of *Dorset*, Esquire) married unto the Honourable *Denzil Holles*, Esquire, whose only Issue is *Francis Holles* of *Wymerborne St. Martyn* aforesaid, Esquire.

Afterwards Baron *Holles* of *Ifield*. Afterwards Sir *Francis Holles* Baronet.

Now comes to be related a Matter of special Observation: Sir *Walter Raleigh* had lived a condemned Man many Years in the *Tower*, and now his Destiny brought him to his End by Liberty, which it would not do by Imprisonment. For out of a longing for Liberty, he propounded a Project to the King, upon which, as he was a well spoken Man, and of a great capacity, he set such colours of probability, especially gliding it over with the Gold he would fetch from a Mine in *Guyana*, and that without any Wrong at all to the King of

Sir *Walter Raleigh* let at Liberty to fetch Gold from *Guyana*.

Spain (if he might be allowed to go the Journey) that the King, if he gave not credit that he could perform it, at least gave way that he should undertake it: And thereupon with divers Ships, accompanied with many Knights and Gentlemen of Quality, he set forward on the Voyage. But when after long search, or shew of search, no such Place of Treasure, or no such Treasure could be found; whether it were, that he thought it a Shame to return home with doing nothing, or that his *Malus Genius* thrust him upon the Design, he fell upon Saint *Thome*, a Town belonging to the King of *Spain*, sacked it, pillaged it, and burnt it: and here was the first part of his Tragical Voyage acted in the Death of his eldest Son; the last part was acted in his own Death at his return: For *Gondomar*, the *Spanish* Liegar, did so aggravate this Fact of his to the King against him, that it seemed nothing would give Satisfaction but *Raleigh*'s Head, without which he doubted there would follow a Breach of the League between the two Nations. *Raleigh* excused it, by saying That he was urged to it by the *Spaniards* first assaulting of him; and he did say, that he could not come at the Mine without winning his Town. But *Gondomar* was too strong an adversary for him: And the King preferring the publick Peace before the Life of one Man, already condemned, gave way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him; and thereupon brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar, he was not newly Arraigned or Indicted, as being already *Mortuus in Lege*, but only had the former Sentence averted against him, and so carried to the *Gate-house*, and from thence the next Morning to the *Parliament-Yard*; a Scaffold was there erected, upon which, after 14 Years reprieval, his Head was cut off: At which time such abundance of Blood issued from his Veins, that shewed he had stock of Nature enough left to have continued him many Years in life, though now above 66 Years old, if it had not been taken away by the Hands of Violence.

He sacks and pillageth the Town of St. *Tome*.

The Fact *Gondomar* aggravateth against him.

For which he is Beheaded.

And this was the End of the Great Sir *Walter Raleigh*; great sometimes in the Favour of Queen *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great Scourge and Hate of the *Spaniard*, who had many things to be commended in his Life; but none more, than his constancy in his Death: which he took with so undaunted a Resolution, that one might perceive he had a certain Expectation of a better Life after it. So far he was from holding those Atheistical Opinions; an Aspersion whereof some traducing Persons had cast upon him.

The King makes a Progress to *Cambridge*; where he stays three Days.

About this time King *James* made a progress to the University of *Cambridge*; where, delighted with the Disputations, and other Scholastical Exercises, he stayed three whole Days, and could have been content to have stayed as many Years: for next being a King, he was made to be a Scholar.

1619. An. Reg. 17. Queen *Anne* dies.

In the Year 1619. being the 17th. Year of King *James* his Reign, that Knot of Love, which above 20 Years had been tyed between him and his Queen, was by Death dissolved. For on *Tuesday* this Year, the 2d. of *March*, Queen *Anne* died at *Hampton-Court*, whose Corps was brought to *Denmark-House*, and from thence conveyed to *Westminster*; where, in the Royal Chapel, with great solemnity it was interred: a Princess very memorable for her Vertue, and not a little for her Fortune; who besides being a Queen, was so happy as to be Mother of such admired Children, as she brought into the World. But the dissolving of this Knot cast the King into an extream Sickness; and after some recovery, into a Relapse: from which notwithstanding it pleased God to deliver him, as having yet some great Work to do.

This Year, on *Monday* the 3d. of *May*, one Mr. *Williams*, a Barrister of the *Middle-Temple*, was arraigned at the *King's-Bench*, for libelling, and for writing Books against the King: and upon *Wednesday* following, was hanged and quartered at *Charing-Cross*.

But an Action of another nature was performed this Year, the 17th. of *July*, not unworthy the relating: which was thus; That one *Bernard Calvert*, of *Andover*, rode from St. *George's-Church* in *Southwark* to *Dover*, from thence passed by Barge to *Calice* in *France*; and from thence returned back to St. *George's-Church* the same Day: setting out about Three a Clock in the Morning, and returned about Eight a Clock in the Evening following.

Bernard Calvert his speedy Journey from *Southwark* to *Calice*, and back again in one Day.

In the Year 1621. a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, wherein Two great Examples of Justice were shewed; which for their Terror shall not unfit to be here related: One upon Sir *Giles Mompesson*, a Gentleman otherwise of good Parts; but for practising sundry Abuses, in erecting and setting up new Inns and Alehouses, and exacting great Summs of Money of People, by pretence of Letters Patents granted to him for that purpose, was sentenced to be degraded, and disabled to bear any Office in the Commonwealth, though he avoided the Execution by flying the Land: but upon Sir *Francis Michel*, a Justice of Peace of *Middlesex*, and one of the chief Agents, the Sentence of Degradation was executed, and he made to ride with his Face to the Horse Tail through the City of *London*. The other Example was of Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St. *Albans*, Lord-Chancellor of *England*, who for Bribery was put from his Place, and committed to the *Tower*; but after some few Days enlarged: In whose Place Doctor *Williams*, Dean of *Westminster*, was made Lord-Keeper.

1621.

Sir *Giles Mompesson* is sentenced to be degraded; and why.

Sir *Francis Michel* is degraded, and in what manner.

Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord-Chancellor, put from his Place for Bribery.

The Count *Palatine* being now strengthened with the Alliance of the King of *Great-Britain*, was thought a fit Man to be King of *Bohemia*; and accordingly was elected by the States of that Kingdom: but he was no sooner invested in the Crown, but the Emperor with great Forces assaulted him in *Prague*; and not only drove him, with his Wife and Children from thence, but took from him also his own Patrimony the *Palatinate*: so as though now a King, he was fain to fly to the States of the *Low-Countries* for a place of Residence. King *James*, though he had never given his consent to the *Palsgrave*'s taking upon him that Kingdom, as foreseeing in his great Judgment what the Event would be; yet in this Distress he could not forbear to take care of his Daughter; and thereupon sent Sir *Richard Weston*, the same that was after Lord-Treasurer, in Embassage to the Emperor, to solicite the Restoring of the *Palatinate* to the *Palsgrave*; but his Undertaking without success, the King had then Conference with Count

The Palsgrave is chosen King of *Bohemia*, but is soon driven out, and his *Palatinate* seized on.

Gondamar

The King hath Conference with *Gundomar*, how the *Palatinate* might be reſtored.

Gundomar the King of *Spain*'s Leiger in *England*, what courſe might be taken to procure the reſtoring it: who made him anſwer, There could be no better courſe than to make a Marriage between his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, which he ſaid would eaſily be effected, if the Prince might have leave to make a Journey into *Spain*. King *James*, though he conſidered the inveterate Grudges between *Spain* and *England*, and how dangerous it might be to put the Heir of the Kingdom into the *Spaniards* hands, yet grounding himſelf upon a Saying, *Fidelem fortuna, facies*: and drawn on by the inſinuating Speeches of Count *Gundomar*, not perhaps without ſome inclination in the Marquis of *Buckingham*, was contented at laſt the Prince ſhould go. And ſo Prince *Charles* ſending his Ships about, and taking along with him only the Marquis of *Buckingham*, (who in the time of his being in *Spain* was created Duke of *Buckingham*,) *Endymion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*, (two that were well acquainted with the Language and Affairs of *Spain*,) he took his Journey by the way of *France*, went to *Paris*, and ſecretly in diſguiſe to the Court there; where he had the ſight of that Lady, that might well have ſtayed him from going further, but yet on he went.

Gundomar gets much Money of Ladies, by perſwading them of the certainty of the Match.

In the mean time *Gundomar*, a cunning Man, and one that beſides his Maſter's had Ends of his own, and could play his Game no leſs for his own Profit than his Maſter's Honour, as he had perſwaded the King of the facility of the Match with *Spain*, ſo he perſwaded a certainty of it, eſpecially among Catholick Ladies, by which means he brought no ſmall ſtore of Griſt to his own Mill, receiving from one Lady 100 Pounds to be made Groom of the Stole when the *Spaniſh* Princeſs ſhould come; of another a good round Summ to be Mother of the Maids; and of divers other the like for other Places.

The Prince's Entertainment in *Spain*.

But the Prince being arrived in *Spain*, was received indeed with all the demonſtrations of Love and Kindneſs that could be deviſed; ſo as the Charge of his Entertainment was ſaid to ſtand the King of *Spain* in 49000 Duckets: but yet his Acquaintance with the Lady was much reſtrained; for in all the time of his ſtaying in *Spain*, (which was no leſs than eight Months, being from *February* to *October*,) he ſaw her but very ſeldom, and that at good diſtances, never ſpake with her but twice, and that before Company; beſides that, his Speeches were limited, how much, and what he ſhould ſay, far from any means of tying the Knot between them which was pretended. What the Cauſe ſhould be, was much in obſcurity: ſome thought that a difference between the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Count *Olivares*, the King of *Spain*'s great Favourite, was a great hindrance of the Proceeding: but others, and more likely, That the *Spaniard* indeed never really intended the Match at all, but had drawn the Prince into *Spain* for other Ends; but what thoſe Ends were, was no leſs uncertain; one thought it was done to hold the Prince in a Treaty of Marriage with a Daughter of *Spain*, till the Daughter of *France* ſhould be beſtowed, thereby to keep him from that Alliance: but others and more likely, That the King of *Spain* entertained this Treaty with the King of *Great-Britain*; meaning to ſpin it out till he had compaſſed ſome Deſigns in the *Low-Countries*, and the *Palatinate*, at leaſt to make King *James* leſs vigilant for thoſe Parts.

What hindred the proceeding of the Match.

Hereupon the Prince is ſent into *Spain*, and how accompanied.

But when much time had been ſpent in protracting, upon pretence of Difficulties in obtaining the Pope's diſpenſation, King *James* partly wearied with delay, but chiefly angry with diſſimulation, ſent to the Prince, with all ſpeed to return into *England*: which the Prince preſently ſignified to the King of *Spain*, and had his leave to depart; but upon promiſe to continue the Treaty of the Marriage ſtill. Though it was ſaid, the Prince was gone but a few Days on his Journey, when a Poſt was ſent to have ſtayed him, if he had been overtaken. But whether it was ſo or no, it was God's Providence that he came ſafely to his Ships, and in them ſafely into *England*, arriving at *Portſmouth*; where he was beheld of the People, with no leſs gladneſs, than the Sun after a long Eclipſe: and now his ſafe returning did both juſtifie King *James* his judgment in ſuffering him to go, and the King of *Spain*'s juſtice, in ſuffering him to come back: and was cauſe that the People began to have a better opinion of the *Spaniſh* Faith, than they had before. But now it preſently breaks out, that this Match with *Spain* could never take effect: for King *James* having received Declarations of the Articles, touching the Marriage, found very many ſtrict and large for exerciſe of the Catholick Religion, but none at all for Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*: which made him ſo much diſcontented, that he preſently brake off all Treaty of the Marriage, and ſignified as much, not only to the King of *Spain*, but to divers other Princes of *Chriſtendom*. Upon which Breach, Two great Points were preſently had in conſultation: one for preparing Forces, for recovering the *Palatinate* by way of Arms, which could not be done by way of Friendſhip; and for this purpoſe a Council of War was called, and a Propoſition reſolved on, both of Men and Money, for undertaking the Enterprize: as alſo a great Contribution, by way of benevolence, was collected; towards which, the compiler of this Work gave himſelf 50 Pounds: as many other far greater Summs, though the Collection went not through the whole Land, by reaſon there was hope given of a peaceable Reconcilement; ſo as many that were not over-haſty in their payment, eſcaped without contributing at all. The other Point was for providing a fit Wife for the Prince in ſome other Place. It was ſaid the States of *Holland* offered a very great Portion in marriage to the Prince, if he would match with ſome Lady of that Country; but Matches are made in Heaven, and there was a young Lady of *France* deſtined to his Bed: and for this purpoſe, the Earl of *Carliſle*, and the Earl of *Holland* were ſent into *France*, to treat of a Marriage with the younger Daughter of King *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France* deceaſed, and Siſter to the preſent King *Lewis*: which Marriage afterward took effect, but was not accompliſhed in King *James* his Days, who died ſoon after the Agreement.

The King ſends for the Prince to return home.

The King breaks off all Treaty of the Match; and why.

A Conſultation had to recover the *Palatinate* by Arms.

A Treaty of Marriage with a younger Daughter of the King of *France*, which afterwards took effect.

1623. It was now the Year 1623. in which, in *Michaelmas*-Term, there was a Call of 15 Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feaſt in the *Middle-Temple-Hall*.

A Call of 15 Serjeants at Law.

Two things in this King's Days grew to lose their Lustre: One, the Exercise of Tilting; which in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time was so much used, that no Year passed without a special Solemnity in that kind. The other, the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, and Yeomen of the Guard; which in her time consisted of the choicest Persons, both for Stature and other good Parts throughout the Realm; and was so great a Grace to her Court, that no Prince of Christendom could shew the like; but King *James* was so intentive to Realities, that he little regarded Shews; and thereby both these in his time came utterly to be neglected: No solemnity of Arms but very rare, nor regard had what Persons were admitted into the other Places.

We may here observe, how the Surname of the Kings of *England* hath, at sundry times been changed. From *William the Conqueror*, to King *Henry* the Second, what Surname they had, or whether they had any or no, is most uncertain: but then King *Henry* the Second brought in the *French* Surname of *Plantagenet*; which continued in all the succeeding Kings, till King *Henry* the Seventh, and he brought in the *Welch* Surname of *Tudor*; which continued the Surname of all the succeeding Princes, till King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and he brought in the *Scottish* Surname of *Stewart*: in which it is likely to continue (and God grant it may do so) to the World's end.

Some Passages of small moment, I confess, are omitted by me in this Reign of King James, *as whereof, for want of knowing the Particulars, I dare not venture upon making the Relation; which if some Men would have done, the Truth of our Chronicles should not have been mingled with so many Fictions.*

Of his Taxations.

The Customs of Merchandise raised.

IN his Second Year, in the Month of *September*, he sent Privy Seals to the wealthiest Citizens of *London*, for Monies to be borrowed of them. And in *October* following, the Customs of Merchandises, both outward and inward were raised, and then were let out to Farm. In a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the Third Year of his Reign, there were given him three entire Subsidies, and six Fifteens by the Temporality; and by the Clergy four entire Subsidies. This Year also, *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, convicted in the Star-Chamber, for divers Misprisions, was fined to pay 10000 Marks; and *Edward* Lord *Stanton*, for the like Offence, to pay 30000 Pounds; and some Years after, Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative-Court, was fined to pay 20000 Pounds. In his Fourth Year he repayed 60000 Pounds to the Citizens of *London*, which the *Londoners* lent to Queen *Elizabeth* Three Years before her Death: An Act by which he got more Love, than he payed Money. In his Seventh Year, he had Aid throughout *England*, for making his eldest Son, Prince *Henry*, Knight: which though they levied with great moderation, brought him in great Summs of Money. In his Eighteenth Year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the Temporality gave him two Subsidies, and the Clergy three: and in another Parliament, in the Year 1623. the Temporality gave him three Subsidies and three Fifteens; the Clergy four Subsidies. Besides these Subsidies, he sent abroad many Great Privy-Seals, and had also a Benevolence throughout the Realm: not without some grudging, but without any just Cause: for it should have been remembred, that he took it not of covetousness to gather Wealth, but out of very necessity to supply Wants: For by his imploying many Embassadours in Ordinary, many Extraordinary, by his necessary bounty to his Followers, and by his charge of keeping several Courts, none of all which he could avoid, his Expences were far greater than any of his Predecessours had ever been.

Privy-Seals sent out, and also a Benevolence.

The Cause of the King's great Expences.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

THE Day of his removing from the *Charter-house*, at his first coming into *England*, he caused Proclamation to be made, That all Monopolies and Protections should cease; as likewise all Oppressions done by Salt-Petre Men, by Purveyors and Carters. On the 26th of *May* following, he set forth a Proclamation, restraining all Persons, under great Penalties, from killing of Deer, or any kind of Fowl used for Hawking. The 9th of *May*, Proclamation was made against Robberies on the Borders: and on the 19th of *May*, another for uniting the People, inhabiting about the Borders of *England* and *Scotland*, to live in Love and Quietness. In this first Year, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, That neither Archbishop, nor Bishop, should Alienate, Grant, or Demise, or in any sort convey to the King, his Heirs or Successors, any of the Honours, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcel of the Possession of his Archbishop or Bishoprick: or if any were, it should be utterly void, and of no effect, notwithstanding any former Law, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary. He then also caused himself by Proclamation to be entitled King of *Great-Britain*, that the Division of *England* and *Scotland* might be no more remembred. In his 2d Year, by his Letters-Patents, he incorporated the Felt-makers of *London* by the Name of Masters, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Art or Mystery of the Felt-makers, granting them divers Privileges and Liberties, for the good Government of their Corporation. In *November*, of his second Year, were proclaimed in *London* certain new Pieces of Coin, both of Gold and Silver, with the true valuation and weights of them, according to the Mint of both Nations, *English* and *Scottish*. In a Parliament holden the 3d. Year of his Reign, the Oath of Allegiance was devised and ordained, and soon after ministred to all sorts of People.

Killing of Deer, or Fowl restrained.

No Bishop to alienate any Lands, not to the King himself.

He is entitled King of *Great-Britain*.

The Felt-makers made a Corporation.

The Oath of Allegiance first devised and ordained.

This Year also, he made Proclamation to redress the mis-imployment of Lands, or Goods, given to Charitable Uses. Also this Year, he set forth a Proclamation for bearing of Flags in Ships to be in this manner, That from thenceforth all the Subjects of *Great-Britain* should bear in their main-top, the *Red-Cross*, commonly called St. *George*'s *Cross*, and the *White-Cross*, commonly called St. *Andrew*'s *Cross*, joined together; and the Subjects of *South-Britain* should carry in their Fore-top only the *Red-Cross*, as they were wont;

Flags how to be born in Ships.

wont; and the Subjects of *North-Britain* only the *White-Cross*. In his 4th. Year, on the 10th. of *June*, he set forth a Proclamation, commanding all Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Fryers, to depart the Realm before the 1st. of *August* following, and never to return upon pain of death, according to divers Statutes in that behalf provided. In his 2d. Year he had set forth a Proclamation against Inmates, and encrease of New-buildings; which being little regarded, now in his 4th. Year he renewed the said Proclamation, adding withal, That the Fore-fronts and Windows of all New-buildings should be either of Brick or Stone: for disobeying whereof, many were called in the Star-Chamber, and there fined. In his 5th. Year, he gave order for planting of Mulberry-Trees, and breeding of Silk-worms, that *England* might be a Country, as well of Silk as Cloth. In his 11th. Year, he instituted the Order of the Baronets, which hath much degenerated since his Institution; and thereby having been devised for the Benefit of *Ireland*, hath caused but little Contentment unto *England*. This Year also, the King himself in Person came to the Star-Chamber, where he had appointed the Mint-men to meet; and there, for the better keeping of Coins of Gold within the Realm, he raised the Prices of them; ordaining the Piece called the *Unite*, which went before but for 20 Shillings, to be current now for 22; the double Crown, and all other Pieces to encrease in the like proportion. In his 15th. Year, he granted to the Apothecaries of *London*, to be a Corporation for themselves and their Successors for ever; and by Letters-Patents made them a Body Politick, and Corporate. In his time, by his Appointment, a strict Decree passed in the Star-Chamber against Duels and single Combats; and a strict Law was made in Parliament against stabbing with a Dagger or Knife, making it to be wilful Murther.

Inmates forbidden, and New-buildings restrained.

The Fore-fronts to be made of Bricks.

An Order for planting of Mulberry-Trees for increase of Silk-worms.

Coins of Gold raised.

The Apothecaries made a Corporation.

Duels and single Combats restrained.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

THE King, as a Religious Prince, desiring nothing so much as to settle Peace in the Church, and hearing of some Dissention of his Divines in Point of Religion, in the very first Year of his Reign appointed a Conference to be holden before himself at *Hampton-Court*; to which were called divers Bishops, Deans and Doctors of one side; and of the other, Four eminent Divines; namely, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewstubs*, and Mr. *Chaderton*. Who all meeting before the King the 14th. Day of *January*; the King first signified the Cause of his calling them together, and then told them he was there ready to hear what they could object or cry against the present Government of the Church. Whereupon Dr. *Reynolds* being their Fore-man, reduced all Matters disliked, or questioned, into these Four Heads.

A Conference in Matters of Religion is held before the King at *Hampton-Court*, and how the Matter proceeded.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in Purity, according to God's Word.

2. That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.

3. That the Church-Government might be sincerely administred according to the Word of God.

4. That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more encrease of Piety.

Out of these Heads he drew and moved divers Points: one, That Confirmation might not be by Bishops only, but that every Pastor in his Parish might confirm: But this was thought to trench too much upon the Jurisdictions of Bishops, and to be a step to bring in a Presbyterian Government, which the King much disliked; and the Bishop of *Winchester* challenged Dr. *Reynolds*, with all his Learning, to shew where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all used in ancient times by any other than by Bishops. Another Motion of Dr. *Reynolds* was, That there might be a new Translation of the Bible, because the present Translations were corrupt, and not answerable to the Truth of the Original; whereof he alledged divers Examples, particularly that in the 105 *Psal.*, 28 *ver.* where it is said, *They were not Obedient*, when in the Original it is, *They were not Disobedient*. To this it was agreed, That a new Translation should be made; and accordingly soon after was performed by the most Learned Divines of the Kingdom; and is that which is now used. After many other Points moved by Dr. *Reynolds*, he came at last to subscription: Intreating it might not be exacted, as heretofore; which many good Men refused for these Reasons: First, because the Apocryphal Books are by the Common-Prayer-Book appointed to be read; albeit in some of them there are manifest Errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures. To this the King himself answered, That as he would not wish all Canonical-Books to be read in the Church, unless there were one to interpret; so he would wish no Apocryphal to be read, wherein was any Error: but for the other, which were clear and correspondent to the Scriptures, he would have them read, seeing there was good use of them, to make up the Story of the Persecution of the Jews; but withal, he would have the People be taught, They were not to reach a Man, either to sacrifice to the dead, or to kill himself. The next Scruple against Subscription was, That in the Common-Prayer-Book it is twice set down, *Jesus said to his Disciples*, when by the Original-Text it is plain, *He spake to the Pharisees*. To which it is answered, That for any thing could be gathered by the Place, he might speak as well to the one as to the other: But the King, for more plainness sake, willed, That the Word *Disciples* should be omitted, and only the Words, *Jesus said*, to be printed in a different Letter, that it might appear to be no part of the Text.

Another Scruple was, concerning the Cross in Baptism, which Dr. *Reynolds* confessed to have ever been used since the Apostles time, at going abroad, or entring into the Church, or at their Prayers and Benedictions; but doubted of the ancient use of it in Baptism. To which the Bishop of *Winchester* answered, That in *Constantine*'s time it was used in Baptism; and the Dean of *Westminster* shewed out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, and Others, that in their time it was used in *Immortali levacro*, which could be nothing but Baptism: and this the King judged to be Antiquity enough to warrant the continuance of it still. At last Mr. *Knewstubs*, moved how far an Ordinance of the Church was to bind them, without Impeachment of their Christian Liberty: At which the King seemed much moved, and told him,

Concerning the Cross in Baptism.

him he would not argue that Point with him, but answer therein as Kings are wont to speak in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera*; and therefore I charge you (said he) never speak more to that Point, how far you are bound to obey, when the Church hath once ordained it. Dr. *Reynolds* added, That the Cross should be abandoned, because in the time of Popery it had been superstitiously abused. To which His Majesty answered, That his very Reason was an inducement to have it retained still: For in as much as it was abused (so you say) to Superstition in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well used before Popery.

Concerning the Wearing of the Surplice.

The next thing objected, was the wearing of the Surplice. To which the King answered, That seeing it appeared out of Antiquity, that in the Celebration of Divine Service, a different Habit appertained to the Ministry, and principally of white Linnen; he saw no Reason, but that in this Church, as it had been for comelineſs and order sake, it might be still continued.

Last of all, Mr. *Chadderton*, and Mr. *Knewstubs* requested, That in regard of some tender Consciences, the Surplice, and Cross in Baptism might not be urged: To which the King himself answered, If after the Gospel's preaching 45 Years amongst you, there be any yet in these Points unsatisfied, I doubt it proceeds rather out of stubbornness of Opinion, than out of tenderness of Conscience; and therefore let them conform themselves, or else they shall hear further of it.

Concerning the Ring in Marriage, and Bishops.

It was now observed, that in all their Objections, there was not a word spoken against Bishops, nor against the Ring in Marriage: For Dr. *Reynolds* himself confessed, that the Ring was a very meer Ceremony: and the King affirmed, He should not think himself rightly married, if he had not been married with a Ring: and as for Bishops, he declared himself to be verily perswaded, they were *Divinæ Ordinationis*, and most necessary to Monarchy, and would often say, *No Bishop, no King*. Many other Points were handled, as about Predestination, Absolution, and Remission of Sins, Baptizing by Women, about the Words in Marriage, *With my Body I thee Worship*, the Oath *Ex officio*, the High Commission, and some other: in all which the King gave so good Satisfaction, that they all jointly promised to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be his Mind to have it so: And the King was so admired for his excellent Resolutions and Answers, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* said, Undoubtedly His Majesty spake by the special Assistance of God's Spirit. After this Conference, the King, in his second Year, set forth a Proclamation, to confirm the Ecclesiastical Government, and the Book of Common-Prayer, in the form and estate as Queen *Elizabeth* left them.

The Book of Common Prayer confirmed by the King.

After this, he sent divers learned Divines into *Scotland*, to have a Conference with the Divines there; and if it might be, to reduce the two Kingdoms to an uniformity of Religion, as he brought them to an union of Possession. And now entring into consideration of this Title, of being *Defender of the Faith*, he conceived it might extend not only to his own Dominions, but in some sort to Neighbouring Countries; if not in Authority, at least in care: and hereupon hearing that the States of the *Low-Countries* were determined to entertain one *Vorstius* to be publick Professor of Divinity in *Leyden*, and knowing him, though otherwise a learned Man, yet tainted with many erroneous Opinions, concerning the Essence and Substance of God, making him to be *Quale & quantum*, changing Eternity into Eviternity; teaching Eternity to consist of a number of Ages, and denying God to be *Purus Actus*, but to have in some sort *aliquid Diversitatis, & Multiplicitatis in seipso; etiam Principium cujusdam mutabilitatis*: He earnestly solicited the States, both by his own Letters, and by his Leiger, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the said *Vorstius* into that Place, lest his Doctrine having once infected their Country, might soon after spread it self into his Dominions. Which Request of his, after much soliciting, the States at length granted, and expelled *Vorstius* from amongst them.

The King solicites the States of the *Low-Countries* not to admit *Vorstius*; and why.

At this time a Synod was assembled at *Dort* in *Holland*, consisting of learned Divines, sent from the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, from *Hassia*, from *Switzerland*, from the Church of *Geneva*, from *Bern*, *Embden*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utretcht*, *Friezeland*, and other Provinces: Some also sent from *England*, as namely, *George* Bishop of *Landaff*, *John Davenant*, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Cambridge*, *Samuel Ward*, Master of *Sidney-College* in *Cambridge*, *Thomas Goad*, Doctor of Divinty, and *Walter Balcanqual*, a *Scottish* Man, Batchelor of Divinity. Which Synod was assembled to examine and determine the Doctrin of *Arminius*: first concerning God's Predestination, Election, and Reprobation; then concerning Christ's Death, and Man's Redemption by it; then concerning Man's Corruption and Conversion to God; then concerning the Perseverance of the Saints. In all which Points the Doctrine of *Arminius* was rejected, as also of *Vorstius*, and the true Doctrine by a general content, together with the Approbation of the Lords the States; which yet the Papists made so little reckoning of, that one of them in scorn, made Eccho to censure it in this Distich:

A Synod held at *Dort*, to examine the Errors of *Arminius*; to which Synod many *English* Divines went.

Dodraci Synodus? Nodus, Chorus integer? ager,
Conventus? Ventus, Sessio Stramen? Amen.

But who knows not, that ill will never speaks well, and that nothing is so obvious in the Mouth of an Adversary, as Scandals and Invectives.

In the Year 1616. *Mar. Antonius de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato*, in the Territory of *Venice*, came into *England*, leaving his Country (as he affirmed) for Religion, wherein he set forth in writing many Reasons; and being thereupon entertained by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was afterward made Dean of *Windsor*, and Master of the *Savoy*; in which time he preached publickly divers times before divers Lords of the Council, Printed in *London* the first four of his ten Books, Intituled, *Of the Commonwealth of the Church*: wherein with great earnestness he maintained the Doctrine and Discipline of the Protestants: But after all this, whether all he had done was but dissembling from the beginning, or whether out of remorse of conscience he repented him of that he had done; after five Years staying here, he retracted all he had said or written before: which so incensed King *James*, that he commanded him (within three Days at his peril) to depart the Realm;

Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of *Spalato*, comes into *England*, and sets forth Books for the Protestant Religion.

After five Years stay here, he retracted all, and went to *Rome*, but died there in Prison.

Realm, who thereupon went to *Rome*, and there inveighed as bitterly against the Protestants, as he had done in *England* against the Papists; hoping at least for Pardon, if not for Preferment: But notwithstanding his Recantation, according to the Laws of the Inquisition (having once Revolted, though now Returned) he suffered the Death of an Heretick, though not the Shame; had the Punishment of a Martyr, but not the Honour; and was publickly burnt at *Rome*: yet not burnt alive, but dying in Prison, and then buried, it is said his Body was afterwards taken up and burned.

In the King's 10th Year, two obstinate *Arrian* Hereticks, *Bartholomew Leget* and *Edward Wightman*, were burnt for Hereſie, *Leget* in *Smithfield*, and *Wightman* at *Lichfield*.

John Traske holding divers Judaical Opinions is censured, and after Three Years recants.

In his 16th Year, one *John Traſk*, a pretended Minister, was Censured in the *Star-chamber*, for depraving the Ecclesiastical Government, and for holding divers Judaical Opinions; as, That it was not lawful to do any thing forbidden in the old Law, not to keep the Christian Sabbath. For which he was fet on the Pillory at *Westminster*, and from thence whipp'd to the *Fleet*, and there to remain Prisoner: but Three Years after, he writ a Recantation of all his former Hereſies, and Schismatical Opinions.

George Abbot Archbishop of *Canterbury* by Misfortune killing a Man, is censured.

In this time, *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being a Hunting in a Park, and shooting at a Deer, his Arrow, by misfortune, glanced and kill'd a Man: Upon which Fact it was much debated, Whether by it he were not become irregular, and ought in be deprived of his Archiepiscopal Function, as having his Hands imbrued (though against his will) in blood: but *Andrewes*, Bishop of *Winchester*, standing much in his defence, as likewise Sir *Henry Mayne*, the King's Advocate, gave such Reasons in mitigation of the Fact, that he was cleared from all imputation of Crime; and thereupon adjudged Regular, and in State to continue his Archiepiscopal Charge. Yet himself (out of a religious tenderness of Mind) kept the Day of the Year in which the Mischance happen'd, with a solemn Fast all his Life after.

Works of Piety done by this King, or by Others in his Time.

STructure of Piety King *James* made none at all, not many of Magnificence, only the great Banquetting-House at *Whitehall*, a Wall of Brick about his Park at *Greenwich*, another at *Theobalds*, and some little Buildings at *Royston*, and such like. His greatest Charity was expressed by Largesses and Pensions: as first were the Gentlemen of his Chapel, being 13 in number, had each of them but 26 Pounds a Year Fee, he made it up 40. Then he enlarged the Pensions of the Alms-Knights of *Windsor*, being 13 in number, from Twelve Pence a Day to Two Shillings. Then as he encreased the number of the Yeomen of the Guard from 140 to 200, so he encreased their Pensions from Two Shillings a Day for Three Months in the Summer, to Seven Groats a Day for Six Months in the Summer. Then, whereas at his coming, he found but only Four Judges in each Court of Law at *Westminster*, he addeth a Fifth, with the like Allowance as the former had, besides many other Pensions of like nature. But the Works of Piety done by others in his time, were very many, whereof we may justly set in the first place, the Repairing of *Paul's Church*, begun in his time, though not finished till many Years after; a Work of as great Cost and Labour, as the first founding of it: towards the furtherance whereof, though many well devoted Persons contributed liberally, yet none was more industrious than the Learned Doctor *Laud*, first Bishop of *London*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who also was a bountiful Benefactor to the College of St. *John* in *Oxford*, where he had his Education. Next to him his Predecessor, next before him, the worthy *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a fair Alms-house at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, where he was born; as likewise *Robert*, the second Earl of *Dorset*, founded another in *Sussex*; to the Maintenance whereof, he gave Lands to the value of 100 Pounds a Year. But of all the Alms-houses that ever were founded in *Christendom*, there is none I think can parellel that of *Thomas Sutton*, Esquire. This Man, born at *Snaith* in *Lincolnshire*, having always lived a Batchelor, and by sundry Imployments, and Parsimony, being grown to great Wealth, bought of the Right Honourable *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, his Mansion-House, called the *Charter-House*, near to *Smithfield* in *London*, and out of a Pious Mind converted into an Alms-house, by the Name of *Sutton's Hospital*, endowing the same with above 4000 Pounds of Yearly Rent; wherein are maintained 80 poor Men, with convenient Lodging, Diet, and Allowance of Money for Apparel; also 40 poor Children, with the like Provision, and a Grammar-School, with a Master and Usher to teach them: over all whom, he ordained a Learned Man to be Master of the Household, and to be chosen by the Governours, whom he appointed for the present, by the Authority of the King's Letters Patents, to be *George* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Ellesmere*, Lord Chancellor, *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* Lord-Treasurer, *John* Bishop of *London*, *Lancelot* Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Edward Coke*, Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, Sir *Thomas Foster*, a Judge of the *Common Pleas*, Sir *Henry Hubbard*, the King's Attorney-General, Doctor *Overall* Dean of *Paul's*, Doctor *Montain*, Dean of *Westminster*, *Henry Yelverton*, Esquire, Master of the *Chancery*, *Richard Sutton*, Esquire, Auditor of the Imprests, *Jeffery Nightingall* Esquire, *John Law* Gentleman, *Thomas Bowyer* Gentleman, and Master of the Household, for the time being, to be always one: and as any of these 16 Governours should die, the Survivors to make present Addition of others. Next to this was a fair College in *Oxford* founded by *Nicholas Wilke*, Esquire, and called after his Name. About this time also, *Edward Allen*, of *Dulwich* in *Surry*, founded a fair Hospital at *Dulwich*, for six poor Men and six poor Women and for Twelve poor Children, from the age of Four or five Years, to be there maintained and taught till the Age of 14 or 16, and to have a School-Master, with Diet, and a convenient Stipend. This Man may be an Example, who having gotten his Wealth by Stage-playing, converted it to this Pious Use, not without a kind of Reputation to the Society of Players. In this King's time also, *William Cambden*, King of Arms, founded an History Professor in *Oxford*, to which he gave the Manor of *Bexley* in *Kent*, which some Years

The number of the Yeomen of the Guard encreased, and also their Pay. Five Judges in every Court.

The Repairing of *Paul's Church* begun.

Sutton's Hospital founded.

An Hospital founded at *Dulwich* by *Edward Allen*, sometimes a Player.

A History Professor in *Oxford* erected, and by whom.

Years expired, will be worth 400 Pounds a Year.

Mid-Hall in Saint John's-street built, and by whom.

In his 10th. Year, *Sir Baptist Hicks* one of the Juſtices of the Peace in *Middlesex*, who was afterwards made Viſcount *Cambden*, built a fair Sessions-House of Brick and Stone in St. *John's-street*, which by the Juſtices was called *Mid-Hall*, *Mich.* A great Convenience for the Juſtices, who ſate before in a common Inn called the *Castle*. He alſo founded a fair Hoſpital of Free-ſtone at *Campden* in *Glouceſterſhire*, for Six Men and Six Women, allowing each of them a Yearly Gown, and Two ſhillings ſix pence a Week, with two Rooms and a Garden. In this King's time, *George Paſye*, Citizen and Grocer of *London*, gave to Good Uſes, 4000 Pounds; whereof 1200 Pounds to the Two Univerſities, 900 Pounds for an Alms-Houſe, and a certain Summ of Money to buy Two Bells, and make a Chyme in *Bow-Church*. Alſo *Thomas Tenſden* of *Olyngton*, in the County of *Oxford*, Gentleman, gave 1000 Pounds to purchaſe Lands for perpetual Maintenance of ſeven Fellows, and Six Scholars, to be placed in *Exeter* in *Oxford*, and to be choſen former in the Free-School of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, to which School he alſo gave Lands for the Maintenance of an *Uſher*. Sir *Marmaduke Darrel*, being a Town in *Yorkſhire*, repaired an old ruinous Church, and built a Mile from the Town, called *Scorton*, and at his own Charge builded a fair Aiſle on the South ſide of the Parith-Church of *Halifax*, of Free-ſtone from the Ground, and gave to the Church Four new Bells, and Two Pulpits. In his time alſo, Doctor *Whitgift*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Elizabeth* Counteſs Dowager of *Exeter*, gave certain Summs of Money towards the better maintenance of Sermons at *Paul's Croſs*; As likewiſe *Thomas Ratcliff*, Draper, gave a Penſion of a Year for ever, to be given to Fifteen poor Widows. And Sir *John Gore*, Citizen and Draper of *London*, gave 10 Pounds a Year for ever to this End. In this King's time alſo the Citizens of *London* repaired *Aldgate*, they found in the ancient Records of the City, that *Wingate*, Sheriff of *London* in the Year 1215. built the firſt Gate of *Aldgate*, and left 100 Marks for the finiſhing thereof. And in the Year 1606. they found by the Records, that the Gate was ruinous, and in danger to fall, and therefore they took down the old Gate, and built it more ſtately than before, as it now ſtands.

Aldgate in London new builded.

Henry Earl of Northampton dies, who founded Three Hoſpitals, &c.

On the 15th. of *June*, 1614. died *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, who built from the Ground a Houſe near *Charing-Croſs*, and dyed in the ancient Chamber of *Dover-Caſtle*. In his Life-time founded Three fair Hoſpitals, and endowed them with large Maintenance; the one at *Ripon* in *Yorkſhire*, for 12 poor Women, and a Governeſs; a ſecond at *Clun* in *Shropſhire*, for 12 poor Men, and a Governour; the third at *Greenwich*, in *Kent*, for a Governour and 20 poor Alms-Men. In this King's time alſo, Maſter *Robert Dowe* of *London*, Merchant-Taylor, gave a competent Maintenance for ever unto St. *Sepulchres* Parish, for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding ſome Divine to come to the Priſon of *Newgate*, the Midnight before Execution, and there ringing a Hand-bell, and to put the Priſoners in mind of their approaching Death, with a Chriſtian Remembrance and Exhortation; and the next Morning to toll the great Bell from Six a Clock till Ten, and then to ring no more, when the Execution ſhould be paſt. He alſo eſtabliſhed a Free Singing-School in *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*, for the better Education of the Poor Children there: [illegible] good Deeds of Alms. About the ſame time *Robert Peak* of *London*, Goldſmith, gave to St. [illegible] Church a Communion-Table of Two Yards and half long, and Three Quarters and a half broad, richly guilt over, and every corner imboſſ with Plates of Silver. In this King's 14th. Year, *William Towſe* of *London*, Merchant, gave about 6000 Pounds to found a Free-School in *Wales*, where he was born, with Alms-Houſes and Penſioners [illegible], and 100 Pounds a Year for ever to a learned Preacher in *London*, or thereabouts to be ordered by the Governours of *Chriſt's-houſe*, whereof himſelf was [illegible]. This Year alſo, the old ruinous Gate, called *Aldersgate*, was taken quite down, and there built [illegible] the Foundation; towards the building whereof *William Parker*, [illegible] gave 1000 Pounds.

Aldersgate in London new builded, and by whom.

In this King's [illegible] erected a Building near *Chelſea*, purpoſing to have it a College for [illegible] the Controverſies of Religion; [illegible] Cells, the Cage indeed [illegible] never yet been occupied, nor like however yet [illegible] perhaps never will.

If any other Deeds of Alms or publick Benefactions [illegible] time, as perhaps there were many, the Reader may be pleaſed, [illegible] here, and in other Kings Reigns, to add them; [illegible] for partly to this end I have digeſted this Chronicle into ſeveral Heads and Chapters.

Of *Calamities happening in his Time.*

In the Firſt Year, on the 27th. of *April*, 13 Perſons were ſlain by Miſchance with Gunpowder at the Corporation-Hall in *Redriffe*, [illegible] other Houſes down by divers Places. This Year alſo, the Plague in *London* was ſo great, that from the 29th. of *December*, 1602. to the end of [illegible] there died [illegible] and [illegible] Thirty-eight Parishes, [illegible] Four, whereof of the Plague [illegible] five hundred, [illegible] and ſeventeen, [illegible] one Week three thouſand fourſcore and ten: where the next Year [illegible] the City were encreaſed with great number of People, yet there died [illegible] Year of all Diſeaſes within *London*, and the Liberties, [illegible] four thouſand two hundred threeſcore and three Perſons. In the Second Year of his Reign, a ſtrange Accident happened to the Terms of all bloody Murderers: which was this; One *Anne Reeve*, enticed by a Lover of hers, conſented to murther her Husband ſtrangled, and then buried him ſecretly under the Boards in a Cow-houſe. Whereupon the Man being ſuddenly miſſed, and the Wife making ſhew of a ſtrange Sorrow as became [illegible] a pleaſed God, that one of the Inhabitants of the Town dreamed one Night, that his

A great Plague in London.

A Murther diſcovered by a Dream.

1624. his Neighbour *Waters* was ſtrangled, and buried under the Dung-hill in a Cow-houſe; and upon declaring his Dream, ſearch being made by the Conſtable, the dead Body was found as he had dreamed: and thereupon the Wife was apprehended, and upon Examination, confeſſing the Fact, was burned. And now what hope can Murtherers have of being concealed, when they are ſubject to be diſcovered by any Man's Dream? The 19th. of *January*, in his Third Year, a great *Porpus* was taken at *Weſtborne*, in a ſmall Creek, a Mile and a half within the Land; and within a few Days after, a Whale came up within Eight Miles of *London*, whoſe Body was ſeen divers times above Water, and judged to exceed the length of the largeſt Ship in the River: But when ſhe taſted the freſh Water, and ſcented the Land, ſhe returned into the Sea. In his Fourth Year, being the Year 1607. a mighty Weſt-Wind brought in the Sea into the River of *Severn*, with ſuch violence, that in ſome Places of *Somerſetſhire* and *Glouceſterſhire*, the Waters in divers Towns and Villages, grew higher than the tops of their Houſes; ſo as (notwithſtanding all courſes that could be taken) there were drowned in *Somerſetſhire* 80 Perſons, and Damages done to the value of 20000 Pounds. At *Coventry* alſo, the Seventh of *April*, ſo ſudden a Flood came into the Suburbs and City, that in one Hour it roſe in ſome Places above Three Yards in height, to the great damage and hurt of many; and that which is as much ſtrange, as it ſuddenly came, ſo it ſuddenly abated: ſo as in Four Hours and a half, it both came and went away. In his Sixth Year, being 1609. a Froſt began in *December*, which continued till *April* following, with ſuch violence, that not only the *Thames* was ſo frozen, that Carts loaden were driven over it as on dry Land; but many Fowls and Birds periſhed, as alſo much Herbage in Gardens, eſpecially Artichoaks and Roſemary were deſtroyed. This Year alſo, the 11th. of *April*, a Mak-Houſe, in the Town of St. *Edmonsbury*, being by chance ſet on fire, continued burning till it had conſumed 160 Houſes: But by the King's Bountifulneſs, (giving 500 Loads of Timber) and the City of *London*'s Relief, the Town was forthwith new builded in a fairer manner than it was before. In the Year 1613. on the 17th. of *April*, in the Pariſh of *Standiſh* in *Lancaſhire*, a Maiden-Child was born, having Four Legs, Four Arms, Two Bellies joined to one back, one Head with Two Faces, the one before, the other behind, like the Picture of *Janus*.

This Year alſo, the 26th. of *June*, in the Pariſh of *Chriſt's-Church* in *Hampſhire*, one *John Hitchel*, a Carpenter, lying in Bed with his Wife and a young Child by them, was himſelf and the Child both burn'd to Death with a ſudden Lightning, no fire appearing outwardly upon him, and yet lay burning for the ſpace of almoſt Three Days till he was quite conſumed to Aſhes. This Year alſo, on the 7th. of *Auguſt*, the Town of *Dorcheſter* was quite conſumed with Fire, begun in the Houſe of a Tallow-Chandler, deſtroying all the Houſes, except a few near the Church, and all their Wares and Goods, to the value of 200000 Pounds, yet not any Man or Woman periſhed. About the ſame time alſo, the Play-houſe, called the *Globe*, upon the Bank-ſide, near *London*, was quite conſumed with fire, by diſcharging a Piece of Ordnance, and yet no Man hurt: and about Four Years after, a new built Play-houſe, near *Golding-lane*, called the *Fortune*, was by negligence of a Candle clean burnt down to the ground. In the Year 1614. the Town of *Stratford* upon *Avon* was burned. And leſt the Water ſhould be behind in doing of Miſchief, ſo great Inundations were at this time in *Norfolk* and *Lincolnſhire*, that the Sea entred 12 Miles into the Land. In the Year 1618. on the 18th. of *November* a Blazing-Star began to be ſeen in the South-Eaſt about Five a Clock in the Morning, the flame or ſtream whereof enclined toward the Weſt. This Comet, in the Opinion of Dr. *Bembridge*, the great Mathematician of *Oxford*, was as far above the Moon, as the Moon is above the Earth: What it portended is only known to God; but the ſequel of it was, That infinite Slaughters and Deva ſtations followed upon it, both in *Germany* and other Countries. In the Year 1623. on *Friday* the 24th of *October*, a Roman-Catholick Prieſt preached in the Afternoon, at *Hunſdon-Houſe*, in the *Black-Friers* in *London*, in an Upper Chamber, where there were aſſembled above 300 Men and Women; when about the middle of the Sermon, a great part of the Floor brake, and fell down with ſuch violence, that it brake down the next Floor under it: in the fall whereof were ſlain the Preacher, and almoſt 100 of his Auditors, beſides as many more hurt. In this King's time, courſe Paper, commonly called White-brown Paper, was firſt made in *England*, eſpecially in *Surrey*, and about *Windſor*.

A *Porpus* taken, and a Whale ſeen near *London*.

A great Inundation in *Somerſetſhire*, and *Glouceſterſhire*.

A Froſt that continued from *December* till *April*.

A Monſtrous Child born.

A Man and his Child lying in Bed burned to death with Lightning.

1624. Two Play-houſes burnt.

A Blazing Star ſeen.

White-brown Paper firſt made in *England*.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* the Second, King of *Denmark*, whoſe Marriage was there ſolemnized in the Year 1589. by whom he had born in *Scotland*, Two Sons; *Henry*, who died before him, and *Charles* who ſucceeded him in the Crown; and one Daughter, named *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* the Fifth of that Name, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, by whom ſhe had many Children, both Sons and Daughters. King *James* had alſo, by his Wife Queen *Anne*, Two other Daughters born in *England*, the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Sophia*, who both died young; the Lady *Mary* at about Three Years old, the Lady *Sophia* the next Day after ſhe was born; and were both of them buried with great ſolemnity, in the Chapel-Royal at *Weſtminſter*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of Stature ſomewhat higher than ordinary, of a well compacted Body, of an auburn Hair, of a full and pleaſing Viſage; in his latter Days enclining to be fat and burly: Of Bodily Exerciſes, he took moſt delight in Hunting; which yet (ſome thought) he uſed rather as a retiring himſelf from the importunity of State-Affairs, than for any great Pleaſure he took in it. It is ſaid, that he had ſuch a faſhion in riding, that it could not ſo properly be ſaid he rid, as that his Horſe carried him; for he made but little uſe of his Bridle, and would ſay, a Horſe never ſtumbled, but when he was reined. He was of an admirable

1624. mirable pregnancy of Wit, and that pregnancy much improved by continual ſtudy from his Childhood; by which he had gotten ſuch a promptneſs in expreſſing his Mind, that his extemporal Speeches were little inferiour to his premeditated Writings. Many, no doubt, had read as much, and perhaps more than he, but ſcarce ever any concocted his reading into Judgment as he did: by which he became ſo judicious, that though he could not propheſie, yet he could preſage; and his Conjectures were little leſs than Oracles. In all the Liberal Sciences he was (we may ſay) a Maſter of Arts; but in Divinity, a Doctor, as he made it appear in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, and is ſeen ſtill by the learned Writings he hath left behind him. And as for that part of the Politicks, which concerns Monarchy, *Regere imperio populos*, which himſelf uſed to call King-craft: in this he excelled. He knew how to take the Inclinations of the People at their firſt bound, and never ſuffer them to riſe higher than he could well reach them; nor to grow ſtronger, than he could either alter or divert them. He would be ſure to keep his Subjects in a temper of Contentment; which if he could not do by Preventives, he would by Lenitives. He was ſo wiſe, that he could diſſemble without ſeeming a Diſſembler: be free in opening his Mind, and yet keep Counſel. He was a provident Pilot, that in a Calm would provide for a Storm; and you ſhall never find him committing the Fault of *Non putaram*. He was both *Martis & Mercurio*; but not *tam Martis, quam Mercurio*, as being of his temper who ſaid, *Cedant Arma Togæ*: and indeed, ſeeing Peace is the end of both, it were not wiſdom to ſeek it by Arms, if it may be had by the Gown, as it is in the *Aphoriſm, Conſilio omnia experiri prius, quam Armis ſapientem decet*. That which was Bounty in him, being a King, would have been Frugality, if he had been a private Perſon, there being of both one radical Reaſon. Of all the Moral Vertues, he was eminent for Chaſtity; in which the Poet ſeems to include all Vertue: where he ſaith,

His promptneſs in expreſſing his Mind. His Learning ſpecially in Divinity.

His Wiſdom.

His Chaſtity.

Nulli fas caſto ſceleratum inſiſtere limen.

By *Nulli caſto*, meaning no vertuous Perſon; it was a manifeſt Argument of his being an excellent Prince, that coming next to the admirable Queen *Elizabeth*, which was in a manner to compare them together, yet there appeared no inequality, that it might not untruly be ſaid, King *James* was but the continuation of Queen *Elizabeth*, the ſame Vertue, though different Sexes: And now to expreſs his Character in a Word, which worthily might be Matter for many Volumes: He was to his Wife a moſt Loyal Husband, to his Children a moſt Loving Father, to his Servants a moſt Bountiful Maſter, to his Subjects a moſt Juſt Prince, to all Princes near him a moſt Peaceable Neighbour; that more juſtly it may be ſaid of him, than of whom it was ſaid; *Quæ tã tam læta tulerunt ſæcula?* A Prince after *Plato's* own Heart, for his Learning; and which is infinitely more worth, after God's own Heart, for his Religiouſneſs and Piety.

Of his Death and Burial.

1625. OF his Death were many ſcandalous Rumours ſpread; and ſome were ſo impudent, as to write that he was poiſoned, as the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marquis *Hamilton*, had been before: But King *James* being dead, and his Body opened, there was found no ſign at all of Poiſon, his inward Parts being all ſound, but that his Spleen was a little faulty, which might be cauſe enough to caſt him into an Ague; the ordinary High-way, eſpecially in old Bodies, to a natural death. Of this Ague, after a Month's languiſhing, notwithſtanding all the Remedies that could be applied, he departed this Life at *Theobalds*, on the 27th of *March*, in the Year 1625. in the 59th. of his Age, when he had reigned 22 Years compleat: His Body, for the greater State, was conveyed by Torch-light from *Theobalds* to *Denmark-Houſe*; where having reſted from the 23d. of *April*, to the 7th of *May*, it was carried to *Weſtminſter*, and there interred in the Chapel-Royal, with great ſolemnity; but with greater lamentation: there being ſcarce any of the infinite Multitude that was preſent, of whom it might not be ſaid, 1625.

Multâ gemens, largoque humectat flumine vultum.

Men of Note in his Time.

MIlitary Men of Note, in a Time of Peace, as the whole Reign of King *James* was, we have no reaſon to expect; yet if we look amongſt the Voluntaries that went to the School of War in the *Low-Countries*, we ſhall find a pair of Brothers, that may ſtand in compariſon with the greateſt Soldiers in the moſt material Times, Sir *Francis Vere*, who was another *Hannibal*, with his one Eye, could ſee more in the Martial Diſcipline, than common Men can do with two; and Sir *Horatio Vere*, who was another *Philopœmen*, contained in a very little Body, a very great both Skill and Courage. But for Men of Note in Learning, as being in the time of a moſt Learned Prince, there was never greater ſtore; of whom theſe for Example: In curiouſneſs of Preaching, there was Doctor *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, who hath left to poſterity a Century of ſuch golden Sermons, that ſhews, he as well deſerved the Name of *Chryſoſtom*, as he that had it. In multiplicity of Reading, there was Doctor *Reynolds*, of *Corpus-Chriſti-College* in *Oxford*, who ſeemed, as it were, a living Library; and one would have thought his Memory to be a perfect *Index* of all the Books had ever been written. In knowledge of Law, there was Sir *Edward Coke*, Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*; who hath written ſuch excellent Commentaries of the Law, that he ſeems as another *Bartholus* or *Baldus* amongſt us. In elegancy of Writing, there was Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viſcount *Albans*, who beſides his profounder Books of *Novum Organum*, hath written the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh in ſo ſweet a ſtyle, that like Manna it pleaſeth the taſt of all Palates. In the skill of Antiquities, there was *William Cambden*, King at Arms, who hath ſet forth the Deſcription of *Britain*, and the Life of Queen *Elizabeth* in ſo lively Colours, that he ſeems to have brought *Britain* out of darkneſs into light, and to keep Queen *Elizabeth* alive after Death. And to ſpeak it in a Word, the *Trojan*-Horſe was not fuller of Heroick *Grecians*, than King *James* his Reign was full of Men, excellent in all kinds of Learning. And here I deſire the Reader's Leave, to remember Two of my Own old Acquaintance, the

Two Eminent Soldiers, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Sir *Horatio Vere*.

Two Eminent Scholars, Doctor *Andrews*, and Doctor *Reynolds*.

Two Eminent Lawyers, Sir *Edward Coke*, and Sir *Francis Bacon*.

Two Eminent Wits, Dr. *Donne*, and Sir *Henry Wotton*.

the one was Mr. *John Donne*, who leaving *Oxford*, lived at the *Inns of Court*, not diſſolute, but very neat; a great Viſiter of Ladies, a great frequenter of Plays, a great writer of conceited Verſes; until ſuch time as King *James* taking notice of the pregnancy of his Wit, was a means that he betook him to the ſtudy of Divinity: and thereupon proceeding Doctor, was made Dean of *Paul's*; and became ſo rare a Preacher, that he was not only commended but even admired by all that heard him. The other was *Henry Wotton* (mine old Acquaintance alſo, as having been Fellow-Pupils, and Chamber-fellows in *Oxford* divers Years together.) This Gentleman was imployed by King *James* in Embaſſage to *Venice*; and indeed the Kingdom afforded not a fitter Man, for matching the Capriciouſneſs of the *Italian* Wits: a Man of ſo able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himſelf much wrong, and the Kingdom more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

Of the Engliſh *Plantations in the* Indies, *that were in King* JAMES *his Time.*

AND now we are come to a time, wherein we may very near ſay as much of King *James*, as was ſaid of *Auguſtus Cæſar*; *Super & Garamantas & Indos proferre Imperium.* In this better, that where *Auguſtus* did it by the violent way of Arms, King *James* did it by the civil way of Plantations: for in his Days began the great Plantation of the *Engliſh* in the *Indies*, and muſt be acknowledged the proper Effect of his peaceable Government. The firſt Plantation of the *Engliſh* in the *Indies*, was that which is now called *Virginia*, in memory of the Virgin Queen *Elizabeth*: but called before *Wingandacoa*. It was firſt diſcovered by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the Year 1584. to whom the firſt Letters-Patents were granted for making a Plantation there: but yet no Colony was ſent thither, till the Year 1606. It is a Country in *America*, between the degrees of 34 and 45 of the North-Latitude: but that part of it which is planted by the *Engliſh*, is under the Degrees of 37, 38, and 39. It is no Iſland, as many have imagined, but a part of the Continent adjoining to *Florida*. The firſt and chief Town, made here by the *Engliſh*, is called *James-Town*, in honour of the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty. It is a Country abounding with all ſorts of Fiſh and Fowl; ſo fruitful, that it yields Thirty, and ſometimes Forty Buſhels of Corn upon an Acre; and that (which is to us more ſtrange) hath Three Harveſts in a Year, the Corn being ſowed, ripe, and reaped, in little more than two Months. Many Plantations had been attempted here before, but came to nothing; the firſt to any purpoſe was in the Year 1607. under the Conduct of Captain *Goſnoll*, *John Smith*, and Mr. *Edward Maria Winkfield*, who carried a Colony thither of a 100 Perſons; but of theſe, many dying of Sickneſs, or ſlain by the Savages, a new Supply came in the Year 1708. of a 120 Perſons, under the conduct of Captain *Nilſon*. After which, was ſent another ſupply of 70 Perſons; and in the Year 1609. a Third Supply came of 500 Perſons, under a Patent granted to Sir *Thomas Weſt*, Lord *de la Ware*, but conducted thither by Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and others. In the Year 1611. was a Fourth Supply of 300 Men, under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Gates*. In the Year 1612. Two other Supplies were ſent of 40 Men in each; and now was the Lottery ſpoken of, before-granted by the King, for further Supplies of this Plantation. After this, Maſter *Samuel Argall* being appointed Governour in the Year 1618. the Lord *de la Ware* came thither with a Supply of 200 People; but in his Stay there, died. After this, in the Year 1620. were ſent thither 11 Ships, with 1216 Perſons; and now they founded themſelves into Corporations. In the Year 1621. Sir *Francis Wiat* was ſent thither Governour with 1300 Men, Women, and Children; and now they founded Schools, and Courts of Juſtice; and the Plantation was extended 140 Miles upon the River of both ſides. But now, when the *Engliſh* were ſecure, and thought of nothing but Peace, the Savages came ſuddenly upon them, and ſlew of them 347 Men, Women, and Children. For repairing of which Loſs, the City of *London* ſent preſently over a Supply of 100 Men. This Maſſacre happened, by reaſon they had built their Plantations remote from one another, in above 30 ſeveral Places; which made them now, upon conſultation, to reduce them all to five or ſix Places, whereby they may better aſſiſt each other: ſince which time they have always lived in good Security. And thus much for *Virginia*.

upon their Security, 300 of them ſlain by the Savages.

The firſt Plantation of *Virginia*: and what Country it is, and abounding with what Commodities.

Next was the Plantation of the Iſland called *Bermudas*; ſo called of a *Spaniſh* Ship, called *Bermudas*, which was there caſt away, carrying Hogs to the *Weſt-Indies*, that ſwam aſhoar, and there encreaſed. The firſt *Engliſh* Man that entred this Iſle, was one *Henry May*, in the Year 1591. but in the Year 1610. Sir *George Somers* was ſent thither; who dying there, in Memory of his Name, the Iſles have ever ſince been called *Somers-Iſles*. In the Year 1612. one Mr. *Moor* landed there with 60 Perſons, and then builded the chief Town there, called St. *George's*, together with 8 or 9 Forts. The ſame Year, a Supply of 30 more Perſons was ſent thither, and the Year after 60 more, under one Mr. *Bartlet*, with a ſhew to ſurvey the Land; but with a purpoſe indeed to get from thence a great lump of Ambergrieſe, and no leſs than 80 Pound weight that had been found and taken up in the Iſland ſome few Years before, and was ſtill retained. A while after this, came a Ship called the *Bleſſing*, with 100 Paſſengers; and two Days after came the *Star*, with 180 more; and within 14 Days after that, again came thither the *Margaret*, and Two Frigats, with 130 Paſſengers: So as now they began to divide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into Shares. In the Year 1616. Captain *Daniel Tuckard* was ſent from *Virginia* to be Governour there, and now it began indeed to be a Plantation; for now they began to build them Houſes: and now was ſent from thence into *England*, a Ship freighted with 30000 weight of Tobacco, valued there but at 2*s.* 6*d.* the Pound, though ſold here oftentimes for *Verino's* at great rates. In the Year 1619. Captain *Nathaniel*

The Plantation of the *Bermudas*; why called *Somers-Iſles*.

Butler was ſent Governour with new Supplies, in whoſe time they built them a Church; held Aſſizes for Criminal Cauſes twice a Year, and began to have Parliaments as in *England*: And now in the Ship called the *Magazin*, came divers Gentlemen of good Faſhion, with their Wives and Families: ſo as now their Number was no fewer than 1500 People, diſperſed 20 Miles in length. In the Year 1622. came Governour Mr. *John Bernard*, bringing with him a Supply of 140 Perſons: but he and his Wife dying preſently upon their coming, Mr. *John Harriſon*, in the Year 1623. was choſen Governour. Theſe Iſles of *Bermudas* are in 32 Degrees of Northern Latitude: ſo as they are diſtant from *Virginia* at leaſt 500 Leagues, and from *England* above 3300. This Country is of a moſt healthful Air, abounding with all ſorts of Fowls, Birds and Fiſh; and where great pieces of *Ambergrieſe* are oftentimes found, which is valued there at no leſs than Three Pounds an ounce. And thus much concerning the ſtate of *Bermudas*, till the Year 1624.

The Plantation in *New-England*; and the Commodities of the Country.

Next comes the Plantation of *New-England*; concerning which we muſt firſt know, That King *James*, in the Year 1606. granted Two Letters-Patents for Plantations in *Virginia*; one to the City of *London*, another to the Cities of *Briſtol*, *Exeter*, and *Plimouth*, with Power to plant Colonies any where between the Degrees of 38 and 44. provided there ſhould be at leaſt 100 Miles diſtance between the Two Colonies. So as the firſt Colony was from the City of *London*, and is that which is called *Virginia*: The ſecond Colony was from *Briſtol*, and the other Towns, and is that which is now called *New-England*, and is ſituate between the Degrees of 41 and 45. the very mean betwixt the North Pole and the Line. And now to ſpeak a little of the Country: There are on the Sea-Coaſt, 25 excellent good Harbours, in ſome whereof there is Anchorage for 500 Sail of Ships of any Burthen: The Earth is fruitful, and the Air as healthful as any Part of the World; abounding with all ſorts of Grain, Fowls and Fiſh; many of ſuch kinds as are to us unknown, yet excellent Meat. Many Voyages had been made for the perfect Diſcovery of the Countrey; many Attempts for ſettling a Plantation there; many Miſcarriages and Diſaſters in making the Attempts: but all at laſt came to this, That in the Year 1624. (which is the limit of our Narration) there was a Plantation ſettled, though but a ſmall one: But a few Years after, (by the ſending forth of new Supplies) encreaſed to ſo many Thouſands, that if God continue to proſper it, as he hath begun, the *New-England*, in a few Ages, may prove as populous as the *Old*, and the King of *England* likely to have as many and greater Crowns in the *Indies*, than he had in his Realms of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. But ſeeing of theſe, and all other *Engliſh* Plantations in the *Indies*, whereof there are many, large Diſcourſes are written by divers Authors, it ſhould be more than ſuperfluous to ſpeak more of them in this Place: It is ſufficient to have ſhewed that King *James* had the Honour to have them ſettled in his Time, and under the Influence of his peaceable Government.

Of the EARLS *and* BARONS *made by King* JAMES.

IN former Kings Reigns, the making of Earls and Barons was but rare, and therefore they are fitly ſet down at the ſeveral times of their making; but in King *James* his Reign, there were ſo many made, that it may not be unfit to ſet them down in a Catalogue together.

In his Firſt Year were made Four Earls and Nine Barons: namely, *Henry Howard*, younger Brother of the laſt Duke of *Norfolk*, was made Earl of *Northampton*: *Thomas Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurſt*, was made Earl of *Dorſet*; and ſhortly after, *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy*, was made Earl of *Devonſhire*; and *Thomas Howard*, Baron of *Walden*, was made Earl of *Suffolk*: *Henry Grey* was made Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Stanford*:) *Henry Danvers* was made Baron of *Danby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Danby*:) Sir *John Peter* of *Eſſex*, was made Baron of *Writtle*: Sir *William Ruſſel* was made Baron of *Thornaugh*: Sir *Thomas Gerard* was made Baron of *Gerard Bromley* in *Staffordſhire*: Sir *Robert Spencer* was made Baron of *Wormalayton*, in the County of *Warwick*: Sir *Robert Egerton* was made Baron of *Elſmere*: Sir *Robert Cecil* was created Baron of *Hendon* in *Rutlandſhire*; and Sir *John Harrington*, was made Baron of *Exon*.

In his Second Year, on the 20th. of *May*, were made Four Barons and one Viſcount: Sir *Robert Sidney*, was made Baron of *Penburſt*: Sir *William Knowles*, Baron of *Grayes*: Sir *Edward Wotton*, Baron of *Marley*; and *Mildmay Fane* Lord *de Spencer*: And in *Auguſt*, the ſame Year, Sir *Robert Cecil*, Baron of *Eſſenden*, was created Viſcount *Cranburn*.

In his Third Year, on the Fourth of *May*, were created Three Earls, One Viſcount, and Four Barons: namely, Sir *Robert Cecill*, Viſcount *Cranburn*, was created Earl of *Salisbury*; Sir *Thomas Cecill*, his elder Brother, Lord *Burghley*, was created Earl of *Exeter*; and Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, was created Earl of *Montgomery*; *Robert Sidney*, Baron of *Penburſt*, was created Viſcount of *Liſle*: Sir *John Stanhope* was made Baron of *Harington*; Sir *George Carew*, Baron of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundel*, of *Devonſhire*, Baron of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendiſh*, Baron of *Hardwick*.

In his Fourth Year, on the Fourth of *July*, Sir *Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament, by the Name of Baron of *Eſtrick*, and was thereby Baron of that Title: And on the Seventh of *September*, Sir *Jervis Clifton* was likewiſe called by Writ to the Parliament, by the Name of Baron of *Leyon Bromſenſold*, and was thereby Baron of that Title.

In his Ninth Year, upon *Eaſter-Monday*, Sir *Robert Carre* was created Viſcount *Rocheſter*: and

In his Tenth Year, on the Fourth of *November*, was created Earl of *Somerſet*.

In

In his Eleventh Year, *Lewis Steward*, Duke of *Lenox*, was made Earl of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Richmond*.

In his Thirteenth Year, on the 29th. of *June*, Sir *James Hay* of *Scotland* was created Baron of *Sawley*, and about Three Years after, was made Viſcount *Doncaſter*; and Sir *Robert Dormer* was created Baron of *Wyng*, (afterward by King *Charles* was made Earl of *Carnarvan*.)

In his Fourteenth Year, on the 9th. of *July*, Sir *John Hollys* Knight, was created Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*, in the County of *Nottingham*; and Sir *John Roper* of *Kent*, was made Baron of *Tenham*; and on the 27th. of *Auguſt*, Sir *George Villiers* was created Baron of *Whadden*, and Viſcount *Villiers*; and on the 7th. of *November*, *Thomas Egerton*, Lord *Elſemere*, was created Viſcount *Brackley*, and he dying ſoon after, his Son *John* was created Earl of *Bridgewater*; *William* Lord *Knowles* was created Viſcount *Wallingford*; and Sir *Philip Stanhope* was created Baron of *Shelford*: On the 5th. of *January*, the Viſcount *Villiers* was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and on the Third of *March*, Sir *Edward Noell* of *Rutlandſhire*, was made Baron of *Ryddington*.

In his Fifteenth Year, on *New-Years* Day, Sir *George Villiers*, Earl of *Buckingham*, was created Marquis of *Buckingham*; and on the 12th. of *July*, Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, was created Baron of *Verulam*, and not long after Viſcount St. *Albans*. Alſo in the Summer of this Year, the King created Four Earls, and One Counteſs: namely, the Viſcount *Liſle* was made Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Lord *Compton* was made Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Rich* was made Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Cavendiſh* was made Earl of *Devonſhire*; and the Lady *Compton*, Wife to Sir *Thomas Compton*, and Mother of the Marquis of *Buckingham*, was created Counteſs of *Buckingham*.

In his Sixteenth Year, on the 25th. of *November*, Sir *John Digby*, Vice-Chamberlain to the King, was created Baron of *Sherbourn*, by Patent to him and his Heirs-Males.

In his Seventeenth Year, in the Month of *June*, *Eſme Steward*, Lord *d'Aubigny*, younger Brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, was created Earl of *March*; *James* Marquis *Hamilton* was created Earl of *Cambridge*; and Sir *John Villiers*, Brother to the Marquis of *Buckingham*, was created Baron of *Stock*, and Viſcount *Purbeck*.

In his Eighteenth Year, *William Cavendiſh* was created Viſcount *Mansfield*; (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Newcaſtle*) and on *Monday* the Fourth of *December*, Sir *Henry Montague*, being firſt made Lord Treaſurer, was created Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Viſcount *Mandevile*, and not long after Earl of *Manchester*; and Sir *John Ramſey*, Viſcount *Haddington* of *Scotland*, was created Earl of *Holderneſſe*; and *William Fielding* was created Baron of *Newhaven*, and Viſcount *Fielding*.

In his Nineteenth Year, *Henry Cary* was made Lord *Cary* of *Leppington*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Monmouth*;) Sir *Edward Montague*, elder Brother to the Viſcount *Mandevile*, was made Baron of *Boulton*, the Lord *Darcy* of *Eſſex*, was created Viſcount *Colcheſter*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Rivers*;) the Lord *Hunſdon* was created Viſcount *Rochford*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Dover*;) Sir *Lyonel Cranfield*, Maſter of the *Wards*, was created Baron *Cranfield* in *Bedfordſhire*; and Sir *Thomas Howard*, ſecond Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, was created Baron of *Charleton*, and Viſcount *Andover*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Berkſhire*.)

In his Twentieth Year, in the Month of *September*, the Viſcount *Doncaſter* was created Earl of *Carliſle*; the Viſcount *Fielding* was created Earl of *Denbigh*; the Lord *Digby* was made Earl of *Briſtol*; the Lord *Cranfield* was created Earl of *Middleſex*; and Sir *Henry Rich* was made Baron of *Kenſington*.

In his Twenty firſt Year, the Marquis of *Buckingham* being then in *Spain* with Prince *Charles*, had his Patent ſent him to be Duke of *Buckingham*; *William Grey* was created Baron of *Wark*; *Elizabeth*, the Widow of Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was created Viſcounteſs of *Maidſtone*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Counteſs of *Winchelſey*.)

In his Twenty ſecond Year, the Earl of *Clanricard* of *Ireland*, was created Viſcount *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of St. *Albans*;) Sir *John Hollys* Knight, Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*, was created Earl of *Clare*; Sir *Henry Rich*, Baron of *Kenſington*, was created Earl of *Holland*; the Lord *Fines*, Baron of *Say* and *Seale*, was made Viſcount *Say* and *Seale*; Sir *Francis Fane* was created Earl of *Weſtmorland*; *Oliver* Lord *St. John* of *Blesho* was made Earl of *Bullingbrook*; Sir *Chriſtopher Villiers*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Earl of *Angleſey*; and Sir *James Ley* was made Lord *Ley*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Marlborough*.) Alſo this Year, Sir *Francis Leak* was made Baron of *Deincourt*, and Sir *Richard Roberts* was made Lord *Roberts* of *Truro* in *Cornwall*.

And this was the Number of all the Earls and Barons made by King *James*; but in his time alſo began another ſort of Nobility to be made in *England*, which had none of the Privileges of *Engliſh* Barons, but had only Title to be called Lords of ſome Place either in *England* or *Ireland*, although they poſſeſſed not a Foot of Land in either: Of which ſort, the Number being great, I forbear to rehearſe them, leſt I ſhould be tedious, or otherwiſe be thought to encroach too much upon the Heralds-Office. It is ſufficient to have ſhewed, that King *James* advanced ſo much in Honour, that in a kind it might be ſaid of him, as was ſaid of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, That he left *Rome* of Marble, which he found but of Brick.

Mayors

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in his Reign.*

In his First Year,
Sir *Thomas Bennet* was Mayor.
Sir *William Rumney*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sheriffs.

In his Second Year,
Sir *Thomas Low* was Mayor.
Sir *Thomas Hayes*, Sir *Roger Jones*, Sheriffs.

In his Third Year,
Sir *Leonard Holyday* was Mayor.
Sir *Clement Scudamor*, Sir *John Jolles*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourth Year,
Sir *John Wats* was Mayor.
William Walthall, *John Leman*, Sheriffs.

In his Fifth Year,
Sir *Henry Row* was Mayor.
Geoffrey Elwes, *Nicholas Style*, Sheriffs.

In his Sixth Year,
Sir *Humphry Weld* was Mayor.
George Bolles, *Richard Farrington*, Sheriffs.

In his Seventh Year,
Sir *Thomas Cambell* was Mayor.
Sebastian Harvey, *William Cockaine*, Sheriffs.

In his Eighth Year,
Sir *William Craven* was Mayor.
Richard Pyat, *Francis Jones*, Sheriffs.

In his Ninth Year,
Sir *James Pemberton* was Mayor.
Edward Barkham, *John Smiths*, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth Year,
Sir *John Swinnerton* was Mayor.
Edward Rotheram, *Alexander Prescot*, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh Year,
Sir *Thomas Middleton* was Mayor.
Thomas Bennet, *Henry Faye*, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth Year,
Sir *Thomas Hayes* was Mayor.
Peter Proby, *Martin Lumley*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth Year,
Sir *John Jolles* was Mayor.
William Goare, *John Goare*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth Year,
Sir *John Leman* was Mayor.
Allen Cotton, *Cuthburt Hacket*, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth Year,
Sir *George Bolles* was Mayor.
William Holyday, *Robert Johnson*, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth Year,
Sir *Sebastian Harvey* was Mayor.
Richard Hearne, *Hugh Hamersly*, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth Year,
Sir *William Cockaine* was Mayor.
Richard Deane, *James Cambell*, Sheriffs.

In his Eighteenth Year,
Sir *Francis Jones* was Mayor.
Edward Allen, *Robert Dacy*, Sheriffs.

In his Nineteenth Year,
Sir *Edward Barkham* was Mayor.
George Witemore, *Nicholas Raimon*, Sheriffs.

In his Twentieth Year,
Sir *Peter Proby* was Mayor.
John Hodges, Sir *Humprey Hantford*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty first Year,
Sir *Martin Lumley* was Mayor.
Ralph Freeman, *Thomas Monnson*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty second Year,
Sir *John Goare* was Mayor,
Rowland Heilin, *Robert Parkhurst*, Sheriffs.

THE

THE REIGN OF King Charles the First.

1625. King *Charles* Proclaimed.

KIng *James* being deceased on the 27th. of *March* in the Forenoon, the same Day in the Afternoon, *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, his only Son, then living, was proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, with the general Acclamation of all sorts of People, as being a Prince of admirable Endowments both of Mind and Body. He was now about the Age of 25 Years, whereof the most part of one he had spent in *Spain*; where, although he was frustrated for the end of which he went, yet it gave him a Tincture of Travel and Experience, more worth, perhaps, than that he went for.

The Celebration of the Funeral of King *James*

The Funerals of the deceased King were celebrated on the Seventh of *May*, his Body being brought from *Somerset-House* to *Westminster*, where in St. *Peter's-Church* he was with great magnificence interr'd, the King himself being principal Mourner; which though it was contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather to express his Piety, in attending the Body of his Father at his Funeral, than to stand upon any old Niceties and Points of State.

The King & Queen's Espousals at *Paris*.

The first thing he did after the Celebration of the Funeral, was to hasten the coming over of the Queen; to whom, on *Sunday* the First of *May*, he was by his Proxy, the Duke of *Chevreux*, espoused at our *Lady's-Church* in *Paris*, where the Espousals were performed by the Cardinal of *Richlieu*.

A while after, the Queen began her Journey towards *England*, accompanied to *Amiens*, with the Queen her Mother, the Duke of *Orleans* her Brother, and the Duke and Dutchess of *Chevreux*, with others of the Nobility of *France*; and she was attended by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earls of *Carlisle*, *Holland*, and *Montgomery*, and many of the English Gentry, who were sent over for that purpose.

The Queen staid for a Fortnight at *Amiens*, and there she parted with her Mother; from thence she went to *Boloigne*, where a Fleet of 21 of the King's Ships attended her, with the Countess of *Buckingham*, and a noble Train of Ladies.

The Queen arrives at *Dover*.

On *Trinity-Sunday*, late at Night, she arrived at *Dover*; which being signified to the King, (then at *Canterbury*) he went to her early the next Morning, and received her with the greatest Demonstration of Affection; and the same Day they came to *Canterbury*, where their Nuptials were with all possible Magnificence compleated; and the Duke of *Chevereux* surrendred his Royal Charge to the King. On *Wednesday*, the 15th. of *June*, they went by Coach to *Gravesend*, and the next Day they came from thence to *Somerset-House* in their Royal Barges, attended with a very numerous Train of Lords and Ladies, and welcomed as they passed, by the great Ordnance from several Ships in the River, and the *Tower* of *London*, and accompanied or met by most of the Barges and Boats which could be found on the River of *Thames*.

The King and Queen came to *Somerset-House*.

The King's Marriage declared.

The Third Day after their Arrival, their Marriage was declared at *Whitehall*, with great Acclamations of joy, the King and Queen presenting themselves in that Ceremony, on Royal Thrones before the Nobility: But the Pestilence began to rage in *London* at this time, which abated much of the Pomp of the Solemnity; though neither that, nor any thing else did divert the King from the Consideration of the other Concernments of the Kingdom; for having summon'd a Parliament to meet on the 18th. of *June*, at the first assembling thereof, he spake to them in these Words:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOU are not ignorant, That at your earnest Entreaty, March 24. 1623. *My Father (of Happy Memory) first took up Arms for the Recovery of the* Palatinate; *for which purpose, by*

1625. by your Assistance, he began to form a considerable Army, and to prepare a goodly Armado, and Navy-Royal. But Death intervening betwixt him and the Atchievement, the War, with the Crown it devolved upon me; in the Prosecution whereof, as I am obliged both in Nature and Honour, so I question not, but the same Necessity continuing, you will cherish the Action with the like Affection, and further it with a ready Contribution. True it is, you furnished My Father with effectionate Supplies, but they held no Symmetry or Proportion, with the Charge of so great an Enterprize. For those your Donatives are all dispurst to a Penny; and I am enforced to summon you hither, to tell you, That neither can the Army advance, nor the Fleet set sayl, without further aid. Consider, I pray you, that the Eyes of all Europe are fixt upon me, to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo Muster and Ostentation, if you now desert me. Consider it is my first Attempt, wherein if I sustain a Foil, it will blemish all my future Honour. If Mine cannot, let your Reputation move you, deliver and expedite me fairly out of this War, wherewith you have encumbred Me. (Let it never be said wherewto you have betrayed Me.) I desire therefore your speedy Supply. The Sun, you know, is entring into his declining Point, so it will be soon too to late set forth, when it will be rather not too soon to return. Again, I must mind you of the Mortality regnant in this City, which should it (as so it may, and no breach of Privilege neither) Arrest any one Member of either House, it would soon put a period, both to the Consultation and Session, so that your own Periclitation requires an early Resolution. In summe, Three of the best Rhetoricians, Honour, Opportunity, and Safety, are all of a Plot, and plead, you see, for Expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I should say something in way of account of My Religion, as also of the temper and tenour of My future Government. But as I hope I have not been guilty of any thing which may justly start the least question to either, so I desire you would repose in this Assurance, that I will in neither vary from those Principles, wherein I have been instituted at the Feet of that Eminent Gamaliel My late Father.

This Speech was very well receiv'd, and though it did not produce so great a Supply, as the exigence of Affairs required, yet the Commons gave Two Subsidies without any Condition, and the Clergy Three; and in the Grant of the Laity, the Papists were to pay double.

The King very graciously accepted the Gift, as an Earnest of the good Affections of his People, in reference to greater Summs which he expected to follow. But the Plague encreased in *London*, the Parliament, on the 12th. of *July*, was adjourned to *Oxford*, to be held there on the 1st. of *August*. The Commons had sent up a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage to the Lords before the Adjournment: but because it was limited to a Year, they thought it unfit to pass; for that most of the former Grants to the King's Predecessors were for term of Life. The Cause of this Restraint was, because the Customs had been raised by King *James*, by Advice of his Council, in the 18th. Year of his Reign, and the Commons had a Purpose to reduce them to the rate settled in Queen *Mary*'s time. 1625.

August the 1st. the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*; and in the 4th. of the same Month, both Houses, by the King's Appointment, attended him in *Christ-Church-Hall*, where he briefly acquainted them with his Wants for setting out the Fleet; adding, That the Eyes of the Confederates were fixt upon it. The King's Speech to the Parliament.

The Commons, upon their return from the King to their House, had several long Debates upon the substance of his Speech, and the present Condition of the Kingdom, all tending to an Arraignment of the Government. Some urged That our Necessities arose by Improvidence; That the King's Designs were guided by Evil Counsels; and, That tho' a former Parliament engaged the King in a War, yet if things were managed by contrary Designs, and the Treasure misimployed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in Designs, not guided by sound Counsel; and that it was unusual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies, before Grievances were redress'd, and before they would agree to any Answer to what the King proposed, (upon some Jealousies that the Popish Religion was too much countenanced) they framed a Petition against Popish Recusants, which was presented to him by their Speaker, attended by all the House of Commons. The King seemed not displeased at this Delay, and the Parliament received from him a very gracious and satisfactory Answer to their Petition; nevertheless this kindness did not produce answerable Effects: For, when the Matters of Supply came to be again debated by the Commons, great Division arose, some would give and others would not, and the majority were prevailed on by many passionate Instances of mal-government, to insist on redress of Grievances before Supply, and to have a Remonstrance thereof drawn up, and presented to the King, inveighing in their Speeches against the Duke of *Buckingham*, as the chief Occasion of all Miscarriages in Government. Nothing more than this could shew the mutability of Human Affairs, and how little dependance is to be laid on the Affections of the People; for in the last Parliament of King *James*, this Duke of *Buckingham*, against whom they now exclaimed, was extolled for the great Ornament and Honour of the English Nation, and the chief Preserver of the Kingdom from the Spanish Practises; nay, no Honour was thought large enough to requite his Merits. The King, from those of his Council, in the House of Commons, had Advice from time to time of the matter of this Remonstrance, in the Debates of it, which tended chiefly to discredit the Duke, and remove him from his Counsels and Affection: but the Expressions were so sharp, and the style so unusual from Subjects to their Prince, that the King determined rather to dissolve the Parliament, than admit of it; and thereupon he came to the Lords House, to put an end to it. The House of Commons were Resolved into a Grand Committee, when the Usher of the Black-Rod came The Commons debate a Remonstrance of Grievances.

to

1625. to call them up to the Lord's House, in order to a Dissolution, but before they would admit the Speaker to resume the Chair, to sit as a House, one *Glanvill* stood up, and declared the sence of the House in these Words:

Glanvill declares in the Name of the House of Commons.

First, To give His Majesty Thanks for His Gracious Answer to our Petition for Religion.

Next, For his Care of our Health, in giving us Leave to depart this dangerous Time.

Lastly, A dutiful Declaration of our Affection and Loyalty, and propose to supply His Majesty in a Parliamentary-way, in a fitting, and convenient time.

This being done, the Usher was called in, and declared his Message, and the Dissolution of the Parliament immediately ensued.

Soon after this, a Proclamation was set out, to put the Laws in execution against Popish Recusants, commanding the return, by a prefixed time, of Children, of Noblemen and others, sent to be educated in Popish Schools, or Seminaries abroad; and all the King's Subjects under the Pay of the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Archdutchies, who then governed the *Spanish Netherlands*, were speedily enjoined to return to their Native Countries, to be employed in the King's Service.

Term kept at *Reading*.

The Term, because of the Plague in *London*, was kept at *Reading*, and special Instructions were given to the Judges, to put the Laws in execution against Recusants.

And now the War with *Spain*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was resolved on in the last Year of his Father's Reign, was vigorously prosecuted; and the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Holland*, were sent Embassadors to the *United Provinces*, where they met at the *Hague* the Embassadors of *France* and *Denmark*, and concluded a League with them and the States, for restoring the Liberties of *Germany*. The King of *Denmark*, in conformity with the League, took up Arms, but was unfortunate therein, which he imputed to the King's not performance of what was promised on his part, and that was occasioned by the Parliament's failure of Supplies of Money. And for the same Reason the Fleet, which should have been set out in the beginning of Summer, to attempt something on the Coast of *Spain*, were not out till *October* following. In which Expedition the Viscount *Wimbleton* was General of the Land Forces, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice-Admiral of the Navy.

The Fleet, with the Addition of some *Dutch* Vessels, consisted of 80 good Ships; at their first setting forth, they were encountred with so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of them were dispersed and scattered for Seven Days together, and a gallant Ship, called the *Long Robert of Ipswich*, with 170 Persons in it, were lost. After this Tempest, the Fleet met at the Southern Cape, where they entred into Consultation what they should attempt; the Earl of *Essex*, out of a great desire to equal the Glory of his Father gotten at *Cadiz*, proposed the assailing of the *Spanish* Fleet, which then lay in that Harbour; but there were so many Difficulties in the Enterprize, and so long time spent in the Debate of it, that the whole Coast of *Spain* was thereby alarm'd, and the *Spaniards* had opportunity to prepare for their defence: so that when it was concluded, that they should sail to *Cadiz*, they landed their Men there with great danger and opposition. The first Place they attempted was *Puntal-Castle*, under the shelter whereof the *Spanish* Ships rode; for the taking of which, Twenty *English* and Five *Dutch* Ships were ordered; but they, after the spending of 2000 great Shot against it to little purpose, came off again. This not succeeding, *Wimbleton* sent Sir *John Burroughs* with a select Regiment of Foot, to attack the Fort on the Land side: but these, at their first appearance, were encountred by some *Spanish* Forces, which were drawn together for the defence of the Country, and after a sharp Engagement, they worsted the *Spaniards* in sight of the Castle; whereupon the Commander within it, hung out a white Flag, and after a short Parley, surrendred the Place, with Fifteen Barrels of Powder, and Eight Pieces of Ordnance: whilst this was doing, the *Spaniard* haled most of their best Ships under the Port-Royal; so that Sir *Samuel Argale*, who was set to fire the Ships, was disappointed of his purpose. But that which might have been very fatal therein, was the Misgovernment of the Soldiers, who by the Avarice, or Negligence of their Commanders, were permitted to fill themselves so much with the Wine they found in the Cellars, and other Places where they plundred, that they were more like to Beasts than Men; and if the *Spaniards* had had good Intelligence, they might have been all cut off: for by this means they were so ungovernable, that the General fearing the consequence thereof, speedily caused them to be embarked, and left behind him the Hopes only of Renown and Victory. From thence they sailed to the Southern Cape, where they staid 20 Days, in expectation of the Plate Fleet; but by the inclemency of the Air, and the intemperance of the Soldiers and Mariners, so great a Contagion happened in the Fleet, that they wanted Men to manage the Sails; and where some Ships had a greater Number of infected Persons than others, to remedy this, a most pernicious course was taken; for every Ship was ordered by lot, to take in two sick, in exchange for so many found Men, which propagated the Pestilence, and forced the General to an untimely return, Four Days before the Plate Fleet came.

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The unprosperous Success of this Fleet displeased the King very much, and *Wimbleton* was some time prohibited his presence; but he excused himself, laying a great part of the Miscarriage on the Stubbornness of the Earl of *Essex*. Yet, though all were blamed, none were punished for the ill managery and conduct of the Expedition.

Money borrowed by Letters of Privy-Seal.

The War became now very Chargeable, and since the King could not be supplied in a Parliamentary-way, he was advised by his Council to use other means; and it was resolved to borrow what Money could be got by Letters of Privy-Seals, sent to several of the ablest Persons in all Parts of the Kingdom; in each of which Letters, the King promised in the Name of himself, and his Successors, to re-pay the Money in 18 Months after the Payment thereof to

To be re-pay'd in Eighteen Months.

1625. the Collector, and the Collectors of this Loan were ordered to pay the ſumms received into the Exchequer, and to return the Names of ſuch as went about to delay, or excuſe the payment of the money required of them.

This manner of proceeding was thought very improper, unleſs it had been reſolved not to call a Parliament ſo ſoon after; for if the King in that conjuncture had clapt up a Peace with *Spain*, (which the *Spaniard* had as much reaſon to accept as he to offer) he might have freed himſelf from the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, (till by the goodneſs of his Government he had no neceſſity for a Parliament to work upon) and likewiſe prevented a following unlucky Rupture betwixt him and *France*. The King however, was reſolved to try his fortune in another Parliament, which was ſummoned to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 6th. of *February*; but firſt the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be performed, which was celebrated on the 2d. of *February*, (commonly called *Candlemas-day*.) In the external Pomp whereof the King omitted his triumphant riding through the City, from the Tower to *Whitehall*, partly to ſave the Charges thereof, and partly to prevent the danger of popular Concourſe; for the Plague was not quite decreaſed; but ſome dregs remained of it. In the Sacred part there was a Clauſe added, which had been pretermitted in the time of King *Henry* the 6th. which is this that followeth, *viz.* "Let him "obtain Favour of the people, like *Aaron* in "the Tabernacle, *Eliſha* in the Water, *Zachari-* "*as* in the Temple; Give him *Peter*'s Key of "Diſcipline, and *Paul*'s Doctrine. Which Clauſe had been omitted in time of Popery, as intimating more Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to be given to our Kings than the Popes allowed of.

A Parliament ſummoned to meet *Feb.* 6.

The Kings Coronation.

The Coronation Oath, though the contrary was ſuggeſted, was the ſame which had been taken by his Predeceſſors, as appears by the Records of the Exchequer.

The Solemnity being over, he began his Second Parliament on the 6th. of *February*, in which he had no better ſucceſs than in his firſt. Sir *Heneage Finch* was choſen Speaker by the Commons, and approved by the King, a Perſon of great Prudence and Moderation. The Houſe of Commons began where they left at *Oxford*, with Matters of Religion and publick Grievances; they made ſtrict Enquiry into what Abuſes had been of the King's Grace ſince that time, and who were the Authors and Abettors thereof; for they had been informed of many Pardons and Remeres to Jeſuits and Prieſts, and their Grievances were ſtated under Four Heads.

Grievances ſtated.

1. *The Eaſe of the King in the conſtant Revenue of the Crown.*
2. *The Condition of the Subject in his ſeveral Eſtate.*
3. *The Care of the Nations good ſucceſs in former times.*
4. *The preſent Conditions of the Kingdom.*

Under the Firſt Head was conſidered the great Diſpoſitions of Lands and Penſions *more than* and other exorbitant Expenſes. In the Second, the bringing in of new Impoſitions, the multiplying of Monopolies, and the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without an Act of Parliament. Under the Third, they aſcribed the great renown and reputation of our Nation in former times, to the wiſdom and gravity of the Counſellors, when nothing was ordered but by publick debate; and whence aroſe a readineſs in the Subject to aſſiſt their Sovereign in purſe and perſon. In the Fourth was preſented the loſs of the Nations wonted Reputation in the Expedition of *Cadiz*, and others; which was imputed to the want of ſuch Counſels as were heretofore uſed; For as much as men through difference in ſucceſs were backward to adventure either their Perſons or their Purſes.

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Whilſt theſe Debates were agitated by the Commons, the Earl of *Arundel* was by the King committed to the Tower, becauſe of a Marriage conſummate betwixt the Lord *Maltravers* his Eldeſt Son, and the Eldeſt Siſter of the Duke of *Lenox*, one near allied in blood to the King; for the King had deſigned to marry her to the Lord of *Lorne*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Argyle*, a Man of great Power in *Scotland*, meditating thereby to reconcile thoſe two Families, who had been anciently in Feuds.

The Earl of *Arundel* committed by the King.

The Earl beſought the King's Pardon, and proteſted his Innocency, as no way privy to the buſineſs, being contrived by the Dutcheſs Dowager, and his Counteſs, without his knowledge; but the King would not hear him.

This Commitment of the Earl was reſented by the Houſe of Peers, who petitioned the King, That it is their undoubted Right, that no Peer ſitting in Parliament is to be impriſoned, without Order from the Houſe of Peers, unleſs it be for Treaſon, Felony, or refuſing to give ſecurity for the Peace. And they inſiſted the more on this Privilege at this time, becauſe the Earl had ſix Proxies deputed to him, which would be of no validity during his reſtraint.

Upon this Petition many Debates paſſed in the Houſe of Lords upon ſeveral Meſſages of the King about this Privilege, which laſted from the 14th. of *March* to the 8th. of *June*, ere he was ſatisfied with Reaſons of the Peers; and then the Earl was releaſed from his Impriſonment.

Whilſt theſe Matters were agitated at home, to make the Difference greater betwixt the Dutch and the Spaniard, and for further promoting that War, the King of *France* did conclude a little Treaty in the *Hague*, by the Baron of *Couper*, concerning the Equipping of a Fleet of Twenty Ships, under the Admiral *Hautain*, upon a Deſign to ſtraiten *Genua* by Water, whilſt the Conſtable *des Dugnieres* ſhould be able to do the ſame by Land; and the Engliſh Embaſſador then Reſident at *London*, had obtained of the King the *Vantguard*, one of the Navy Ships, and fifteen Merchant Ships to be employed in the ſame Expedition; but ſhortly after theſe Engliſh Ships were received into the Pay of *France*. Monſieur *de Soubiſe*, taking advantage of the French Armies advance towards *Italy*, incited thoſe of *Rochel* to ſtir againſt the King, and he with ſome Ships he had got together, ſeized on the *Iſle of Rhee*, and ſome of the King of *France* his Ships in the Harbour. At this the King was ſo incenſed, that he turn'd his Deſign for *Italy* upon *Rochel*; and that occaſioned another Treaty at the *Hague*, with the *Hollanders*,

1625. landers betwixt d'Espesses, the French Ambassador and them, which was concluded the 12th of April, new Style; whereby the 20 Ships under Hautain, were agreed to be employed against Soubize, and against Rochell. In the mean time, many of the French Protestants took great Offence at his Assistance from Holland against Rochell; but their Alliance with France, and Interest of State, prevailed above all other Considerations. Montmorency, the French Admiral, being thus strengthned with the Dutch Fleet, and the Seven English Ships, quickly chased Soubize into the Isle of Oleron, and re-prized most of the Ships he had taken, and strengthned Rochell by Sea, whilst the French Army was marching to block it up by Land. The King was much offended, that the English Ships were employed in this Action, having not consented they should be used in any other Expedition, than against Genua; and thereupon he sent an Expostulatory Message to the King of France, to have a Reason thereof, and to demand Restitution of the Ships; and when Satisfaction was not given herein, the King caused a rich French Ship of New-haven to be seized on. This occasioned great Clamour in France, and the French, by way of Retaliation, arrested the English Merchants Ships and Goods in their Harbours: but after a while, a Reconciliation was made, the King had his Ships again, and their Ship restored, and the English Ships and Goods were delivered back. And thus all was calm for the present; but it continued not long so, as shall be shewn hereafter.

The Traverses in the House of Peers, about the Earl of Arundel, rather heightned, than allayed their Intention towards the Duke of Buckingham, and Encouragement is given to all that would inform against him. One Doctor Turner, a Physician, proposed Six Queries in the House of Commons, touching his ill Conduct in Affairs, which reflected much upon the King's Government, and was so resented by him.

Dr. Turner's Queries.

1. *Whether the King hath lost the Regality of the* Narrow Seas, *since the Duke became Admiral?*

2. *Whether his not going as Admiral in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success?*

3. *Whether the King's Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense Liberality?*

4. *Whether he hath not engrossed all Offices, and preferred his Kindred to unfit places?*

5. *Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature?*

6. *Whether Recusants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father-in-law?*

Neither was this the only thing which displeased the King, at this time in the proceedings of the Commons. They had sent Committees to the Signet Office, to search for Originals of his Letters for reprieving some Priests condemned at York; and when Sir Richard Weston Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought a Message to them from him for supply, acquainting them, that the Fleet was returned, Victuals spent, and the Men in great necessity, and ready to mutiny for want of pay, and that a Fleet of 40 Ships which were ready to go out, could not move without Money, and that the Army on the Sea-Coasts, was in want both of Victuals and Cloaths; They were not prevailed on, but one Mr. Clement Cook amongst other Invectives, said, *It was better to dye by a forrign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home.* 1625.

Sir Richard Weston's Message for Money.

This high temper of the Commons House was a Subject of much discourse at this time; it was said, The Parliament is a very excellent Constitution, but is not without its inconveniences, as all others are; and amongst these, the great licence of Speech in the House of Commons is not the least; for though it be even necessary, that they should not be debarred of Liberty, yet that in the intention seems not to be boundless; for at all times the Zeal for Reformation of abuses in that House, being very great, those amongst them that have a facility of Eloquent Speaking many do great hurt, if they be not well inclin'd to the Government. But those that thought the Court, by long plenty and ease, somewhat too exorbitant, believ'd this freedom of Speech very necessary.

And at this time whether it were out of a general Envy against the Duke, because of his sudden exaltation to Greatness, or a particular disgust of some that thought they merited (as well as he) a greater share than they had in the King's favour; the Tide against him in both the Houses (but especially in the House of Commons) ran so high, that nothing would be granted to the King at a lower rate than his ruine. In the mean time, the King manifested a great displeasure at those proceedings, and sent Sir Richard Weston to demand satisfaction; in which they not answering his expectation by so sudden an inquisition as he required, he called the Lords and them together, and by the Lord Keeper Coventry (who lately had the Seal given to him, upon the disgrace of Williams Bishop of Lincoln who was displaced) he acquainted them with his mind.

Lord Keepers Speech.

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons, His Majesties Command hath summoned you hither, and the same Command hath put me upon the service of signifying his Will to you. His Will was, That both Houses should be called together; You my Lords, as Witnesses of the Justice of his resolutions, and of his Addresses to the House of Commons. His Majesty would have you know, there never was King, who better loved his People, or was more sincerely affected towards the right use of Parliaments, or more ready to redress what shall be represented to him in the quality of Grievances (provided it be in a regular and decent way,) than Himself: but he would also have you know, That, as he loves His People, so he regards his Honour; and if he be sensible of his Subjects Grievances, of his own he is much more, especially when they flow from offences of such a nature, as not onely blast his Reputation, but impede the progress of his Weighty Affairs.

To come to particulars, His Majesty saith, That whereas Doctor Turner, *and Mr.* Cook *spake very* SEDITIOUS WORDS *in your House, they were so far from being*

1625. *questioned or censur'd for them by you, that others were animated to the like rudeness by their impunity. And though Dr.* Turner's *Articles were pretended against the Duke, it was, in truth, a Libelling His Majesty's Government. And when His Majesty did not only by Sir* Richard Weston, *but in his own Person declare his just Displeasure, and demanded justice against those Exorbitants, yet have you not only halted in your obedience to him, but have followed the very steps of this Doctor, and upon false-bottom'd Suggestions endeavoured to stain his own and his Father's Honour.*

He also complaineth, That you have taken upon you to search his Signet-Office, and to examine the Letters of his Secretary of State, leaving him nothing free from their Discovery: A thing not formerly practised.

As concerning the Duke, whom you seem to persecute with such asperity of disgust, I am also commanded to tell you, That His Majesty knows (more better) he acted nothing of publick Employment, without his special Warrant, that he hath discharged his Trust, with abundance of both Care and Fidelity; That he merited that Trust both from His now Majesty, and his late Father, by his personal Hazard both at Home and Abroad, and that since his Return from Spain, *he hath been sedulous in promoting the Service and Contentment of your House. It is therefore His express Command, That you absolutely desist from such Un-Parliamentary Disquisitions, and resign the Reformation of what is amiss, to His Majesty's Care, Wisdom, and Justice.*

I am also to speak about the Business of Supply: You have been made acquainted with the Posture of His Majesty's Affairs, both Foreign and Domestick, and with his necessitous Condition; the Charge of all Martial Preparations, both by Sea and Land, hath been calculated to you, and you promised a Supply both speedy and suitable to his Occasions, but His Majesty complaineth, that as yet you have not performed either, failing both in the measure, and in the manner. In the measure, by granting only Three Subsidies, and Three Fifteens, a proportion vastly short of what is requisite. In the manner, being both dilatory, and dishonourable to the King, as arguing a distrust of him: for you have order'd a Bill not to be brought into the House, until your Grievances be both heard and answered; which is such a tacite Condition, as His Majesty will not admit of.

Therefore His Majesty commands you, to take it into your speedy consideration, and to return your final Answer by Saturday *next, what further addition you will make; and if your Supplies commensurate and equal the Demands of the Cause, he promiseth to continue this Session to your just Content; else he must, and will entertain Thoughts of your Dismission.*

Lastly, I am commanded to tell you, That His Majesty doth not charge the Distempers upon the whole Body, and Assembly of the House: but as he is confident the greater Number are Persons of a quiet disposition, so he hopeth their Influence, and this His Majesty's Admonition, will prevent the like for the time to come.

This Speech caused great Emotion in the House of Commons, and produced a Remonstrance to this Effect, (*viz.*) 1626.

A Remonstrance.

That with extream Joy and Comfort they acknowledge the Favour of His Majesty's most gracious Expression of Affection to his People, and this present Parliament. That concerning Mr. *Cook*, true it is, he let fall some few Words that might admit an ill Construction, and that the House was displeased therewith, as they declared by a general Check at the very time he spoke them; and though Mr. *Cook*'s Explanation of his Mind more clearly, did somewhat abate the Offence of the House, yet were they resolved to take it into further Consideration, and so have done, the Effect whereof had appear'd e're this, had they not been interrupted by this His Majesty's Message; and the like Interruption befel them also in the Business of Doctor *Turner*.

As concerning the Examination of the Letters of his Secretary of State, as also of his Majesty's own, and searching the Signet-Office, and other Records, they had done nothing therein; not warranted by the Precedents of former Parliaments upon the like Occasions.

That concerning the Duke, they did humbly beseech His Majesty to be inform'd, That it hath been the constant and undoubted usage of Parliaments, to question and complain of any Person of what degree soever; and what they should do in relation to him, they little doubted but it should redound to the Honour of the Crown, and Safety of the Kingdom.

Lastly, As to the Matter of Supply: That if addition may be made of other things, importing his Service them in consultation amongst them, they were resolved so to supply him, as might evidence the Truth of their Intentions, and make him safe at home, and formidable abroad.

The King's Answer.

To this the King answered briefly, That he would have them in the first place consult about Matters of the greatest Importance, and that they should have time enough for other Matters afterward. But this staid not their progress against the Duke, to which the Earl of *Bristol* also contributed in the Lord's-House.

This Earl had been secluded from the presence of both King *James*, and King *Charles*, ever since his return from his Embassy in *Spain*: and taking advantage of the time, he petitioned the Peers; That whereas being a Peer of the Realm, he had not received a Writ of Summons to the Parliament, he prayed he might enjoy the Liberty of a Subject, and the Benefit of Peerage, after Two Years restraint, without being brought to Tryal; and if any Charge were brought in against him, he might be tried in Parliament. Upon the reading this Petition, the Lords referred it to their Committees of Privilege; from whence, after due Considerations thereof, a Report was made to the House by the Earl of *Hertford*.

The Earl of *Hertford*'s Report to the Peers from the Committee of Privileges, concerning the Earl of *Bristol*'s Petition.

That it was the Opinion of the Committees, That His Majesty should be moved to grant a Writ of Summons to the Earl: Which was agreed to by the House. And upon Request made to the King, a Writ was issued accordingly, but accompanied with a Letter from the Lord-Keeper to

1626. to him, That though His Majesty had given way to the awarding of the Writ, yet notwithstanding his Pleasure was, that his Lordship should continue still under the same restraint, as he did before, and that his Personal Attendance was to be forborn.

The Earl sends this Letter to the House of Lords, and a Second Petition with it, offering to them how much this might trench upon the Liberty and Safety of the Peers, to be in this sort discharged by a Letter missive of any Subject, without the King's Hand, beseeching them he might be heard, both as to his wrongful Restraint, and what he hath to say against the Duke.

Earl of *Bristol* summoned to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent.

This alarm'd the Duke to begin first with him, and by his perswasion the King commands the Attorney-General to summon the Earl to the Lords Bar, as a Delinquent.

Bristol appearing *May* the 1st. the Attorney acquainted the Peers, that he came to accuse him of High-Treason, and exhibited Eleven Articles against him. But before they were read, the Earl said, *My Lords, I am a Free-man, and a Peer of the Realm unattainted, I have somewhat to say of high Consequence to His Majesty's Service, and I beseech your Lordships give me leave to speak.*

Earl of *Bristol* accuses the Duke of *Buckingham* of High-Treason.

The Lords, upon this, bid him go on. Then said he, *I accuse that Man, the Duke of* Buckingham *of High-Treason.* And immediately he presented 12 Articles against him.

The House, after having read these Articles, committed the Earl of *Bristol* to the Custody of the Usher of the *Black-Rod*, and order'd that the King's Charge against the Earl should be first proceeded on, before that of the Earl against the Duke: Which the King took very well.

The Articles on both sides concurred in one Design, which was to render each other suspected in Matters of Loyalty and Religion; though by so doing they made good sport to their Enemies, and the World besides: but in neither of them was any Fact that amounted to Treason, and because no proceeding was made on them, it is not very requisite to describe them at large. But there being an Endeavour to take the Earl's Cause out of the House of Lords, and to proceed, by way of Indictment thereon, in the *King's-Bench*, the Lords resented this, and gave Five Reasons why they could not give way to that manner of Proceedings; which were these following, (*viz.*)

The Lords Reasons why the Earl of *Bristol*'s Cause should not be taken out of their House.

1. *He could have no Counsel.*
2. *He could use no Witness against the King.*
3. *He could not know what the Evidence against him would be in a convenient time, to prepare for his Defence.*
4. *The Liberties of the House would thereby be infringed.*
5. *This Earl being indicted, it would not be in their Power to keep him from Arraignment, and so he might be disabled to make good his Charge against the Duke: and therefore it was judg'd the most proper and most legal way of proceeding; First to have the Charge delivered into the House of Peers in writing, and the Earl to set down his Answer to it in writing, and that the Witnesses might be examined, and Evidences on both sides heard; and if upon full hearing, the House should find it to be Treason, then to proceed by way of Indictment; if doubtful in Point of Law, to have the Opinion of the Judges to clear it; if doubtful in matter of Fact, then to refer it to* Regal Fait.

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The Commons, to load heavier upon the Duke, did also, about this time, send up some of their Members, (*viz.*) Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *John Elyot*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Glanvil*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Wansfort*, Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr. *Sherland*, with 13 Articles of high Offences and Misdemeanors against him, containing several Encroachments on the Royal Favour, and some Miscarriages, which at another time, and in another Man, might have been connived at. Nevertheless he put in his Answer to them, which was inlaid with so much Modesty and Humility, that many who expected a more disdainful Defence, were converted to a good Opinion of him; and in regard there was nothing considerable in them, but what was acted and happened in the time of King *James*, and not legally cognoscible at this time, he claimed the Benefit of Pardon in the 21st. of King *James*, and the present King's Coronation-Pardon. But this being contrary to the expectation of the Commons, upon the 14th. of *June* they had drawn up a Declaration of the same mould of their Impeachment, which was not without difficulty preferred before a Bill of Subsidy, then ready to be read: At which the King was so dissatisfied, that the next Day, by a Commission under the great Seal, directed to certain Lords, he dissolved the Parliament. No sooner was he freed from this, but the necessity of his Affairs involved him in another Imbroilment. The *French* Priests and Domesticks of that Nation, which came into *England* with the Queen, were grown so insolent, and put so many Affronts upon the King, that he was forced to send them home; in which he did no more than what the *French* King had done before him, in sending back all the *Spanish* Courtiers, which his Queen brought with her. But that King not looking on his own Example, and knowing on what ill Terms the King stood, both at home and abroad, first seized on all the Merchants Ships, which lay on the River of *Bourdeaux*; and then the Peace lately patch'd up, was turned into an open War, so that the King was fain to make use of those Forces against the *French*, which were designed to have been used against the *Spaniard*, and comply with the Desires of the *Rochellers*, who humbly sued to him at this time for his Protection and Defence. But the Fleet, which he designed for their Assistance, not going out till after *Michaelmas*, found greater opposition at the Sea, than they feared from the Land, being encountred with strong Tempests, and thereby necessitated to return without doing any thing, but only shewing the King's Good-will, and readiness to help them.

The Commons prepare a Declaration of the matter of their Impeachment against the Duke.

The Fleet designed to relieve *Rochel*, is distressed by Tempest.

Whilst this Dispute betwixt the Two Kings continued, very sad News came hither from *Germany*, That the King of *Denmark*, who had armed (as was before-mentioned) on behalf of the Elector *Palatine*, and the Protestant Princes of

Germany,

1626. Sad News from Germany.

Germany, notwithstanding the late Aid sent from *England*, of 6000 Men, under the Conduct of Sir *Charles Morgan*, had on the 17th. of *August* received a total Overthrow by *Tilly*, and was reduced to such Distress, that if present Succour came not, he was ruined for ever; That the *Sound* was like to be lost, the English Garrison at *Stoad* straitly besieged, and our *East-Land* Trade and Staple at *Hambrough* almost given up for gone.

The King was much perplext at this, and the more because of his Inability in the Condition he was to send further Succours to him.

That which chiefly was wanting was Treasure, and the present use of it could not admit of so much delay as to call a Parliament, which is the ordinary means of Supply. The King was therefore in this strait advised by his Council, That forasmuch as the Commons in Parliament, at their late sitting, had passed a Bill of Subsidies, and that the Parliament was dissolved before the Bill passed into an Act, he might require these Subsidies of the Subject, which the House of Commons, in their Names, had assented to, and yet not by the Name of *Subsidies*, but in the way of *Loan*, till the next Parliament should enable him to make payment of it, or to confirm the levying thereof, by a subsequent Act. In pursuance of this Advice, Commissions were issued out under the Great Seal to divers Commissioners in all Parts, for the levying these Moneys, who had the Instructions following to direct them in the execution thereof.

A Commission is passed for a Loan.

Instructions to the Commissioners.

1. *That for a good Example to others, they should themselves lend His Majesty the several Summs required.*

2. *To go according to the Rates at which People were assessed in the Book of the last Subsidy.*

3. *To stir up every Man to a chearful Lending, by declaring the unavoidable Necessity of taking this Course, and using other the most prevalent Arguments they could devise; as the Honour of the Nation, the Defence of true Religion, the Safety of Prince and People.*

4. *That they appoint the Days of Payment to be within Fourteen Days.*

5. *That they treat with every one apart, and not in the hearing of others.*

6. *That they begin with such as are like to shew best Examples.*

7. *That they endeavour to discover, whether any by under-hand Perswasions, or otherwise, go about to hinder the good Intentions of others; and if any such be found, to certifie their Names, Qualities, and Habitations to the Council.*

8. *That they signifie His Majesty's Pleasure to remit, upon the lending of these Summs, whatsoever hath been desired upon the late Benevolence, or Privy-Seals.*

9. *That they admit of no suit to be made, or Reasons to be given, for the abating of any Summ.*

10. *That upon their Faith and Allegiance to His Majesty, they keep these Instructions secret to themselves, and not discover them to any others.*

And besides these private Instructions, they were to represent to the People the deplorable Estate of *Rochel*, then closely besieged by the Duke of *Guise*; which, if not speedily relieved, would fall into the Hands of the Enemies of the Protestant Religion. But though these Commissioners brought in good Summs of Money, yet many, and some of good quality, refused, and were therefore committed to several Prisons. 1626.

This Year died Two of the most eminent Men for Learning, that ever the Nation had, Doctor *Andrews*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St. *Albans*.

1627. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Expedition to the Isle of *Rhee*.

It was now the Third Year of His Majesty's Reign, when *Rhee* Action was agreed on; and though Money came not so plentiful as was hoped, yet the Duke of *Buckingham*, High-Admiral of *England*, desirous to wipe away the Imputation of Negligence, in relation to his Admiralship, had, with much ado, compleated his Naval Forces; consisting of 6000 Horse and Foot, in 10 Ships Royal, and 90 Merchant-Men: with which he set sail from *Portsmouth* the 27th. of *June*, and published his *Manifesto* the 21st. of *July* following, declaring at large the King's Affection to the Reformed Churches in *France*, and his Displeasure at the last mis-imploying of his Ships against the *Rochellers*. The first Design of this Fleet was intended against Fort *Lewis*, wherein being prevented by the Duke of *Angoulesme*, they resolved upon the Isle of *Rhee*; 12 Ships therefore were sent to guard the Entry of Port *Breton*, the rest sailed on to a Fort of the Isle of *Rhee*, called *De la Pree*, making their Approaches with their Cannon so near, that Monsieur *Toiras*, Governour of the Citadel of Saint *Martin*, perceiving their Intention, sent out his Forces, to the Number of 1000, in Seven Partitions, Horse and Foot, to impede their coming on shoar: these were encountred by 1200 *English*, whom Sir *John Burrough*, Sir *Alexander Brett*, Sir *Edward Conway*, and Sir *Charles Rich*, had landed by the Advantage of their great Ordnance. The Fight was sharp and quick, wherein many brave Gentlemen lost their Lives on both sides: of the *French*, Monsieur *Restringler*, Brother to *Toiras*; *Chasealois*, *Causes*, *Naval*, *Tatlan*, *Mountain*, *Heasteby*, *Boisseneer*, and *Candamine*: Of the *English*, Sir *Thomas York*, Sir *William Hegden*, Sir *Thomas Thornay*, Sir *George Blundell*, *Courtney*, *Glin*, *Whaley*, *Powel*, *Woodhouse*, *Gering*, &c. and a Kinsman of Sir *George Blundels*, with Monsieur *de Blancart*, Agent for the Duke of *Roan*, and the Protestants. And of the Wounded were *Rich. Conway*, *Hawley*, *Greenvile*, *Abraham Rainford*, *Wellome*, *Thorp*, *Manyles*, and *Bennet*: The Victory uncertain. The *English* General removed his Camp, and intrenching, dispatched *Soubize*, and Sir *William Beecher*, to *Rochel*, who returned with 500 Foot, and found the Duke before St. *Martin*'s-*Castle*, (the chief Strength of the Island;) notwithstanding the Dissuasion of his Council, who advised him first to attempt the other Castle, called the *Mude*, which they might in all likelihood have carried, and would have proved an handsome and safe Place of Retreat in their future necessity. *Buckingham* falls to Circumvallation, ordering the Ships to encompass the Island without, to hinder all Provision and Supply from *Toiras*; by which means the Besieged were for the space of Two Months greatly distressed, in which time there happened a hot Conflict between both Parties, and that with equal Success: and by a Letter of *Toiras*, to Monsieur *Bellamont*, their

1626. their extremity appeared to be such, that (as he there said) the Mills could not long stand, all their Corn was spent, which enforced their Soldiers to feed on their Store of Biskey, not lasting above Ten days; hereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* summons *Toiras*, who refusing to passe the Truft, the English now strengthned with fresh Auxiliaries from *England* and *Ireland*, under the Command of Sir *Ralph Bingley*, and Sir *Pierce Crosby*, fet themselves to invent new sorts of Engines to batter the Citadel; all which were rendred fruitless by Wind and Waves. And one Abbot *Marsellaus* procured *Monsieur Valin* to undertake the conveying of Twelve Pinnaces laden with Provision, to the relief of *Toiras* and his Soldiers, which he prosperously atchieved, and at his return carried back with him their sick and wounded.

In the mean time, sorrow afflicts the English Camp, and Sir *John Burroughs* viewing the Works, was shot through, whereof he shortly died. The French King came from Court to the Camp, and thrice in ten days attempted to send over some Aids to the Castle, but the English Ships repelled them, and three days after another Brother of *Toiras* was slain, and his Squadron put to flight. And now the Soldiers of the Castle were reduced to greater hardship than before, not being furnished with Bread for above Four days; whereupon having no other way left, *Toiras* resolved to win time by treating with the Duke of *Buckingham* about surrender, hoping in the interim to have some better News from his Associates, which accordingly fell out; for Monsieur *Manpaile*, with other Pilots, heretofore had sounded the Shelves, and designed the Stations for some Ships, for the relief of the Island, contrived a way to bring them, in despite of the English: It was now the Winter, and the nights long and dark, by which advantage he had opportunity to pass by them with a Fleet of 42 Sail, 120 Mariners, 600 Soldiers, 160 of the Chief Nobility, and many Noble Commanders, with great store of all sorts of Provision, having before sent some dissembling Renegado's, to tell the English that he passed a contrary way: so that when the Duke of *Buckingham* expected a Surrender, they boldly shewed him their Ranks of Wine, and Turkies and Capons upon the points of their Pikes and Spears.

The Duke hereat dismayed, spends the night in Council, and determines with all speed to raise the Siege, and be gone; but the *Rochellers* Entreaties, and *Dollier's* Arrival from *England*, with assurance of Auxiliaries, unhappily prevailed with him for a longer stay; during which, the fame of fresh Supplies to the Besiegers published over all *France*, to be coming, under the Command of the Earl of *Holland*, hastned the French to send forth another Fleet, consisting of 15 good Ships, and other smaller Boats, part to Saint *Martins*, and the rest to the *Meadow Castle*, besides seven others which got to the *Meadow Fort* under *Bellisarde's* Command. And now the French King resolved to dislodge the English, and dispatched over for the service, an Army of Four thousand Foot, and Two Hundred Horse, besides Volunteers, under the Command of the Marshal of *Schomberg*, with *Maryland* his Lieutenant General, to whom came all the besieged, and greatest part of the Islanders, being in all above Eleven thousand Men; after which another party under the command of *Bassompiere* and *Hautere*, consisting of Eight hundred of their Kings Life-Guard, an Hundred and fifty of the Country thereabout, 30 of the Kings Horse, and 3 great Brass Pieces, landed at the *Meadow Castle*. Against their last, the Duke of *Buckingham* marched with 500 Foot, and 40 Horse, and forced them to retreat to the Castle, but returning to his Camp, he finds the Trenches possessed by another party of the French Army: *Stanley* is ordered to beat them out again, which he doth by main force, though not without loss; and the Lord *Monjoy* seized a small Troop of French: him they endeavoured to surprize with 6 Horse in shew; whom he chased so far, that he had almost come in danger of their Ambuscade. One dark night a party of the English fell upon a party of the French, and not well discovering one another, so mingled, that by mistake, the English falling into the French Camp, became a prey to them.

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Nor did War only afflict the English, but also Sickness and Want, whereby their Soldiers and Seamen were generally enfeebled, which put the Duke upon his final resolution of taking his farewell of the Island, with one more Assault to Saint *Martin's* Castle. *Toiras* had intelligence of it, and therefore he managed his business accordingly, and gave them so hot a welcome, as, being oppressed and fell'd to the ground with shot, they drop in heaps: so that, after a great loss received, the Duke commanded a retreat to be sounded, and soon after demolished his Works, filled his Ditches, and levelled his Trenches, in order to his departure. *Salcombe* and *Maryland* pursued, hollowing to them in a Bravado, and brandishing their Swords. The English thinking the Enemy would then have charged them, drew up in Battalia; but they knowing what advantage the way would shortly give them, made a halt, whereupon the Duke marched on in Military Order, until he came to the Village *Cavile*, where they made another stand, and by an Ambuscade of Musqueteers plated behind the old Walls, Walks, Hedges, and Ditches, compelled the French a retreat; but the whole Army coming up, followed them slowly four miles, till they came to *Asterin Causeway*, which was so narrow, that they could only march 6 abreast, with Ditches on either side, mostly ending in Salpits: and now *Schomberg* espying the expected opportunity, poured forth a great Volley of shot against them, and then the English began to march as fast as possibly; but the Lord *Monjoy's* Troops unable to endure the charge of the French Horse, turned tail, and riding in amongst the other Ranks, put them into such disorder, as enabled the French sadly to break in upon them and rout them, with no small slaughter, overthrowing some into the Ditches and Salpits, and piercing others as they lay in the dirt. Nor was flight any whit more auspicious to them, for those who confusedly ran away, and casting away their Arms, leaped into the Water, were also cut off. *Cavalgham's* Horse fought it out manfully unto the last Man. The Lord *Monjoy* was taken Prisoner, and civilly used. Some

Re-

1627. Reformado's, by uneven, and turning Paths, made their way to the further Bridge, with much danger, there joining with *Conway*, *Crosby*, *Fryer*, and *Hackwil*, and their Forces, they made good that Pass by the repulse of the Enemy, and leaving a guard of Musqueteers there all Day, set the Bridge on fire, and lodged that Night straglingly up and down. The next Day the Duke demanded and obtained the dead Bodies, and went on board. Great was this Day's Loss, *viz.* About 50 Officers, among whom were Sir *William Cunningham*, Sir *Charles Rich*, and Sir *Alexander Brett*, and near 4000 common Soldiers were slain, 30 Prisoners of note, and 44 Colours were taken: Of the *French*, not above 300 were lost. The Duke hoised Sail, and met the Earl of *Holland*, with his unseasonable Recruits, near the Western Coast of *England*; and at his return finding a favourable reception at the King's Hands, he laid the Loss of the Design upon the Earl's not timely seconding the Expedition. But at Sea things went somewhat better; where Captain *Traytor*, in his return from *Hamburgh*, seized by command a great *French* Ship at the *Texel* in *Holland*, named the *Saint Esprit*, with 20 Brass Culverines, Two Brass Semi-culverines, Two other Brass Guns, 16 large Iron Guns, and Two lesser, and in the Hold for ballast Twelve Great-Guns, and Arms for 1100 Soldiers, and 18 Barrels of Powder. And Sir *John Pennington*, Vice-Admiral, took 24 of their rich Merchant-Men, homewards bound; all which were safely brought into *England*, to sweeten though not countervail the Loss received at *Rochell*. The ill Success of this Enterprize did much incense the People against the Duke of *Buckingham*; but the King did not discover any discontent towards him: only he told him, That Sir *Edward Cecil* had written to him of a far greater Loss than he acknowledged. During this Expedition, *Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by Letters-Patents of the 9th. of *October*, was suspended from all his Metropolitan Jurisdiction, and confined to his House at *Ford* in *Kent*, and the exercise thereof was committed to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, or to any Four, Three, or Two of them. The Occasion of this Commission was not discover'd otherwise than by what was expressed in the Commission it self, (*viz.*) *That the said Archbishop could not, at that present, in his own Person attend those Services, which were otherwise proper for his Cognisance and Jurisdiction, and which, as Archbishop of* Canterbury, *he might and ought in his own Person have performed, and executed.* But the true Reason was, For that the King was perswaded, the Nonconformists to the Discipline of the Church, too much increased by the remissness of his Government.

He returns Unsuccessful.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is suspended and confined to his House.

This *Michaelmas*-Term there was a grand Debate in the *King's-Bench*, concerning some of those imprisoned, for refusing the Loan, who moved for an *Habeas Corpus*, and had it. The Attorney-General, Sir *Robert Heath*, upon their Appearance, alledged, They were not Bailable, and their Counsel the contrary; and the Court agreed with the Attorney: so that they were continued in Prison, till an Order pass'd in Council for a general Release; which was shortly after.

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The *French* King, encouraged by the Success he had against our Forces, resolved upon a more formidable Siege against *Rochell*; and having made a Line about it on the Land's side, with Three Forts, by the Advice of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and the Loan of many Merchants Ships, belonging to the Subjects of the *United Netherlands*, he attempted a Barricade, 1400 Yards in length, cross the Channel, to hinder all Relief by Sea; whereby the *Rochellers* expected nothing but Ruine, unless they could prevent it, so that they with great haste sent Monsieur *Soubize*, and their Deputies to *England*, to solicite the King for Supplies, before the Work should be compleated: who was so affected with their Miseries, that he promised them all the Assistance he could; and to enable him thereunto, he borrowed an 120000 Pounds of the City of *London*: for which, and other Debts, they had Lands to the value of 21000 Pound a Year assured to them. He also borrowed of the *East-India* Company 30000 Pounds, and what Money else he could get by Privy-Seals. Moreover, it was resolved to levy Money by Excise; and a Commission, under the Great Seal, was pass'd on the the 3d. of *February* to Authorize it: but the execution thereof was suspended by the King, who never was guilty of any irregular Action, by the impulse of his own nature, nor perswaded by others but by extream Necessity; and at this time, in compliance with his own good Inclinations, he chose rather to call a Parliament, which was summon'd to meet on the 17th. of *March*, than proceed in extraordinary Ways; for he was much troubled at the general Discontent of the People: and he hoped, by their Counsels, to beget a good understanding betwixt himself and them.

A Barricado to be made cross the Channel leading to *Rochell*. Monsieur *Soubize*, & Others, come from *Rochell* to *England* for Relief.

On the 17th. of *March*, the Parliament assembled at *Westminster*; and the King having sent for the Commons to the Lords-House, expressed himself in these Words to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THese Times are for Action, for Action, I say, not for Words; therefore I shall use but a few; and (as Kings are said to be exemplary to their Subjects, so) I wish you would imitate me in this, and use as few, falling upon speedy Consultation. No Man is, I conceive, such a Stranger to the common Necessity, as to expostulate the Cause of this Meeting, and not to think Supply to be the end of it; and as this Necessity is the product and consequence of your Adverse, so the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just defence of your Friends and Allies, being so considerably concern'd, will be, I hope, Arguments enough to perswade Supply; for if it be (as most true it is) both my Duty, and yours to preserve this Church and Commonwealth, this exigent of time certainly requires it.

In this time of common danger, I have taken the most ancient, speedy, and just way for Supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) you do not your Duty, in contributing what may answer the quality of my Occasions, it shall suffice, I have done mine: In the Confidence where-

The King's Speech to both Houses of Parliament.

1627. *whereof I ſhall reſt content, and take ſome other courſe, for which God hath empowred me, to ſave that, which the folly of particular Men might hazard to loſe.*

Take not this as a menace (for I ſcorn to threaten my Inferiours) but as an admonition from him who is tyed, both by nature and duty, to provide for your Preſervations; and I hope, though I thus ſpeak, your Demeanors will be ſuch, as ſhall oblige me in thankfulneſs to meet you oftner, than which nothing ſhall be more pleaſing to me. Remembring the Diſtractions of our laſt meeting, you may ſuppoſe I have no Confidence of good Succeſs at this time; but be aſſured I ſhall freely forget and forgive what is paſt, hoping you will follow that ſacred Advice, lately inculcated, To maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

The Parliament ſeemed very much affected with what the King ſaid, and the Commons freely voted, to grant him Five Subſidies, whereof when Secretary *Cook* informed the King, he asked him, by how many Voices it was carried, who replyed, by one; at which perceiving the King's Countenance to change; Sir, ſaid he, your Majeſty hath the greater Cauſe to rejoyce, for the Houſe was ſo unanimous therein, as they made but one Voice. At which the King was exceedingly pleaſed, and bid the Secretary tell them he would deny them nothing of their Liberties, which any of his Predeceſſors had granted. But whilſt a Bill was in preparation for theſe Subſidies, they conſidered of the Publick Grievances of the Kingdom.

1628. Warrants of Impriſonment without ſpecification of the cauſe, illegal.

The King's extraordinary Wants put him, as you have heard, upon ſome unuſual Courſes for levying of Money, not very warrantable by our ancient Laws, and ſome that were unwilling to countenance ſuch Courſes, or otherwiſe diſaffected to the Government, upon refuſal were impriſoned; and becauſe no legal Cauſe could be aſſigned for ſuch reſtraint, the Warrants, whereby they were impriſoned, had no cauſe ſpecified in them, which was exclaimed againſt, as not legal, and a great Grievance. There is ſcarce any thing ſhort of death, more grievous than Impriſonment, and though by our Laws no Man can be impriſoned without a legal Cauſe expreſſed; yet thoſe that are in the exerciſe of Power, in tumultuous times, upon extraordinary Emergencies, are conſtrained to paſs over thoſe Bounds; for no ſuch Proviſion hath yet, or can be made, to exclude all manner of arbitrary Exerciſe of Government; but whoever they be, that exceed in this tender point, it will become their prudence to do it with extraordinary Caution.

Martial Law complained of by the Commons.

Upon the return of the Fleet after the late Actions at Sea, the Soldiers, for want of pay, were billeted in private houſes, which was alledged to be againſt the Law; and to aggravate this, the rudeneſs of their Perſons, and their Country (being Scotch and Iriſh) did much contribute. Nevertheleſs though their Actions were bad, and their Perſons worſe, the Commons liked not that they ſhould be puniſhed by Law-Martial. For there being a Commiſſion iſſued to try Offences of the Soldiers by Martial Law, they exclaimed at it, and it was urged as a Grievance; yet till that time the King's Prerogative, in making and eſtabliſhing Martial Laws, was never queſtioned, though ſince the Petition of Right, there is doubt of it. *Magna Charta* and ſix other Statutes explanatory of it, were expreſs againſt illegal Levies of Money, and impriſonments; and though thoſe Statutes were in force, whether the Parliament thought them antiquated, and therefore leſs regarded, or for what other reaſon it is not ſaid, to provide againſt the Grievances complained, *&c.* they drew up that memorable Law, called, *The Petition of Right*, and preſented it to the King, to which he gave the Royal Aſſent in full Parliament, to the very great liking of the people. And it was now thought there was ſo ſweet an Harmony betwixt the King and the Parliament, that nothing could hinder the Nation of as much happineſs, as it could be capable of; but this conceſſion inflamed the zeal of many of the Houſe of Commons, to preſs a little further, and they immediately framed a Remonſtrance of ſeveral late Miſcarriages in Government, in the Concluſion whereof, they ſaid, *The exceſſive power of the Duke of* Buckingham, *and the Abuſe of that Power is the principal Cauſe of all the Evils and Dangers, therein mentioned; and therefore they humbly ſubmit it to his Majeſty's Wiſdom, whether it can be ſafe for himſelf, or for his Kingdoms, that ſo great power, both by Sea and Land as reſts in him, ſhould be truſted in the hands of any one Subject whatſoever.*

Concluſion of the Remonſtrance againſt the Duke of Buckingham.

1628.

On the 17th. of *June*, this Remonſtrance was preſented to the King, with the Bill of Subſidies, in the Banqueting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, who when he had heard it read, told them he little expected ſuch a Remonſtrance, after he had ſo graciouſly paſſed the Petition of *Right*; and for the Grievances, ſpecified therein, he would conſider of them, as they ſhould deſerve.

The King had levied the Duties of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, ever ſince the firſt of his Reign, which the Houſe of Commons alledged he ought not to have done, or at leaſt that they could not now be taken, ſince the paſſing of the late Petition of Right; and they prepared a Remonſtrance againſt it; but the King unwilling to hear of any more Remonſtrances of ſuch a ſtrain, reſolved to fruſtrate it, by proroguing the Parliament, from the 26th. of *June*, to the 20th. of *October*, and calling both Houſes together to that end, he delivered his mind as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech.

IT may ſeem ſtrange, that I come ſo ſuddenly to end this Seſſion, therefore before I give my Aſſent to the Bills, I will tell you the Cauſe; (though I muſt avow, I owe an Account of my Actions to none, but God alone.) It is known to every one, that a while ago, the Houſe of Commons gave me a Remonſtrance, how acceptable, every Man may judge, and for the merit of it, I will not call that in queſtion, for I am ſure, no wiſe Man can juſtifie it. Now ſince I am certainly informed, that a Second Remonſtrance is preparing for me, to take away my Profit of Tonnage *and* Poundage *(one of the chief Maintenances of the Crown) by alledging, that I have*

1628. given away my Right thereof, by my Answer to your Petition.

This is so prejudicial to me, as I am forced to end this Session, some few hours before I meant it; being willing not to receive any more Remonstrances, to which I must give no harsh Answer.

And since I see, that even the House of Commons begins already to make false Constructions of what I granted in your Petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the Country, I now make a Declaration, concerning the true intent thereof.

The profession of both Houses, in the time of hammering this Petition, was no ways to trench upon my Prerogative, saying, They had neither Intention nor Power to hurt it.

Therefore it must needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient Liberties of my Subjects. Yet to shew the clearness of my Intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from any thing, that I have promised you, I do here declare, that those things, which have been done, whereby Men had cause to suspect the Liberty of the Subject to be trenched upon (which indeed was the true and first Ground of the Petition) shall not hereafter be drawn into Example for your Prejudice; And in time to come (on the Word of a King) you shall not have the like cause to complain.

But as for Tonnage *and* Poundage, *it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, never meant (I am sure) by me to grant. To conclude, I command you all that are here, to take notice of what I have spoken at this time to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your Petition; but especially you, My Lords, the* Judges, *for to you only under me belong the interpretation of the Laws, for none of the Houses of Parliament, joint or separate, (what new Doctrine soever may be raised) have any power either to make or declare a Law, without my consent.*

During this Sessions, the Duke was not discouraged by the former Remonstrance, as to hinder his Activity, in preparing anew, for the Relief of *Rochel*, both by Sea and Land; but being ready to set sail, he was suddenly cut off, being slain at *Portsmouth*, in the 36th. year of his Age, by the hand of one *John Felton*, a discontented Officer of the last years Army.

The Duke of *Buckingham* slain at *Portsmouth*.

The first News of this Fact came to the King (then about Four miles distant) at his publick Devotion, whose Intentions were so steady upon that sacred Duty, that he received it without the least emotion of Spirit, or discomposure of Countenance. He sent Dr. *Hutchinson* (one of his Chaplains in ordinary, and then in the course of his Attendance) to try, if he could learn out of him, by what inducement he committed that horrible murder; who told him, his only motive was, That the Duke had been declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth in the late Remonstrance, tendred to the King by the Parliament, and afterwards said the same again, and again, both at the time of his Examination before the Lords of the Council, and at his Execution. Nevertheless, when he was made sensible of the foulness of the Act, he manifested great sorrow and contrition for it. But that which excited this miserable Man to so great a Mischief, had likewise influenced the People in general, who rejoyced at his death, as one of the greatest Enemies of their Country. 1628.

But those that knew him, and observed his Actions, deliver him to Posterity as one of the most generous and accomplished Persons of that time. *His outward Form was a great Masterpiece of Nature, exact in every part, nor was his mind without his Ornaments, being of a very affable and courteous Dispositions, and though advanced to as great Dignity as a Subject could be capable of, he did not leave those Qualities. He was said to be addicted more than was fit, to the love of Women, but it is not said, that his Passion that way, reached to the Ruine, or publick Defamation of any particular Person, or Family. He had less studied Books than Men, and if he had lived a few more Years, to have seen through the Temptations of Greatness, he might have proved as great a Pillar of this State, as any that went before him. He was very bountiful to his Kindred and Servants, most of which he advanced to Honour and Wealth; and to all to whom he professed Friendship. He was constant in it, insomuch, that there rarely passed a day in Court whilst he was there, wherein he did not some good Office to one or other; and as I have heard from one near him, every Morning, before he went to the King, he collected in Paper, what Publick Matters he had to acquaint him with, and the Suits he had to make in behalf of those that solicited him. But as he was kind to his Friends and Dependents, so he was formidable to his Enemies, especially to such as deceived him under a guise of Friendship. His Courage was very great, and did too much transport him; for if he had a little yielded to the Times, and withdrawn from those Storms, he could neither prevent nor allay, he might perhaps have found a milder Fate.* His Character.

His Bowels were interr'd in *Portsmouth*, and his Body was brought to *Tark-house*, from whence after some time it was entomb'd at *Westminster* in St. *Edward*'s Chapel, and a stately Monument was erected over it by his Executors. And *Felton* being arraigned, and found guilty at the *Kings-Bench Bar* at *Westminster*, was hanged at *Tyburn*, and afterwards his Body was sent to *Portsmouth*, where without the Town it was hanged in Chains, till it was consumed. The Duke's Body entomb'd at *Westminster* at St. *Edward*'s Chapel.

The sad Accident of the Duke's Death made little or no stop in the Proceedings of the Fleet, which at the last set forward under the Earl of *Lyndsey*; but before he could get to *Rochell*, the Haven was so barr'd, that it was impossible for his Ships to force their way (though it was gallantly often attempted) so that the *Rochellers* seeing this hope to fail, sent out some of the principal of the Town, to make their submission to the King, and set open the Gates, to receive him.

The time now drawing near for the meeting of the Parliament, the King for many weighty Reasons, put off their Assembling to the 20th. of *January*, and in the mean time Archbishop *Abbot*

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Archbishop *Abbot* restored to Favour.

Abbot was admitted to kiss his Hands, and commanded not to fail of his Attendance at the Council Table: Which was done at this conjuncture, to moderate the Heats of certain Ecclesiasticks, who made great disturbance in the Church, by some Scholastical Controversies, in the Points of Predestination, Grace and Perseverance. Both Parties were abetted by several Bishops, and each of them would pretend the Opinions they held, to be the Doctrine of the Church, when in truth they were but the Opinions of private Men; (for nothing can be called the Doctrine of the Church, that is not so declar'd by the whole Clergy, lawfully assembled in Convocation:) These were distinguished by the Names of *Calvinists* and *Arminians*. The first countenanced by the Commons in Parliament, and some few of the Bishops; the latter justified by most of the Bishops, and not discountenanced by the King. The first of these were likewise somewhat remiss in exacting a rigid Conformity to the Ceremonies; the latter, perhaps more earnest than was needful therein at this time, but withal they were great Asserters of the Prerogative Royal. The King was very intent for the Peace of the Whole, and caused the 39 Articles of the Church to be published, with a Declaration to restrain all Disputes, in the Points controverted; and now also a Book, writ by one *Montague* (in King *James* his time) of these Controversies, called *Appello Cæsarem*, was called in, and Dr. *Potter*, a Calvinist, is made Bishop of Carlisle: but these Acts did not mollifie the Affections of those, for whom they were intended, for a while after (*viz.*) the

The Parliament is assembled. Grand Committees settled and very active.

20th of *January* the Parliament assembled, and the grand Committees, which are usually the first things settled at the opening of that Assembly, were very busie and active. That of Religion made great Complaints of the Invasions upon Religion, which they pretended was much endangered, by the Intrusion of *Popery* and *Arminianism*, and many Instances were made to heighten the Apprehensions of the People therein, which the House was not less active in their Inquisitions into the Miscarriages in civil Affairs, concerning which divers Petitions were presented, importing that many Merchants had their Goods seized, and Informations prefer'd against them in the *Star-Chamber*, for refusing to pay the Customs of Tonnage and Poundage against the tenour of the Petition of Right: and one of these Merchants, named *Rolls*, being a Member of the House of Commons, what was done towards him, was judged a breach of Privilege, for which the Customers were summoned to the House, to answer their Misdemeanour therein. The King interposed in this Matter, and informed the House, That what they did was done, as by Men, addressed to his Command, adding, He did not communicate them, to take it as of Right belonging to him, but out of a firm Presumption, that the House of Commons, suitable to their large Professions, would grant it him by Bill, which he desired they would dispatch to put an end to the Dispore. This gave no satisfaction, but Debates in the House ran very high, and they resolved to proceed to a Remonstrance against the levying the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Act of Parliament. In which Point they were so earnest on the Second of *March*, that fearing they should be dissolved, before they had vented their Passion in it, they locked the Doors of the House, and gave the Key to Sir *Miles Hubbard*, one of their Members, to keep, and refused to admit the Usher of the *Black-Rod*, whom the King had sent with a Message to them: Whereat he was so offended, that he sent for the Captain of the Pensioners, and the Guards, to force an Entrance; and in the mean time, the Heads of a Remonstrance were offered to Sir *John Finch*, the Speaker, to be put to the Question; which he refusing, because the King had given order to adjourn to the 10th. of *March*, and to put no question, nor admit of any Debate, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and Sir *Peter Heyman* held him in the Chair, till by one of them the Protestation was read; and then they arose before the Pensioners and Guards came, and the House was adjourned to the 10th. of *March*.

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The Commons lock the Doors of their House, and refuse to admit the Usher of the *Black-Rod*.

The Protestation of the Commons.

1. *Whosoever shall bring in an Innovation of Religion, or by favour seek to introduce* Popery, *or Arminianism, or other Opinions, disagreeing from the True and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Commonwealth.*

2. *Whosoever shall counsel, or advise the taking the Levying of the Subsidies of* Tonnage *and* Poundage, *not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capital Enemy to this Commonwealth.*

3. *If any Man shall voluntarily yield or pay the said Subsidies of* Tonnage *or* Poundage, *not being granted by Parliament, he shall betrayed a Betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to this Commonwealth.*

Two Days after a Proclamation was issued to declare the Parliament dissolved, though the Dissolution was not formally executed till the 10th. of *March*; at which time the King came to the Lords-House, and being set on his Throne, with the Crown on his Head, and in his Robes, and the Lords in their Robes also, he bespoke them:

My Lords,

I Never came here upon so unpleasant an Occasion, it being the Dissolution of a Parliament; therefore Men may have some cause to wonder, why I should not rather chuse to do this by Commission, as from a general Mouth of mine, To leave hard Constructions to their Misinformers, themselves only executing pleasing Commands; yet considering that Justice is well compos'd in the Reward and Praise of Virtue, as punishing of Vice, I thought it necessary to come here to Day, to declare to you, and all the World, that it was merely the Unlawful, and Seditious Carriage of the Lower House, that hath made my Dissolution of the Parliament. And You, My Lords, are so far from being Causes of it, that I take as much Comfort in your Dutiful Demeanours, as I am justly displeased with their Proceedings!

1628. ceedings. Yet to avoid Mistakings, let me tell you, that it is so far from me, to adjudge all that House guilty, that I know there are as dutiful Subjects, as any in the World; it being but some few Vipers amongst them, that did cast this Mist of Undutifulness before their Eyes; yet, to say truth, there was a good Number there, that would not be infected by this Contagion, insomuch that some did express them Duties in speaking, which was the general Fault of the House the last Day. To conclude, as these Vipers must look for their Reward of Punishment; so You, My Lords, must justly expect from Me that Favour and Protection, that a good King oweth to his Loving and Dutiful Nobility.

The King was highly provoked, as is evident by this Speech, at the Disorder and tumultuous Carriage of many of the Members of the Commons-House of Parliament, who strained all things beyond their natural length; a little moderation and obsequiousness might have obtained of him whatsoever was desired; and if he had not had better Intentions towards his Subjects, than some of those discontented Spirits would have made the World believe he had, the dissolution of this might have been the end of all Parliaments, and we might have been deprived of this Spring, from whence the Blessings of Peace and Happiness have formerly been derived on this Church and State. And this there wanted not some to infuse into him, by the Example of the King of *France* then Reigning. For whereas in an Assembly of the Three Estates (which is in the nature of our Parliament) some Years before this time, the Commons being their Third Estate) entrenched too busily upon the Liberties of the Clergy, and some Privileges, which the Nobility enjoyed, by the favour of the former Kings; it gave the King so great Offence, that he dissolved them, and their Constitution together, and ordained another kind of Assembly in place thereof, which he called *L'Assemble des Notables*; that is to say, The Assembly of principal Persons, which are composed of select Persons out of all Orders of Estates and the King's Nomination; to which is added a Counsellor out of every Court of Parliament in *France*, and the Acts of this Assembly are no less obliging to the People, than if the others were. The King would receive no Impressions of this nature, but yet he was very earnest to vindicate his Authority, and Commandment, which in his Proclamation before-mentioned, he alledged to have been so contemned, as his Kingly Office could not bear, nor any former Age parallel. He had on the 4th of *March*, Six Days before his coming to the Lords (by the Advice of the Privy Council, and by their Warrant) sent for several Members of the Commons House to appear the next Day at the Council-Table, (viz.) *Denzil Hollis*, Esquire, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, Sir *Miles Hobart*; *John Selden*, *William Coriton*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *William Strode*, and *Walter Long*, Esquires, who were the principal Authors of the late Disorders, at which time, *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coriton*, and *Valentine* appearing, and refusing to answer out of Parliament, what was said and done in Parliament, they were committed to the *Tower*: The rest not then appearing, were afterward apprehended, and committed to several other Prisons.

Several Members of the House of Commons imprisoned.

But lest those distempered Spirits, that had by imprudence caused so much Disquiet at *Westminster*, should re-excuse themselves dispersed abroad in their Counties, some of their Malignities, to asperse the Government, and alienate the Hearts of the good Subjects from the King, he published a Declaration, setting forth his Reasons and Motives for dissolving the Parliament, with Brevi-ates of all Translactions, in this and the former Session; the Heads whereof we think it not improper to insert in this Place:

The Substance of the King's Declaration.

He professed therein, *To maintain the True Religion and Doctrine, established in the Church of England, without admitting or consenting to any backsliding, either to Popery or Schism, having been ever desirous to be found worthy of the Title, which he accounted the most Glorious in his Crown,* DEFENDER OF THE FAITH; *nor would he ever give way to the authorising of any thing, whereby any Innovation might creep into the Church, but to preserve that ancient Doctrine and Discipline, established in the time of Queen Elizabeth, wherein the Church had stood, and flourished ever since. He shewed also how careful he had been to Command the execution of the Laws against Popish Priests, and Popish Recusants, and if his Commands were not duly executed, the Fault ought to be laid on the Remissness of the Officers and Ministers, to whose Knowledge I set be was his part to direct and order all, but the part of others to perform the manifold Offices.*

Next to this, his Care of saving the Rights and Liberties of the People, was manifested in his Answer to the Petition of Right, which since that time had not been infringed.

Nor was he less careful in the providing and ordering of the Supplies, given to him in the last Session, wherein no part had been put to any other use than to what it was granted.

But he could not but take notice of some Glances in the House, and Reports abroad, as if his Answer to the Petition of Right had not much given away his Subjects Goods imported and exported, the Tonnage and Poundage also; whereas in the Debate thereof there was no mention in either House, concerning those Duties, but Customs, Tonnage, and other Charges upon the Land; for though in the Matter of Tonnage and Poundage, his Ministers pressed strongly the Law, he was restrained by himself by the Fruition of his Predecessors, and therefore he wanted Reason to be satisfied, where it was denied. That the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage was not granted to King Edward the Fourth, till the Third Year of his Reign, for he received it the first Day of his Accession to the Crown, until it was granted by Parliament; and in the succeeding Times of Richard the Third, King Henry the Seventh, King Henry the Eighth, King Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage was not only enjoyed by every one

of

1628. of those Kings and Queens, from the death of each of them deceasing, until it was granted by Parliament unto the Successour; but in all those times, the Parliament did most readily and chearfully, in the beginning of every of those Reigns grant the same, as a thing most necessary for the guarding of the Seas, Safety and Defence of the Realm, and supportation of the Royal Dignity. And in the time of his Royal Father, of Blessed Memory, he enjoyed the same a full Year, wanting very few days, before his Parliament began; And above a Year, before the Act of Parliament, for the Grant of it was passed; and yet when the Parliament was Assembled, it was granted without Difficulty. And in his own time he quietly received the same, Three years and more, expelling with patience in several Parliaments, the Grant thereof, as had been made to many of his Predecessours, the House of Commons still professing that multitude of other Businesses, and not want of Willingness on their part had caused the putting thereof to be so long deferred.

And when the Grant of an Act came to be treated of, all expressed a great Willingness to grant it, but a new strain was found out to puzzle the Business; that it could not be done without peril to the Right of the Subject, unless he would disclaim his Right therein, and put himself out of the Possession thereof; whereas it was evident, all the Kings before-named did receive that duty, and were in actual possession of it before, and at the very time, when it was granted to them by Parliament. Nevertheless he did declare, That it was his meaning by the Gift of the People to enjoy it, and that he did not challenge it of Right, but took it De bene esse, wherein he said he defended, for this satisfaction, far beneath himself, being confident never any of his Predecessors did the like, nor was the like required of them, but yet for all this, the Bill was laid aside. Whilst the Duke of Buckingham lived, he was entitled to all the ill Events of Parliament, but now he is dead, an Alteration was found amongst those enchanted Spirits, which troubled the Harmony between him, and his Subjects, and continue still to trouble it; So that the Duke was not the Mark they shot at; but as a meer Minister of his, taken up in their Passage to more secret Designs, to cast his Affections into a desperate Condition, to abate the Power of the Crown, and to bring the Government into obloquy, that in the end all things might be overwhelmed with Anarchy and Confusion. And then concludes, That all wise and discreet Men might judge of the Rumours and Fears maliciously bruited abroad, and discern by examination of their own Hearts, whether in respect of the free Passage of the Gospel, indifferent and equal Administration of Justice, Freedom from Oppression, and the great Peace and Quietness which every man enjoyeth under his own Vine, the happiness of this Nation can be paralled by any of our Neighbours Countries; and if it cannot be, acknowledge their own Blessedness, and for the same be thankful to God, the Author of all Goodness.

On the Seventh of *May*, the Attorney-General preferred an Information in the Star-Chamber, against Sir *John Elliot*, and the rest of the imprisoned Members, and they issued a Process against them, to answer his Allegations in that Court; To which they demurred, and the King had several Communications with the Judges about it, but they moved for Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, and had them granted, but had no returns to them as was desired, till the King had received the Resolution of the Judges in the Matter, which he did the 30th of *September*, at *Hampton-Court*; where the King calling them aside (after he had proposed several Matters to them, by way of Advice, and had heard the Answer, which was, That *their Offences were not capital, and that by the Law they ought to be bailed, giving security for their good Behaviour*;) he told them, he purposed to proceed against them, by the Common-Law in the King's Bench, and to decline his Proceeding in the Star-Chamber, and was contented they should be bailed, notwithstanding their Obstinacy, that they had not given him a Petition to express their sorrow for offending him; adding, That he was pleased with them for dealing plainly with him; or words to that effect.

1628. Information in the Star-Chamber against Sir *John Elliot*, and the imprison'd Members.

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In pursuance of this Advice, as soon as *Michaelmas* Term began, the Court of King's-Bench was moved to Bail the Prisoners; to which the Judges with one Voice said, They were content they should be bailed, but that they ought to find Sureties for their good Behaviour. To which *Selden* answered (and all the rest agreed to it) that they had Sureties ready for the Bail, but not for the good Behaviour, for that was a point of Discretion merely, and they could not assure to it, without great Offence to the Parliament, where the Matters surmised were acted. To this, the Judges replied to this effect, *That the Parties did not mention any thing done in Parliament, and the Surety of Good Behaviour is a preservative of Damages to the Commonwealth, and an Act of Government and Jurisdiction, and not of Law; and would be no Incroachment of the Privileges for the same Bail should suffer, and all should be written in the Plees of Parliament.* But they refused; and were remanded, and the same Term an Information was exhibited by the Attorney-General in the King's Bench, against [illegible] and Rolleston, for words spoken by them in the foregoing Parliament, said to be *false, malitiose, & seditiose, to the high Regiam Majestatem, Prerogativam, Potestatem & Jurisdictionem suam, quoad Magnates, Proceres & Jurisdictiones, & regiam Regis Baroniam, & intendere deprivare & everterre Regimen, & Gubernationem Regni Angliæ, tam in Domum Regis, Judices Consiliarios, & Ministros suos, quamquam generaliter, & indirectam intentionem & instigationem; in all Effects and Parts, & ad intentionem, that all the King's Subjects should withdraw their Affections from the King.*

A motion in the King's-Bench to Bail the Prisoners.

Information in the King's-Bench against them.

Then the Words were expressed at large, and at the end of the Information it was agreed, that Sir *John Finch* the Speaker endeavouring to go out of the Chair according to the King's Command, to adjourn the House, they assaulted and evil intreated him, *violenter, manus forte, & illicite*, and being out of the Chair, they assaulted him

1629. him in the House, *& violenter, manu forti, & illicita*, drew him to the Chair, and thrust him into it, *&c.*

The Defendants Demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court.

To this Information, the Gentlemen put in a Plea; *Forasmuch as those Offences are supposed to have been done in Parliament, they ought not to be punished in this Court, or any other, unless in Parliament.* Upon this the Court gave a Day to adjoin in demurrer that Term; and on the first Day of the next Term the Record to be read, and within a Day after argued at the Bar.

The Demurr is over-ruled, and a Day assigned.

Information in the *Star-Chamber* against Mr. *Long.*

Against Mr. *Long* particularly, an Information was preferred in the *Star-Chamber*, which was agreed the first Day of *Hilary*-Term: It was not for any thing said in Parliament, but to this Effect following, (*viz.*) *For that he being High-Sheriff of the County of Wilts, had the Charge and Custody thereof committed to him, and had taken his Oath well and duly to use the Law to abide within his Bailiwick all that time of his Sheriffwick, and the Force and Implement requisite for performance thereof, did contrary thereunto suffer himself to be chosen a Citizen for the City of Bath, to serve in the last Parliament, and did attend at Westminster at Parliament-time. His Majesty's Learned Counsel having shewed the Matter, which was done in contempt of His Majesty's Pleasure signified to him under his great Seal, when he procured how the Office of Sheriffwick. And after hearing his Counsel upon his Demurrer, and Plea, and other Arguments and Reasons used on that behalf by his Counsel, the whole Court agreed to a Sentence against him in such or the like Words: For the foresaid misdemeaned Offence, and breach of his Oath, neglect of his Trust, and contempt of His Majesty's Writ aforesaid, and Judgment: That he shall be committed to the Custody of His Majesty's Prison of the Fleet, and pay a Fine of 1000 Marks to His Majesty, and make a Submission and Acknowledgment of his Offence in the Court of Star-Chamber, and to His Majesty, for his Misdemeanor.*

Sentence in the *Star-Chamber* against Mr. *Long.*

The same Term, the Counsel of Sir *John Eliot*, *Hollis*, and the other Gentlemen (inform'd against in the *King's Bench*) argued also against the Information, and the Jurisdiction of the Court: but the Judges hearing both Parties for and against the Jurisdiction, agreed, *That the Court, in this Case, had Power [illegible] and that the Offence was committed in Parliament, and that the imprisoned Members ought to submit, and that they were by the Court ruled to plead further.* But they not putting in any Plea, the last Day of the Term judgment was granted against them upon a *Nihil dicit*, and they were sentenced by the Court,

The Opinion of the Court of King's-Bench.

1. To be imprisoned during the King's Pleasure.

2. None of them to be delivered out of Prison, until Security given in Court for the good Behaviour, and Submission, and Acknowledgement made of the Offence.

3. Sir *John Eliot* and to pay to the King 2000 Pounds, being the greatest Offender; Mr. *Hollis* 1000 Marks, and Mr. *Valentine* 500 Pounds, and in like manner the rest were proceeded against, and several Fines were accordingly imposed upon them, some of which were paid, and the Gentlemen afterwards released from their Imprisonment. But any of them did refuse to pay such Fines as were set upon them, they were Men either of decayed or of small Estates, and so not able to make Payment of the Fines imposed.

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Heylin's Observations in his History of the Reign of King Charles.

Many weighty and learned Arguments were made in the Case of these Gentlemen, before the judgement was given, both by the King's learned Counsel, and their Counsel too, who objected all that could be thought of for the matter, some of which we shall mention for the better understanding of the Matter in Question.

That this was a Privilege of Parliament, wherein the Court were not competent Judges. *Obj.* 1.

To which was answered, *In 8 Eliz.* it was the Opinion of *Dyer, Catlin, Weston, Brown*, and *Southcot*, Justices, that Offences committed in Parliament are punishable out of Parliament; and *Plowden*, in the time of Queen *Mary*, was fined for Words spoken in Parliament against the Dignity of the Queen; and in 6 *H.* 6. a Judgment given in a Writ of Annuity in *Ireland*, the 2nd Judgment was reversed in Parliament there. Upon which, Writ of Error was brought in this Court, and the Judgement reversed. *Answ.*

This is an inferiour Court to Parliament, and cannot medle with what is done in it. *Obj.* 2.

To which was answered, The Court questions not the Judgment of Parliaments; for what is done in Parliament by consent of all the House shall not be questioned elsewhere: but the particular Offences, criminally committed there, are punishable here: for if particular Members of a superiour Court offend, they are punishable in an inferiour. As if a Judge shall commit a capital Offence in the Circuit, he may be arraigned thereof at *Newgate*. *Answ.*

The Parliament Law differs from the Law by which this Court judgeth in many Cases; as for instance: By the Statute none ought to be chosen Burgess for a Town in which he doth not inhabit, but in that the usage of Parliament is contrary. *Obj.* 3.

The Reply to this was, That they are the Judges of Acts of Parliament; and if Information be brought upon the Statute against such a Burgess, the Statute is a good Warrant for the Court to give Judgment against him. *Answ.*

In the Spring of this Year the Queen being delivered of a Son, which added somewhat to the King's Troubles at home; though abroad Matters succeeded well: For the King of *Sweden*, going to a transmarine Expedition at the Request of *Gustavus*, was so intent on that War, that he was very inclinable to Peace with us; and, by the Intervention of the State of *Venice*, a Peace was concluded upon the following Articles: The Queen brought of a Son. The King of *France* desirous of Peace. The State of *Venice* mediate the Peace with *France*.

1. That the Two Kings shall accord to renew the former Alliance between the Two Crowns, and to preserve it inviolable with the Conditions of the said Covenant, saving in general, that such things be proposed as either part shall judge convenient either to add or diminish.

2. That

1629. Articles of the peace with France.

2. That considering it is very difficult to make restitution of what hath been taken as Prize, as well on one side, as the other, during the late Wars; It is agreed between the Two Crowns, that for what is passed no satisfaction shall be demanded on either side.

3. As to the Articles and contract of Marriage of the Queen of Great Britain, they shall be confirmed, and for what concerneth her Domesticks, it shall be lawful to propose what shall be thought expedient to be either added or diminished.

4. All former Alliances shall stand good between the two Crowns, saving wherein they shall be changed by this present Treaty.

5. The Two Kings being by this present Treaty remitted to the Affection they formerly had, shall respectively imploy this Correspondence toward the assistance of their Allies (so far as the Restitution of Affairs, and the general Good will permit) for the procuring Repose of the Troubles of Christendom.

6. The Premisses being established on both sides, Persons of Eminency shall be reciprocally dispatched as Embassadors on either part for Ratification of the Accord, and for nomination of Agents ordinarily resident at either Court, for the better preserving this Union.

7. And because many Ships are now at Sea, with Letters of Marque, who cannot suddenly take cognisance of this Peace; it is agreed, that what shall occur in the Name of Hostility for the space of Two Months on either side, shall not prejudice or derogate from this Agreement. Provided notwithstanding that what shall be made Prize of within the space of Two Months, after Signature shall be restored on either side.

9. Lastly, The Two Kings shall respectively sign the present Articles, the 14th. of this present Month of April, and at the same time they shall be conveyed into the Hands of the Lords Embassadors of Venice, to deliver reciprocally to the Two Kings at a day prefix'd. And from the day of signing, all Acts of Hostility shall cease, to which end, Proclamation shall be issued out in both Kingdoms the Twentieth day of May.

And for a Confirmation of this League, in *September* following, the Marquis of *Chasteau Neuf*, was sent in Embassy from *France*, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds* was sent thither from hence.

About the Month of *July*, there hapned a great Fray in *Fleetstreet*, upon the rescue of one Captain *Bellingham* (an Officer in the late Expedition to the *Isle* of *Rhe*) which was attempted by some Students in the Temple, wherein some were hurt and carried to Prison. But this drew together many of the Gentlemen to rescue the Prisoner, who made a Barricade against St. *Dunstan's* Church, and beat back the Sheriffs Officers, and released their Friends; of which the Lord Mayor being inform'd, he and the Sheriffs with a band of trained Soldiers came down to keep the Peace, and disperse them; who were now encreased to the number of 500. and armed with Swords and Pistols: The Lord Mayor made Proclamation, That on pain of Rebellion they should dissolve themselves; but prevail'd not: he then tryed other means, and the Soldiers fired their Muskets on them, charg'd with powder only; but the Gentlemen provok'd at this, shot bullets, and very fiercely attacqued the Trainbands, kill'd five outright, and wounded near a Hundred; yet the City Soldiers were so reinforced, that in the end, the Gentlemen were subdued, and one *Ashurst* and *Stamford* Two Captains, with some others, were taken and committed. The King was much offended at the uproar, and immediately sent for the Lord Chief Justice, by whose Advice a Special Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was issued out, and about a Fortnight after, the Malefactors were straigned in the *Guild-Hall* of *London*, and *Ashurst* and *Stamford* being found guilty of Murder, were condemned and executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamford* was a Relation and Servant to the last Duke of *Buckingham*, and much Intercession was made for him: but the King would not pardon him, but said he had murdered a Watch-man before, and was pardon'd, and hath now kill'd another, and he would take order he should not kill a Third.

1629.

In the Month of *January*, Don *Carles de Colomus*, sent Embassador from *Spain*, arrived at *London*, and had Audience six days after; his Business was to treat of a Peace, betwixt the Two Crowns, which was a while after concluded, all things being left on both sides in the same Condition in which they were before the War, and the *Spaniard* did engage that he would make use of all his Interest with the Emperour for restoring the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his lost Estate.

This Peace, and that with *France*, brought a great encrease of Trade to us, the *Spaniards* sent hither yearly in *English Bottoms*, no less than 600000 Crowns in *Bullion*, for the use of the Army in the *Netherlands*; redounding very much to the Kings benefit in the Coinage, and no less to the profit of the Merchants also, most of the Money being return'd into *Flanders* in Leather, Cloth, Lead, Tin, and other the Commodities of this Kingdom. The *Dutch*, and *Easterlings*, being great Traders, look'd upon *London*, as the safest Bank not only to lodge, but increase their Treasure; so that in a short time, the greatest part of the Trade of Christendom was driven upon the *Thames*.

On the Tenth of *April*, this Year, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Steward of the Kings Household died suddenly of an Appoplexy, he was the Son of *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*, Son of *William Herbert*, created Earl of *Pembroke*, and Lord *Herbert* of *Cardiff*, in the Fifth Year of King *Edward* the sixth, whose great Grandfather was *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, taken Prisoner in the Battle of *Banbury*, in the year 1467. in the Quarrel of the House of *Lancaster*, and beheaded in the Ninth Year of King *Edward* the Fourth. 1630.

He was a comely Person, of a very generous mind, and one that in all his Actions, appeared to be of the true ancient stock of *English* Nobility; He was competently learned, and a great Lover of his Prince and Country, without flattery or faction, which made him be ever esteemed by the first, and loved and respected by the latter: He married *Mary*, the eldest Daughter, and Co-Heir of *Gilbert Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*; by whom he had not issue. The King was some-

what

1630. what touched at the Death of ſo good a Counſellor. But to qualifie that Loſs, God bleſt him with a Son, the Heir of his Dominions, on the Twenty ninth of *May*, who on the Twenty ſeventh of *June* following, was with great Solemnity Baptized, and named CHARLES; the Godfathers were the King of *France*, and the Prince Elector, repreſented by the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*; the Godmother was the Queen of *France*, whoſe Subſtitute was the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*. After this joyful Ceremony was performed, the King was intent on the Buſineſs of the Prince Elector, and having Intelligence of a Dyet to be kept this Summer at *Ratisbone*, he ſent Sir *Robert Anſtruther*, his Ambaſſadour to the Emperour, taking that opportunity, when the Eſtates of the Empire were aſſembled, to treat of his Brother's Reſtitution to the *Palatinate*. Sir *Robert* went in very noble Equipage, and was very well received, when he came thither, and at his firſt Audience he delivered his Meſſage to this effect,

The Birth of Prince *Charles.*

Sir *Robert Anſtruther* ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor.

His Speech to the Emperor.

That nothing did affect his Maſter, the King of Great-Britain, *more, than the daily Calamities, undergone by his Brother the Prince Elector, his Wife and Children; that he deem'd no place more convenient, where to treat of their Reconciliation, and re-eſtabliſhment, than in this Dyet; therefore he made it his moſt ardent Requeſt to his moſt Imperial Majeſty, that having regard to the many Interceſſions of his late Father, and other Kings and Princes, he would remit the Diſpleaſure conceived againſt his Brother, and recall the Proſcription iſſued out againſt him. True it is, his Brother had offended, and was inexcuſably guilty (unleſs the Raſhneſs and precipitation of Youth may ſomewhat plead for him.) But others had been as culpable as he, whom yet his Imperial Majeſty received into Grace and Favour; and would be be pleaſed to extend to him the ſame Clemency, it would oblige his Maſter to Demonſtrations of greateſt Gratitude, and raiſe a glorious Imitation in others to imitate ſo Majeſtick a Pattern. That the Palſegrave would entertain this Favour with an Heart ſo firmly devoted to his Service, as all the Intention of his Spirit ſhould be diſpoſed to compenſation and reparation of his by-paſt Miſcarriages. That his Maſter held nothing ſo dear, as the Affection of his Imperial Majeſty, and eſtabliſhment of a durable Peace between them; and as upon all Occaſions he hath been forward to repreſent himſelf ſolicitous of it, ſo at this time he is ready to give more ample Teſtimony, if his Imperial Majeſty be pleaſed to incline to a Treaty.*

The Emperour and Eſtates did not anſwer the King's Expectation; for beſides the Compliments which the Ambaſſadour receiv'd, all the Anſwer to this Buſineſs was, *That the preſent Affairs of* Germany, *which called them thither, were of that important Concernment, as would not admit of any foreign Debate. But when Laiſure ſerved, his Maſter ſhould have ſuch Satisfaction, as they hoped would give content.* The Emperour was the colder in this Matter, becauſe he had ſome intimation of the King's Correſpondence with the King of *Sweden*, who was at this time ready to enter into *Germany* with an Army. And

The Emperors Anſwer.

he was not much deceiv'd in his intelligence, for ever ſince the King of *Denmark* was by Count *Tilly* driven out of *Germany*, the eyes of all this part of the World were upon *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, as the fitteſt perſon, to check the greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Him therefore, two years ago, the King elected into the Noble Order of the Garter, wherewith he was ſolemnly inveſted in the midſt of his Army, at the Siege of *Darſaw*, a Town of *Pomerella*, belonging to the Crown of *Poland*, and then the grounds were laid, which (being ſeconded by the French, the States of the *United Provinces*, and the diſtreſſed Princes of the Empire) brought that King into *Germany*. For which Expedition, on the thirteenth of *June*, he imbarqued himſelf, and all his Army, in Seventy men of War, and Two hundred leſſer Barques. He had made great preparations the Year before for this deſign, and had entertain'd many Scotiſh and Engliſh Commanders and Soldiers, lately in the Service of the King of *Denmark*, (after the Peace at *Angle* in *Holſtein*, made the Year before with that Crown) and had diſpatch'd ſome of them to raiſe Recruits, to compleat their Regiments in *Scotland* and *England*, and likewiſe he entertained *Germans*, who had return'd from the *Ceſarean* Army, and from that Army that was ſent to aſſiſt the King of *Poland*, under the conduct of *Harven*, and from thoſe who had been diſobliged by *Walleſtein*, the Emperor's General; he receiv'd good intelligence of the State of the Empire, and gave them Commiſſions to raiſe forces with all ſpeed: So that with ſome of theſe and the remainder of the Army, which was brought from the Wars of *Livonia*, he had got together above Twelve thouſand Horſe and Foot of old Soldiers: But time was very favourable to the Enterpriſe, for the Princes of *Germany* had been much oppreſſed by the late Military Government, which *Walleſtein* had introduced amongſt them. Who had under his command a Hundred thouſand Foot, and 30000 Horſe of divers Nations, diſperſed over all *Germany*, whereby the Princes of *Germany* were not treated as free Princes, but Subjects. Whereupon for that the exceſſive Authority of private Men, and over-greatneſs of Neighbouring Potentates is never lik'd by great ones, the Electors, which pretend to keep the Imperial Condition within its limits, could not ſuffer either the burthen they lay under upon this former occaſion, nor that ſo many Soldiers ſhould be maintain'd in *Germany*, in the time of Peace, to the Peoples ſo great Grievances, nor that the Throne of *Ceſar* ſhould be raiſed ſo high. They therefore privately ſought out all opportune means, how they might unarm him, and take from the *Empire* ſuch a ſupport; To which the *Spaniſh* Miniſters at *Vienna* willingly concurr'd to moderate the greatneſs of *Walleſtein*, and prevailed with the Emperor to the diſbanding of the ſupernumerary Forces, to pleaſe the Electors, and to oblige them thereby, to adhere to favour the King of *Hungary*, at Election of the King of the Romans. *Walleſtein* was hereupon immediately laid aſide, which made him exclaim that the Emperor was betray'd; and certainly there was ſome grounds for it. But if he had been more

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The King of *Sweden's* Expedition into *Germany*.

complacent

1626. complaisance in his Behaviour, his Authority had not been so easily taken away, nor so many of the Powers exhausted, which whilst they were kept together, made the Emperor so powerful, that the King of *Sweden* could never have made that Impression he did into his Dominions. *Wallestein* thus removed, retired into *Bohemia*, and there lived till he was called again to Employment.

Thus *Germany* became weakned, being not only divided by the diffonancy of Religion, but exasperated by the late pressures upon them, whereby the King of *Sweden* had a very easie entrance into *Pomerania*; for in a very little time he had taken the Islands of *Rugen* and *Useden*, and all the Forts therein, and *Wolgast*, and the strong Town of *Stetin* in *Pomerania*, and reflored *Bogislaus*, Duke of *Pomerania*, to his Authority.

Succeeds.

The News of the success of the King of *Sweden*, made our King very willing to send Aids to him; and the Marquis of *Hamilton* had Commission to levy 6000 Men, for the service against the next Spring, which were most of them to be of the *Scots* Nation: For the Encouragement of the Marquis in this Expedition, the Parliament gave him the Impost of Wines in *Scotland*, which amounted to 20000 Pounds Sterling a Year; but for the raising of those Men and an intended supply of Moneys to the King of *Sweden*, greater Summs were required. And therefore the King, by the Advice of his Attorney General, and other his Council learned in the Law, was forced to use all ways, by the Law allowable, to furnish himself.

Marquis of *Hamilton* his Commission to raise 6000 Men to assist the King of *Sweden*.

By the Common Law, every Man of full Age that should have Lands to the Value of 40 l. per Annum, was compellable, by the King's Writ, to take the Order of Knighthood, and to pay a Fine for the dispensation or refusal of the same: And because of the uncertainty of the quantity of Lands that made a Knight's Fee, K. *Edward* II. in the 20th Year of his Reign, granted a Writ, in the Exchequer, that Inquisitions and Issues to be there entred of Record, (which Inquisitions should be by Juries returned) whereby no Man was thereafter to be distrained for Knighthood, that had not 40 l. a Year in free Socage or Fee Tail, or for Terms of Life, which Sir *Edward Coke* explains to be Freehold by construction, and almost in every King's Reign, but the time of *Edward* IV. Men were summoned by Proclamation to take the Order of Knighthood, but the value of Land was seldom limited to less than 40 l. a Year; for in the 18th of King *Edward* VI. which seems to be the last time before this, wherein Proclamations of this kind were issued, the sum was enlarged to be 40 l. a Year. The King having this warrantable way to supply his Necessities, did cause several Writs to be issued out of the Chancery for Proclamations to be made in every County, to summon all Persons of full Age, and not Knights, being seised of Lands or Rents, of the yearly value of 40 l. or more, to appear in the King's presence at a certain Day therein limited, to take upon them the Order of Knighthood, upon return of which Writs, and transmitting the same with their names into the Exchequer, and upon some Writs for enquiring of the Names of such as did not appear, Process by *Distringas* was made against them, and they were fined for

All Persons seised of 40 l. or more per annum, summoned to take the Order of Knighthood.

the same, which brought 100000 Pounds, or more into the Exchequer.

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But this Money would not answer the King's Occasions; wherefore Mr. *Walter Montague* was sent over to procure the Payment of the Moyety of the Queen's Portion (being 400000 Crowns) behind, and to require Satisfaction for such rich Ships, taken from us by the *French*, since the last Peace concluded; and with him, *Philip Burlamach* a Merchant, was sent to receive the Money, and make it over by Exchange, or otherwise. The *French* King received the Message with kindness enough, but complain'd, that one Captain *Kirk* had, two Years before, taken the Fort of *Relieu* in *Canada*, which was in possession of the *French*, and put an *English* Garrison into it. This, after a little consideration, was found so equitable, that the King gave order to have the Fort deliver'd, and thereupon his full and just Demands were satisfied. During the sitting of the last Parliament, one *Leighton*, a *Scotch* Man, writ a Book, called *Zion's Plea*, which he presented to them: It was of a very fiery nature, exciting the Parliament and People to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fifth Rib, bitterly inveighing against the Queen, calling her a Daughter of *Heth*, a Canaanite, an Idolatress; for which he was this Year sentenc'd in the Star-Chamber, to be whipt and stigmariz'd, to have his Ears crop'd, and Nose slit: but between the pronouncing and inflicting of this Censure, he made his escape into *Bedford-shire*, but by the diligence of the Warden of the *Fleet*, he was quickly recover'd, and the punishment to which he was sentenced inflicted upon him. The Ramish Recusants were about this time very active in *England*, and their Religion began to encrease by the industry of their Priests, who needed not now to fetch their Ordination from abroad, by reason that the Pope had sent hither Doctor *Smith*, the Titular Bishop of *Calcedon*, to ordain Priests, who took also upon him, to approve of such regular Priests as were to be Confessors, which the General of the Jesuits thought an usurpation upon his Jurisdiction, and that Order, by their influence, being more powerful in *England*, prevail'd with many of the most eminent of their Religion, to remonstrate against his Authority, asserting all sufficient Power in the Regulars to whatever was pretended by the Bishop, and the no necessity of having a Bishop in *England*: The *Spanish* Embassador favoured the Jesuits in this Contest; to which the King's Proclamation for the Bishop's Banishment concurring, he was frighted into *France*. Nor were this sort of Men insolent in *England* only, but in *Ireland* also; for at *Dublin*, whilst the Lords Justices were hearing Divine Service in *Christ's-Church*, they had a publick resort to Mass, as is sometimes in *London*, to the Houses of Embassadors of that Religion; which the Lords Justices taking notice of, they sent the Archbishop, the Mayor, Sheriff, and Recorder of the City to apprehend them; which they did, taking away their Crucifixes, Chalices, and Copes, and delivering the Fryers and Priests into the Hands of the Puritans, whom the People threw Stones at, and had rescued them, but that a Guard was sent to defend them: nevertheless, the Justices

Leighton, a *Scotch* Man, punished for writing a seditious Book, called *Zion's Plea*.

Contests in *England* between the Jesuits and secular Priests.

Tumults in *Dublin*, about restraining the Liberty of the Catholicks.

were so careful to prevent the like Disorders, that most of their Houses of Religion were immediately seized into the King's Hands, and such Inquisition after the rest, that Two Priests hang'd themselves at the Apprehension of what (as they then called it) Persecution.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* suspected of a design to convert his Forces, raised for foreign Service against *England*.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* was at this time under some umbrage at Court, though his power with the King quickly broke through it. The Occasion thereof was this: He had sent a Creature of his own, *David Ramsey*, into *Germany*, on pretence to notifie his coming thither to the King of *Sweden*, and to inform himself of the condition of the *Scots* then in that Service; but by what appear'd after, it was suspected he had another Intention than the King of *Sweden*'s Assistance. There were at this time 7 Collonels of the *Scotch* Nation in the *Swedish* Service; amongst which, there were Four of the Name of *Hamilton*, with whom *Ramsey* had made a near Acquaintance, for he lived at a great expence; he had also endear'd himself to Colonel *Alexander Ramsey*, Governour of *Creutznach*, a person of good Esteem and Interest, both with the *Swedes* and those of his own Nation: Amongst these Officers, there was the Lord of *Reies Mackey*, who commanded a Brigade of *Scots*, a Person of great Honour and Reputation, who having discovered by some Expression of *Ramsey*, that the Marquis had a deeper Design than the present Expedition to *Germany*, he insinuated into him to find out the bottom of it, and was told by him, in much secrecy, that the Marquis would convert these Forces, which he was by the King's Authority to raise in *Scotland*, for foreign Service, against *England*; That their Friends had provided Arms and Ammunition, and many were expected from *Sweden* and other Parts, and he, and Colonel *Alexander Hamilton* solicited him to be of their Party. To this the Lord of *Rhees* made a cold Answer, but thought himself bound in Duty to come into *England* and make it known to the King, which he did the rather because *Ramsey* was then return'd also: But he, upon this Accusation, denied the whole Matter, and the Lord having no proofs thereof, (as in such secret Practices it could hardly be) more than a precedent aspersion and the engagement of his honour, the King thought good to refer the Controversie to the Tryal of the Constable and Marshal, with the assistance of other Lords in Commission with them, according to the ancient use of the Land: The Earl of *Lindsey* being made Constable to that end and purpose, many Days were spent accordingly in pursuance of it. But when most Men expected that the Matter would be tried by Combat, as had been accustomed in such Cases, the Business was hush'd up at Court, the Lord *Rhees* dismiss'd to his Employment in the War, and the Marquis did not only continue in the King's great Favour, but *Ramsey* was permitted to hold the Place of a Gentleman of the Privy-chamber, which had formerly been procured for him.

The Tryal of the Lord *Audley*;

On the 24th of *April* this Year, *Mervyn Touchet*, Lord *Audley*, was indicted and arraigned of Rape and Sodomy before his Peers in *Westminster-Hall*, *Thomas* Lord *Coventry*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, was for that day constituted Lord High Steward of *England*, and the Prisoner

[illegible] him were the Earl of *Portland*, Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Arundel*, Earl Marshal, and the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Rhet*, *Worcester*, *Bridgewater*, *Dorset*, *Salisbury*, *Leicester*, *Hertford*, *Holland*, *Northumberland*, and *Dover*, the Lords Viscount *Wimbleton*, *Conway*, *Dorchester*, *Wentworth*, the Barons *Percy*, *Strange*, *Clifford*, *Peters*, *Howard*, *Goring*, where divers unnatural and bestial Actions being prov'd against him, he had sentence to be hang'd; but by the clemency of the King to him, that sentence was changed to a beheading, which was executed on him at *Tower-Hill* on the 14th of *May* following, the same Week of *May* Sir *Giles Allington* of *Cambridgeshire*, married his own Niece, the Daughter and Heir of Mr. *Dobson*, for which he was questioned in the High Commission Court; but because the Indictment moved the Court of Common Pleas therein, from whence he obtained Two Rules; one against the Commissioners, to shew cause why a prohibition should not be granted, the other, That if they proceeded [illegible] Cause shewn, a Prohibition should [illegible] This gave great Offence to the Bishops, who complain'd to the King thereof; and he signified his Displeasure to the Judges for their proceeding herein, whereupon they desisted, and the Court consisting of Eight Bishops, and Four other Commissioners, gave the Sentence following against him: To be fined to the King 12000 Pound; to stand obliged in the Penalty of 20000 Pound, never to cohabit or come near his Niece any more, and to be committed as Prisoner, &c. [illegible] Fine, till both he and his Niece [illegible] Pleasure and [illegible] Court, and [illegible] Day [illegible] Court. Not [illegible] Dr. [illegible] by a many [illegible] and [illegible] Court, [illegible] Excellency [illegible] but [illegible] Martyr, [illegible] suffer to [illegible] others, [illegible] suppose himself.

The Marquis of *Hamilton*'s Arrival with his Forces in the *Oder*.

About the midst of [illegible] Marquis of *Hamilton* arrived in the Oder with [illegible] arrived and furnished of Artillery for the Service of the King of *Sweden*, [illegible] with [illegible] Dollars in Money, he [illegible] Camero the King's [illegible] at his Leaguer at *Wesenberg* on the *Elbe*. The King received such [illegible] entertained him all the Fortifications [illegible] tions he had made against the Count [illegible] who was marched as far as [illegible] him, so that he had no [illegible] as he would; but after [illegible] tions, he was dismissed, and his Forces appointed to join with General *Banier*, as he told him, He was there, his Army arrived in such Parts of the Country that [illegible] in that both the Armies lay [illegible] Year before, but within a while he said they should have better Quarters, but the Men were dead, all lost whilst they were there, finding not only Famine to consume them, but the Plague also, which did [illegible] rage, that [illegible] Week of [illegible] died, and they were [illegible] but those that survived, did great Service, and their coming at this time was a great [illegible] of the King of [illegible] Cause, for [illegible] a good part of the Enemies Forces were [illegible] of them diverted

1631. diverted towards *Silesia* and this diversion aided much to the Conjunction of the King's Army with that of the Duke of *Saxony*, and consequently this further advance into *Germany*, and his Victory obtained at *Leipsigh* on the 17th of *September* following, likewise the reputation of his supply, and the King of *England*'s friendship and concordance brought in the Landgrave of *Hessen*, and Duke *Bernard Weymer*, to offer their service to the King, and most part of the Towns of the upper Circle of the Empire were desirous to joyn in Confederacy with him.

Sir *Henry* ... sent Embassadour to ...

Our King immediately after the dispatching the Marquis *Hamilton* sent Sir *Henery Vane* his Ambassador to the King of *Sweden*, who arrived at *Werzeburg* on the *Mayn*, a fortnight after the Battel of *Leipsigh*, upon which came *Magdeburgh* was block'd up by the Forces under the Command of Marquis *Hamilton* and General *Banner*, who had a little before took in the Town of *Vaustaber* in *Bavaria*. The Embassadour after some refreshment, went to the King of *Sweden* at *Frankfort* on the *Mayn* which had open'd his Gates to him; on the 17th. of *November*, hither also came the Marquis of *Hamilton* with a very Magnificent Train, and the French Embassador, and a little before them the Palsegrave arrived, and the Queen of *Sweden* also came thither attended by the *Rix Chancellor Oxenstern*, and Sir *Patrick Ruthen* the eldest Colonel of the *Scottish Nation*: here the King gave audience to our Embassadour, and many Treaties were in agitation both for the prosecution of the War the next Year and the restitution of the Palatinate, but the shortness of the King's Stay hindred the bringing of any Counsels to Maturity, for he was not here a week when upon advice that divers Troops of Spaniards and Flemings raised in *Luxemburg*, were marching towards the Palatinate to recruit the Garrisons of *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Frankendal*, *Heidelberg*, and other Towns in those parts, he broke off the Negotiations for that time, and hasten'd to his Army, with a purpose to pass over the *Rhine*, in order whereunto he first lay down before a Sconce lying on the *Rhine* over against *Oppenheim*: it was a place very well fortified with deep and broad Fosses full of Water with a Draw-bridge over, and well provided of Victuals and Ammunition, and it was so situated that the Men had free passage to the Town and back again without any danger; after the Batteries were made, the King left the old Scottish Brigade Commanded by Colonel *Hepburne*, and the Blue Regiment Commanded by Colonel *Hamilton* before it, and he gave order to have some Boats that the *Spaniard* had sunk, taken up and emptied of Water by which means he passed over 2000 Scots of the Lord *Rhe*'s Regiment, Sir *James Ramsey*'s Regiment, and old *Sparre*'s Regiment, and with these he secured the landing place, till he passed over a good part of his Army, and unexpectedly came before *Oppenheim*; and the next day these in the Sconce (hearing the King had past the *Rhine*,) capitulated and surrendred the place to Colonel *Hepburn*: *Oppenheim* was also after a while surrendred to the King of *Sweden*, and from thence he made a further impression on the Palatinate with so great success, that he quickly took in all the Cities and Towns thereof, except *Heidelburg* and *Frankendal*, where we shall leave him Victorious, and return to *Domestick* Affairs.

1631.

About 5 Years since certain Feoffees were intrusted to purchase in Impropriations with their own and the money of other well disposed persons, and with the profit thereof to set up and maintain preaching Ministers in places of greatest need, where preaching was much wanting, whereupon in a short while many great sums were advanc'd. There are in *England* 9284 Parish-Churches endowed with Glebe and Tythe, but of these when these Trustees entred on their work, Three thousand eight hundred forty and five, were either appropriated to Bishops, Cathedrals, and Colleges, or impropriated as lay-fees to private Persons, as formerly belonging to Abbies; to purchase which last sort, they had made such progress, that it was believed in fifty Years rather purchases than money would have been wanting to them. The King was perswaded that this project would prove dangerous to the Church, and *Noy* the Attorney-General at the latter end of the Year exhibited a Bill in the Exchequer Chamber against the Feoffees.

1632. The proceedings of the Feoffees for impropriations condemned as dangerous to the Church and State.

It was charged against them, that they divetted the charity wherewith they were intrusted; for being by their Feoffment directed to settle preaching Ministers in distant obscure places where preaching was most wanting, they first settled a Morning-Lecture at St. *Antholines* in *London*: To this they answered, That *London* being the chiefest place from whence their charity derived, it was fit they should have some benefit of their own bounty, and that they were not so confined to the uses in their Feoffment, but that in their choice they might reflect as well on the eminency as necessity of the place; That they expended much of their own as well as other mens charity, and hoped they might do with their own as they pleased: It was urged against them that they generally preferr'd Non-Conformists to the Lectures of their erection; to which they said none were placed therein, but such whose sufficiency and conformity was approved by the Ordinary; & moreover, that one of the Feoffees acquainted the Bishop of *London* at his House at *Fulham*, that if he either disliked the persons who managed, or the order they took in the work, he would submit the alteration to his discretion. In conclusion, the Court condemned their proceedings as dangerous to the Church and State, pronouncing the Gifts and Feoffments to be illegal, and so dissolved the same, confiscating the money to the Kings use; their Criminal part was referr'd to the Star-Chamber, but never prosecuted, because many discreet and devout men were rather desirous of the regulation, than ruine of so pious a design.

Duke *Hamilton* returns inglorious from *Germany*.

Duke *Hamilton* in *September* this Year came from *Germany*, his men being by Famine, Plague and the Accidents of War, drawn to so small a number, that they were not fit for his care. The King of *Sweden* had many communications with the Palsegrave and our Embassador, about the affairs of the Palatinate, in which the French Embassador, and the *Dutch* the Embassadors of the *United Provinces*, did mediate Ig, as matters were

1632. were near drawn to a good Conclusion, when all was again made desperate by the death of the K. of *Sweden*, which hapned at that memorable battel of *Lutzen* on the 6th of *Novemb. Old Stile*. The Pallegrave was in hopes of recovery, when news came to him of the death of the King of *Sweden*, which resented him with so intense a passion, that he dy'd on the 29th of the same Month, nor could the rendition of *Frankendel* then ready to be surrendered to the English Officers then before it, any whit moderate his grief; the Earl of *Leicester* was now sent Ambassador to the King of *Denmark*, to condole the death of our King's Grand-mother, *Sophia* Q. Dowager of *Denmark*, and to demand the Dividend of a 6th. part of what she left as due to him and the Q. of *Bohemia* in the right of Q. *Anne* their Mother, which 6th. part amounted to 15000 *l.* Sterling; the K. of *Denmark* told the Ambassador, when the accompt was stated of what was due to him in arrear of 30000 *l.* a Month from the Crown of *England*, upon the Contract made in the Year 1625. towards the support of his Army, he would make up the rest, so that the Earl was fain to return *re infecta*. The King having had great experience of the ability and faithfulness of the Lord Visc. *Wentworth* (whom he had lately raised to that Honour and made him Lord President of the North) made him Deputy and chief Governour of the Realm of *Ireland*, where Affairs were in much disorder by the insolence of the Romish Catholicks, who did not use moderately the King's clemency to them in relaxation of the Rigour of some penal Statutes; they are indeed a People that cannot bear any indulgence towards them with temperance, but are too apt to be alienated in the apprehension of favour to their own detriment, and the scandal of the King's Protestant Subjects. On the 21. of *December* this Year the King fell sick of the small Pox, but there was so little malignity in the Distemper, that he soon recovered. The same month the E. of *Arundel* was sent to the *Hague* in *Holland* to the Q. of *Bohemia*, to condole the death of her Husband, and solicite her and her Childrens journey into *England*, which at this time she refused because of the grief she lay under, and an indisposition of Health that made her unfit in the Winter season to take such a Journey.

The King had this Year a great check to the prosperity of his Government, which first appeared in *Scotland*, where some factious and seditious Male contents began to sow some seeds of discontent, which afterwards encreased to that degree, as well near destroyed the prosperity and happiness of Three flourishing Kingdoms, on this occasion.

In the minority of King *James*, the Lands of Cathedral Churches & Religious Houses, which had been setled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shared among the Lords and great men of that Kingdom (by the Connivance of the E. of *Murray*, and some other of the Regents) in the minority of King *James*, to make them sure unto their side. And they being thus possessed of the said Lands with the Regalities and Tythes belonging to those Ecclesiastical Corporations, lorded it with pride and insolence enough in their several Territories, holding the Clergy to small stipends, and the poor Peasants under a miserable Vassalage and Subjection to them.

The King *CHARLES* engaged in Wars at his first coming to the Crown, and having little aid from thence for the maintenance of it, by the advice of his Council of that Kingdom, was put upon a course of resuming those Lands, Tythes and Regalities into his own hands, to which the present possessors could pretend no other Title, than the unjust usurpation of their Ancestors. This he endeavoured first by an Act of Renovation, but that course not being like to speed, he followed in the way of a legal possession, which drew on a Commission for surrendring of Superiorities and Tythes, to be taken from the King on such conditions as might bring some profit to the Crown, [illegible] Clergy, and for more safe and better [illegible] Commons. But the Lords of Parliament chose rather to expose their Country to the danger of a publick ruine, than to part with any of that power, which they had usurped over their Vassals (as they commonly call their Tenants;) and thereupon conspired together, to oppose the King in any thing, that should be offered in the following Parliament, which had relation to the Church, or to Church Affairs.

But because Religion and the care thereof is commonly the best bait to catch the vulgar, they must find out some other means, to divert the King from the prosecuting of that Commission, than the consideration of their own personal and private Interest, and they found means to do it on another occasion, which was briefly this.

King *JAMES*, from his first coming to the Crown, had a Design to bring the Kirk of Scotland to an Uniformity with the Church of England, both in Government and form of Worship. And he proceeded so far as to settle Episcopacy amongst them, making Three new Bishops for so many Episcopal Sees, that had been anciently in that Church; three of which received consecration from the Bishops of England, and conferred it on the rest of their Brethren at their coming home; which Bishops he armed also with a power of High Commission, the better to keep down the insolent and domineering spirit of the Presbyterians. In order to the other, he procured an Act to be passed in the Assembly at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. for composing a Liturgy, and extracting a new Book of Canons out of the scattered Acts of their old Assemblies, and at an Assembly held at *Perth*, *Anno* 1618. he obtained an Order for receiving the Communion kneeling, for administring Baptism, and the Lord's Supper in private houses in cases of extreme necessity, for Episcopal confirmation; and finally, for the celebrating the Anniversary of our *Saviour*'s Birth, his Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, and the coming down of the Holy Ghost. All which began to be confirm'd in Parliament.

So far that wise King had advanced the work of Uniformity before his engaging in the cause of the *Palatinate*; his breast with *Spain*, and the War, which did ensue upon it, had took off his thoughts from prosecuting that design, which his Son being more entangled in Wars abroad, and distempers at home, had no time to finish till he had

1632.

The King of *Swedens* death.

The Earl of *Leicester* sent Ambassadour to the King of *Denmark*.

Viscount *Wentworth* made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

The first occasion of the discontents in *Scotland*.

1633. had settled his affairs, and attain'd to some measure both of power and glory: but being it was a business, which was to be acted leisurely, and by degrees, he deferred the execution of his purpose, till he came into Scotland, towards which he went this Year about the middle of *May*, and arrived at *Edenburgh* the 15th. of *June*, and on the 18th following, his Coronation was celebrated with great solemnity; he had before summoned a Parliament to meet at *Edenburgh*, which assembled a while after the Coronation, and he caused an Act of Ratification of all that had been done by his Father, to be proposed to them, designing, as soon as that was passed, to go in hand with introducing a publick Liturgy, in the effecting whereof he found a stronger opposition in the Parliament, than he had reason to expect, but carried it at last by a far major part of that Assembly.

The King takes a Journey into *Scotland* to be crowned there.

This gave him the first taste of their dissaffection to his Person and Government: but he went forward notwithstanding, in pursuit of those purposes, which he brought thither with him, for not long after his return into *England*, he gave order to the Dean of his Chapel Royal in *Edenburgh*, for Prayers to be read therein, according to the English Liturgy, a Communion to be had every Month, and all Communicants to receive the Sacrament on their Knees; that he who officiated in, if he were a Bishop, should perform it in his Rochet, and other Episcopal Robes, and in his Surplice if a common Presbyter: And that not only the Lords of his Council, but the Lords of the Session, and as many of the principal Magistrates of that City as could conveniently, should not fail of their attending the Divine Service there, on Sundays and Holy-days, for by this means he gave himself no improbable hopes, that the English Liturgy passing a probationership in the Chapel Royal, might find a plausible entertainment in the Churches of *Edenburgh*, and be retained by degrees in all the rest of the Kingdom.

The King commands that the English Liturgy, with its usual Ceremonies, should be used in his Royal Chapel at *Edenburgh*.

But the Presbyterian *Scots*, not ignorant of the Kings intentions, insinuated into the minds of the common People, that this was a design only to subject that Kirk to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which they said was superstitious, and therefore that it did behove them to stand together, as one Man, to oppose their entrance.

The Presbyterians beget a dislike of it in the minds of the Vulgar

The Lords and Gentry of that Realm, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of Surrenders, before-mentioned, laid hold of this occasion also, and they being seconded by Male-contented Spirits, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his favour to them, as his Father had been before endeavour'd to possess them with fear and jealousies, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the form of a Province and governed by a Deputy or Lord-Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was: the like was done also by some Lords of Secret Council, who before had governed as they listed, and thought their power now diminished, and their persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord-Treasurer over them to direct in chief.

Which is further promoted by the insinuations of the Lords and Gentry.

So that the People generally being fooled into this opinion, that both their Christian and Civil Liberties were in no small danger, became capable of any impression, which the Presbyterian faction could imprint upon them. Which very fitly appeared by a Virulent and seditious Libel, published in the Year 1638. wherein the King not only was charged with altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very strong Inclinations to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, the chief Abetor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Balmerino*, for which he was legally committed and condemned of Treason, but pardoned by the King's great Goodness, though by his following Actions he deserved not that favour. The Fire thus breaking out in *Scotland*, it was no marvel, if it laid hold on *England* also, the discontented of both Nations working themselves about this time into a body, and from henceforth communicating their counsels and designs unto one another. As will hereafter appear.

1622.

And occasions the like strain in *England*.

This Year ended with some stirs in *Somersetshire*, where some of the Justices were much offended, at the keeping of Wakes, Church-ales, and Bride-ales on the Lords day, which occasioned many disorders and misdemeanors to be committed: and therefore they moved the L. Chief-Justice *Richardson*, and Baron *Denham*, then in their Circuit in the Lent Vacation to make some Order therein; these in complyance with their desire, make an Order on the 19. of *May*, (founded on former presidents signed by the Chief Justice *Popham* in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign) wherein suppressing such Revels in regard of the infinite number of inconveniences daily arising by means thereof; enjoyning the Constables to deliver a Copy thereof to the Minister of every Parish, who on the first Sunday in *February*, and likewise the two first Sundays before *Easter*, was to publish the same every Year. This was look'd on by the Bishops, as an usurpation of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and they therefore procured a Commission, directed to the Bishop of *Bath*, and other Divines, to enquire into the manner of publishing this Order, and the carriage of the Judges in the Business; Notwithstanding which, the Chief Justice at the next Assizes, gave strict charge against these Revels, and required an account of the publication & execution of the former Order, punishing some persons for the breach thereof; after whose return the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sent for him, and told him it was the King's pleasure, he should revoke his Order, as he would answer it at his peril; which he did at the next Assizes, (but with this limitation, *as much as in him lay.*) But this ended not here, for the Justices of that County hearing of this dealing with the Chief Justice, made an humble Supplication to the King, for suppressing the aforesaid Assemblies, which induced the King to renew his Father's Declaration, about Lawful Sports on the Lord's day, published in the 16th. Year of his Reign; hoping thereby, by the restriction therein directed, to hinder the abuse of those Recreations, and to free the Consciences of his Subjects from more servile Yokes, which some Divines about that time endeavoured to introduce, maintaining the indispensible morality of the 4th. Commandment, and consequently the necessary observation of the Jewish Sabbath, for it was in the Declaration prescribed,

The King published a Declaration for lawful Sports on the Lord's day.

I. That

1632. 1. *That these Pastimes should be no impediment, or let to the Publick duty of the day.*

2. *That no Recusants should be capable of the benefit of them.*

3. *That none should use them, that were not diligently present at all divine Offices, which the day required. And*

4. *That the Benefits should redound to none, but such as kept themselves in their own Parishes.*

The Publication of this, however piously intended, gave great offence; and the rather, because, though there was nothing express in the Declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be pressed to the publishing, yet some Ministers, for refusing the reading thereof, were some suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, some deprived, and more molested in the High-commission; the truth is the ill reception it had among the people, in the former Publication of it, in the time of the King's Father, might have deterred the like at this time; for that the strict observation of the Lord's day was much increased since that time, though it was not known in *England*, till the Year 1595, when Dr. *Bond* first published it in his Book of *Sabbath Doctrine*; nor in *Ireland*, till just 20 Years after, when it was inserted in the Articles of Religion, there established; nor in *Scotland*, till above 20 Years after that: and at this day in *Geneva*, shooting in long Bows, Tennis, Bowling, and other sports of that kind are used, and the like in all foreign places, where the Protestant Religion is professed; but it was generally disliked here, many complaining that Man's badness took occasion to be worse, under the protection of those sports permitted to them: for though liberty on the Lord's-day may be so limited in the Notions of learned men, as to make it lawful, it is very difficult so to confine it to the actions of the People, but that they will degenerate into licentiousness so that the declaration after a while dyed of it self, and it was wished by many prudent Men of that time, it had never lived.

Ministers suspended and deprived for refusing to publish the Declaration.

The Merchants of *London*, and other Parts made great complaints at the end of the last year, of the obstructions of Trade, for want of good Convoys, to secure them against the Turks and other Pirates that infested our Coast, which made the King very earnest in making preparations to make himself strong at Sea, to which he was the more inclined for the vindication of his Just Authority of the Soveraignty of the British Seas; which was not only actually usurp'd by the *Hollanders*, but the Right it self disputed by a Tract, written by *Hugo Grotius*, a learned Man of that time, called *Mare Liberum*; but whilst the King by his power omitted not to maintain his Right, our Learned *Selden*, by his Pen encountred *Grotius*, in a learned book called *Mare Clausum*, wherein he did not only assert the Soveraignty, or the Dominion of the British Seas to the Crown of *England* but clearly proved by constant and continual practice that the King of *England* used to levy Money from the Subjects, for the providing of Ships and other necessaries, to maintain that Soveraignty, which did of right belong unto them; but before the writing of this Tract, the King had well advised how to enable himself with Treasure, to support his Authority, and defend the Kingdoms by the Industry of *Noy*, his Attorney-General, a most indefatigable Inquisitor into Ancient Records, who had found many Precedents for levying a Naval Aid upon the Subjects by the sole Authority of the King, whensoever the safety and preservation of the Kingdom did require it of him, and that such aid had been heretofore levyed in the same year, in which the King that took it, had received Subsidies in the way of Parliament; for which he gave this Reason, When a King of *England* wants Money to support his own Expences, or for the enlarging his Dominions in foreign Conquests, or otherwise to advance his Honour in the Eye of the World, he ought to be beholding to his Subjects for it by aid in Parliament; but when the Kingdom is in danger, and the safety of the Subject concern'd therein, he may by our Laws raise such sums of Money, as he thinks expedient for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publick safety of himself and his. And thereupon by this advice, Writs were issued and directed to all the Port Towns and some Inland Counties of the Kingdom, to set out a certain number of Ships furnisht with Mariners, Ammunition, Victuals and all other necessaries for defence of the Realm, wherein the King quickly had equipped a very good Fleet, though not great enough for the end intended; which occasioned the like Writs to be issued out to all the Counties in the Kingdom in the year 1636. of which more hereafter.

1634. Ship-money designed by *Noy* the King's Attorney-General.

The King makes preparation to maintain his right of Soveraignty of the Sea.

This Year was unfortunate to the *Swedes* in *Germany*, where General *Arnheim* was constrained to retire out of *Bohemia* into *Saxony*: The City of *Ratisbone*, was regained by the Imperialists, General *Altringer* slain near *Landshut*, and the whole Army totally routed by the King of *Hungary*, and the Cardinal *Infante* at the Battel of *Nortlinger*, after which, ensued the surrender of that Town, and the Conquest of the Dukedom of *Wirtemburg*, whose Duke fled to *Strasburg*; but though this gave a great stop to the *Swedish* greatness, yet it brought a little repute to *Germany*, for shortly after this success, a Peace was concluded, though it lasted not long.

The *Swedish* success declining in *Germany*.

A Peace concluded between the *Swedes* and the Emperor.

In *Ireland* the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, was very busie in setling the quiet of that Nation, and because Popery was chiefly encreased for want of able Ministers, and that occasioned by the poor maintenance they had in most places, he procured of the King by the mediation of Archbishop *Laud*, that all the Impropriations then in the Crown should be restored to the Church, to a great diminution of the Royal Revenue, though the King was never sensible of any loss to himself, if thereby gain might redound to God in his Ministers.

The Lord Deputy *Wentworth* takes care for suppressing Popery and setling an able Ministry in *Ireland*.

On *Candlemas* night, the Gentlemen of the four Inns of Court, presented a Masque to the King and Queen at *Whitehall*, riding in Scarlet Chariots from the Temple thither, it was indeed a Pompous and Magnificent shew, but made more glorious, by a long train of *Christian* Captives, who having been many Years inslaved in the chains of bondage, were sent for a present to the King, by the Heriffe or Emperour of *Morocco*, in testimony of the assistance received from the King, whose Father assisted the rebellion then in Rebellion against him, and in general to all the World, it being a nest of Pirates, by whose destruction

A Masque presented to the King and Queen, by the Inns of Court.

destruction, Commerce was very free in those Parts.

The death of the Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and his Office given to Commissioners.

1635.

A Fleet set out under the Earl of *Lindsey* to guard the Seas.

Their Head was Sir *Richard Weston*, Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, a great Statesman; but suspected to favour too much a Reformation of the Religion of *Rome*, in which he was reputed to have lived. Some of his Children were educated therein, which place for the present was intrusted to Commissioners, till a fit Person could be found on whom to bestow it.

It was now the Year 1635. when a gallant Fleet was set out by the Title of the Ship-Money, under the Earl of *Lindsey*, Admiral, and the Earl of *Essex*, Vice-Admiral; whereby our Trade was not only made secure by scouring the Seas of Pirates, but the King became very formidable to all his Neighbours: and by his interposition this Summer, *Flanders* was preserved, which had else probably been swallowed up by the *French* and *Hollanders*; for the King of *Spain* could not bring 8000 Men into the Field, and leave his Garrisons provided, and the *French* King and they were in Confederacy for that purpose, by which it was agreed, that he should invest *Dunkirk* with an Army, whilst the *Hollanders* did block it up with their Navy, that so all Passages into the Country being secured, they might the more easily subdue the inward Parts; which design had taken effect, if our Fleet had not dislodged the *Hollanders* from before the Town and relieved it, and the *French* by their Influencies, at *Diet* and *Tellemont*, inflamed and encouraged the Peoples Hearts against them, for before they had been so practised on by the *Holland* Faction, that few or none would arm to repel their Enemies.

Thomas Parr brought up to the Court by the Earl of *Arundel*.

September the 15th. the Earl of *Arundel* brought up to *London* one of *Shropshire*, one *Thomas Parr*, as the Wonder of the Age, for the prosperity of his Age, he had almost reached to the Hundred and sixtieth Year, and in all likelyhood had outlived that time some Years, had not so tedious a Journey, and the over-violent agitation of his body, together with the change of his accustomed course of Dyet, accelerated his end.

Charles Prince Elector *Palatine* came into *England* at this time to visit his Uncle, and to consult with him for his restitution to the *Palatinate*, and a while after his arrival, his Brother Prince *Rupert* came also.

Prince Rupert come into England.

The King's Reputation was very high, and the *Hollanders*, a wise and industrious People, took all occasions to endear themselves to him: at this time they sent an Ambassador over to congratulate with the King and Queen, for the birth of their second Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, and to ingratiate themselves the more, they sent by him a very rich Present, a mass of pieces of Ambergriese, two large Basons of *China*, a noble Chest, the Workmanship of *Rubilious* the Emperor, and some exquisite Pieces of Painting of *Titian* and *Tintoret*, which were well accepted.

The Princess *Elizabeth* born.

The King finding some inconvenience in the managing of his Treasure by Commissioners, gave the Office to the Bishop of *London*, which was a very good choice; for whereas most of the Treasurers of late times, had rather served themselves in that Office than the King, raising thereby Envy to great Estates and Dignities thereby, he thought it to shew the Church-Man, who having no Family to raise, nor Wife and Children to provide for, would better manage the Incomes of the Treasury to his Advantage, than they had been formerly; and it proved, for by his care of the Revenue, the King began to be rich, and he was of so well temper'd a disposition, that he gave exceeding great content to all the People.

The Bishop of *London* made Lord High Treasurer.

The King's Naval Preparations were very great this Year, the Fleet consisting of 60 good Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, now made Lord High Admiral of *England*, who sailing Northward, and finding a great number of *Dutch* Busses fishing on our Coast, he seized on many of them, and dispersed the rest. This made a great Consternation amongst the People of the *United Provinces*, many of whose subsistance depended on this Fishing; wherefore upon a Supplication from the States to the King, they had permission granted by him; for he was mate displeased at their Presumption in doing it, as in their own right, and in contempt of his Authority, in the Dominion of these Seas, than at the thing done. As the Navy was greater this Year than before, so the Charge of it was much augmented; wherefore, whereas the last Year the Ship-Writs had been sent only to the Maritim Counties, they were now issued to all the Counties in *England*, and the People generally paid what Rates and Assessments were set upon them in pursuance thereof, but some few refused, and many of the Clergy complain'd that they were unreasonably rated by their Neighbours, some of them at a sixth, and others at a fourth part of the Tax of the Parish; for Satisfaction of the Refusers, the King writ to the Judges for their Opinion, who are by their Oaths his proper Counsellors in the Difficulties concerning the Law, and to ease the Clergy, he writ to all the Sheriffs of *England*, requiring that the Clergy, possessed of Parsonages, should not be assessed above a tenth part of the Land-rate of their several Parishes, and that Consideration should be had for Vicars accordingly.

1636.

Another Fleet set out under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The King refers the Case of Ship-Money to the Judges.

The LETTER *to the Judges was*;

His Letter to them, requiring their Opinions.

TO Our Trusty and Well-beloved, Sir *John Bramston* Knight, Chief Justice of Our Bench; Sir *John Finch* Knight, Chief Justice of Our Court of Common Pleas; Sir *Humphry Davenport* Knight, Chief Baron of Our Court of Exchequer; and to the rest of the Judges of Our Court of Kings-Bench, Common-Pleas, and the Barons of Our Court of Exchequer.

CHARLES *Rex*.

TRusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well.

Taking into Our Princely Consideration, That the Honour and Safety of this Our Realm of *England*, the Profession wherein We only entrusted by Our Care, and with Us every particular Subject is late or farther Interested, as well by Sea, Counsels and Attempts, to take from Us the Dominion of the Seas, of which We are sole Lord, and right Owner and Proprietor; and the last wherein should

1636. be of greatest danger and peril to this Kingdom, and other Our Dominions, and many other ways: We, for the avoiding of these, and the like dangers, well weighing with Our Self, how before the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in Danger, there the Charge and Defence ought to be born by the whole Realm in general; that for the preventing so publick a Mischief, resolve with Our Self to have a Royal Navy prepared, that might be of force and power, (with Almighty God's Blessing and Assistance) to Protect and Defend this Our Realm, and Our Subjects thereof, from all such Perils and Dangers; and for that purpose, We issued forth Writs under Our Great Seal of England, directed to all Our Sheriffs of Our several Counties of England and Wales, Commanding thereby all Our said Subjects in every City, Town, and Village, to provide such a Number of Ships, well furnish'd, as might serve for this Royal Purpose, and which might be done with the greatest equality that could be. In Performance whereof, though generally throughout all the Counties of this Our Realm, We have found in Our Subjects great Chearfulness and Alacrity, which We graciously interpret as a Testimony, as well of their dutiful affection to Us, and Our Service, as of the Respect they have to the Publick, which all becometh every good Subject: Nevertheless, finding that some few, haply, out of Ignorance, whist the Laws and Customs of this Realm are, or out of a desire to be eased in them Particulars, how general soever their Charge be, or ought to be, have not yet paid and contributed to their several Rates and Assessments that were set upon them. And forasmuch as in Our Princely Wisdom, divers Suits and Actions are duly entred to be commenced, and prosecuted in our several Courts at Westminster; We, desirous to avoid such inconveniences, and out of Our Princely Love and Affection to all Our People, being willing to prevent such Errors as any of Our Loving Subjects may happen to run into, have thought fit, in a case of this nature, to advise with You, Our Judges, who, we doubt not, are well studied and informed in the Rights of Our Sovereignty, and because the Trials in Our several Courts, by the Formalities in Pleading, will require a long time thereto, We have thought fit, by this Letter directed to You all, to require your Judgments in the Case, as it is set down in the inclosed Paper, which will not only gain time, but also be of more authority to over-rule any prejudicate Opinions of others in the Point. Witness our Self at Our Court at Whitehall the 24. of February, in the 12th. Year of Our Reign, 1636.

CHARLES Rex.

The State of the case propounded.

WHilst the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concern'd, and the whole Kingdom in Danger, Whether may not the King, by Writ, under the Great Seal of England, Command all the Subjects in his Kingdom at their Charge, to provide and furnish such number of Ships with Men, Victuals, and Munition, and for such time as he shall think fit for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom from such Danger and Peril? and by Law compel the doing thereof in case of Refusal or Refractoriness? And whether in such Case, is not the King the sole Judge, both of the Danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?

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The Judges Opinions are here in.

To which the Judges delivered their Opinions as followeth.

MAy it please Your Most Excellent Majesty, We Your Majesty's, according to Your Command, severally, and accordingly have met, and all of us together, taken into serious Consideration, the Case, and Questions signified by Your Majesty, and inclosed in your Letter: And we are of Opinion, That when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in Danger, Your Majesty may, by Writ under your Great Seal of England, Command all the Subjects of this your Kingdom, at their Charge to Provide and Furnish such number of Ships with Men, Victuals, Munition, and for such time as Your Majesty shall think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom from such Peril and Danger: And that by Law Your Majesty may Compel the doing thereof in case of Refusal or Refractoriness. And we are also of Opinion, That in such Case Your Majesty is the sole Judge both of the Danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

John Bramston.	George Crook.
John Finch.	Thomas Trevor.
Humphrey Davenport.	George Vernon.
John Denham.	Robert Berkley.
Richard Hutton.	Francis Crawley.
William Jones.	Richard Weston.

These Opinions being subscribed by all the Judges, were enrolled in all the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*, and the King thought he had now warrant sufficient to proceed against the Defaulters, the chiefest whereof was one Mr. *Hamden*, a Gentleman of *Buckinghamshire*, who being summon'd by process, appeared and required Oyer of the Ship-Writs; which being read, he demurr'd in Law thereunto, and demanded the Opinion of all the Judges upon the legal Sufficiency thereof. This great Case came to be argued in the *Exchequer* Chamber, and the major part of the Judges delivered their Opinions in favour of the Writs, and accordingly the Barons gave Judgment against Mr. *Hamden*; yet did not the Question altogether so repose: for Mr. *Hamden* observing that two of the Judges, viz. *Crook* and *Hutton*, were of a contrary sentence, held up the Contest still, though all in vain, all his inquietude not gaining him the least Acquittal, until an higher Power interposed.

The Earl of *Arundel* sent Ambassador to *Ferdinand* the Third, about the Restitution of the Prince Palatine.

There was an Imperial Diet held this Year, for the electing of a King of the *Romans*; and the King sent thither the Earl of *Arundel*, his Ambassador, to treat with the Emperor and the Princes, for the Restitution of the Dominions to the *Palsgrave*. But that Earl sadly could effect nothing; for the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had in his Possession the *Upper Palatinate*, and the electoral Dignity, would by no means hear of any Propositions to part with either. But the *Lower Palatinate* he might have had upon fair Terms which the Emperor propos'd: but our Ambassador was not instructed to accept of any thing in diminution

1637. diminution of the Elector's Right: so that the Palesgrave had no fruit of this Embassy, yet were his hopes a little rais'd by an overture of marriage made at this time betwixt the King of *Poland*, and one of his Sisters, which was almost effected by the legation of Prince *Radzevil* here in *England*. But the Emperour privately obstructed it, and by the insinuation of the *Jesuits*, so instigated the Clergy of *Poland* against it, because of her Religion, that the Treaty was broken off, and the King afterwards married the Lady *Cecilia*, second Sister to the Emperour.

Dr. *Bastwick*, Mr. *Pryn*, and Mr. *Burton* censured.

On the 14th. of *January*, Mr. *William Pryn*, an Utter Barrister of *Lincolns-Inn*, Dr. *John Bastwick*, Doctor of Physick, and *Henry Burton*, a Minister, were censured in the *Star-Chamber*: The offence of *Pryn* was for writing and dispersing Libels against the established Discipline of the Church of *England*: That of *Bastwick* for inveying against the proceeding of the High Commission against him, before which he had been accused for writing a Book, called *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*, and committed to the *Gatehouse*, in which time besides his arraigning the High Commission Court, he published a *Latine* Apology (called by the Court a Libel) *ad Præsules Anglicanos*, and a Letany very virulent against them. That of Mr. *Burton* was, for publishing a Sermon, which he preached on the Fifth of *November* before, wherein the Prelates were charged for introducing several Innovations into Divine Worship, which was deemed a Libel: For these Offences, the Judgment of the Court was, *That they should lose their Ears in the* Palace-yard *at* Westminster; *be each of them fined five thousand pounds to the King, and imprisoned during life, in three remote places. Finch* the Chief-Justice, moved the Court, that it might be added to Mr. *Pryn*'s Censure, to be branded in each cheek with *S. L.* for a slanderous Libeller, which was consented to; for they were the more severe against him, because he had been an Offender before in the like kind, having been three years before censured to lose his Ears on the Pillory, for writing a Book, called *Histrio-Mastix*, or the *Whip of Stage-Players*; wherein some indecent Reflections were taken to be on the Queen her self, as too much delighted in Masques.

The Prince Elector, and his Brother Prince *Rupert*, went to *Holland* about this time, in order to a design which was put in practice the next year, to attempt something with an Army in the *Palatinate*: The Assistance and Credit of the King's Purse, did so prevail under-hand with the Prince of *Orange* and the *States* of the *United Provinces*, that a small beginning of an Army was raised, with which they advanced into *Westphalia*, and besieged *Lemmingen*: But *Hatsfield* one of the Emperour's Generals came so soon upon them, that they effected nothing, but were forced to fight to great disadvantage, having had 2000 men slain, and most of the rest dispersed, and many Prisoners taken, amongst which were Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Craven*, the Prince Elector himself escaped by flight, and retired to the *Hague*.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* fined and imprisoned for certain Misdemeanors.

Williams, Bishop of *Lincoln*, was on the 11 of *July*, censured in the Star-Chamber, for tampering to suborn Witnesses, to be fined 10000 *l.* to the King, and imprisoned during the King's pleasure, being referred to the High Commission for a further censure: The occasion whereof we shall briefly relate. 1637.

This Bishop, after the Great Seal some ten years since had been taken from him, retired to *Buglden* in *Huntingtonshire*, wherein he lived very hospitably, and had great concourse; amongst others Sir *John Lamb*, Doctor *Sybthorp*, with *Allen* and *Burden*, two Proctors, came to visit him, and being at Dinner with him, there was much discourse about *Nonconformists*, and the Bishop knowing these to be busie men in the prosecution of such, advised them to take off their heavy hand from them, informing them, that the King intended to use them hereafter with more mildness, as a considerable Party, having great influence on the Parliament, without whose concurrence he could not supply his necessities; adding, that he had communicated this unto him by his own mouth.

A few years after, *Lamb*, upon some difference with the Bishop, informed against him for revealing the Kings Secrets, whereupon an Information was put in against him in the Star-Chamber: To which he put in an especial Answer, declaring how all was contrived by a conspiracy, and combination of *Lamb*, *Sybthorp*, *Allen*, and *Burden*, out of an intent to advance themselves, and hatred to him, for not permitting them to Pole and Pill the King's Subjects in *Leicestershire* in their Ecclesiastical Courts, by haling them into Nets, *Ex officio mero*, without any previous Complaint, under an imaginary colour of Puritanism. To this answer the King's Attorney rejoyned in Issue, admitting the Bishop to prove his special matters, who proceeded to the examination of his Witnesses therein: but after a while, the Attorney being somewhat remiss in the prosecution; one *Richard Kilvert* was entertained to be the Bishops Prosecutor, who had found out, that one *John Prigion*, a Register of *Lincoln* and *Leicester*, was a most material Witness in the Bishop's defence: and the credit of his Testimony he designed to invalidate, by charging him with getting a Bastard, on one *Eliz. Hodson*: The Bishop thought it behoved him to support the Reputation of *Prigion*, and engaged himself more zealously therein, than was conceived consistent with the gravity of so great a Prelate, to such as knew not that he and one Doctor *Morrison* were the only persons of note present at his Table, where the discourse abovementioned passed between him and Sir *John Lamb*. This Bastard was by the Sessions at *Lincoln* ordered to be kept by *Prigion*, as the reputed Father thereof, but at a Sessions following, that Order was reversed, and the Child fathered upon one *Borne*, and *Prigion* acquitted; in the doing whereof, it is said *Powel* and *Owen*, two Agents of the Bishop, did menace and tamper with the Witnesses: But at a third Session, *Prigion* was again charged and *Borne* freed: yet this last Order, being upon a *Certiorari* brought to the Kings-Bench, was there quashed as insufficient, and *Prigion* was after cleared from the Child: *Kilvert* nevertheless in the traverse of this Affair, let fall the first Information in the Star-Chamber, and proceeded upon that, whereon the Sentence before-named was grounded, *viz.*

1637. for Subornation, and therein he succeeded: This dealing with the Bishop was very rigorous, and the rigour of it imputed to *Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who thought him one that too much opposed his Intentions, in reducing the Clergy to an exact and strict Conformity to the Orders of the Church, in point of Ceremony, and therefore unfit to have any Government in it, for after that part of his sentence came to be executed, which was referred to the High Commission, he was by that suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, and all his Preferments in the Church sequestred to the use of the King: And the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as Archbishop of the Province, exercised all kind of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction throughout the Dioces of *Lincoln*, not only as Ordinary of that Dioces, but as Visitor of all those Colleges, which had any dependances on that See.

New broils and commotions in *Scotland* about reading the Common-Prayer.

On the 23d. day of *July*, being the day before this last part of the sentence against the Bishop of *Lincoln* was executed, there was a very great commotion in *Edenburgh*, about reading a Book of Common-Prayer, some time before sent thither, and because it was an action that drew after it great misery and confusion to the King and all his Kingdom, we shall be a little more particular in the Narration of it, and the consequences thereof, than is suitable to the brevity herein used in other Transactions of lesser moment.

In the year 1616. as has been related, King *James* obtained an Act of the general Assembly at *Aberdeen*, for the compiling a Liturgy or Common-Prayer, which was to be first presented to the King, and after his approbation, universally received throughout the Kingdom; this Book in pursuance thereof was framed, and sent up to the King, who himself perused, and considerably revised it, and referred it also to the consideration of others, in whom he reposed much trust, and after all his own and their observations, additions, expunctions, mutations and accommodations, he returned it to *Scotland*, to be commended to that Church, but before a period and consummation was put to that Business, the King died. This pious Intention of King *James* for an Unity and Uniformity in the publick Prayer, Liturgy, and Service of the Church of *Scotland*, was so far intended by the King, that shortly after his return from that Kingdom, he did not only enjoyn a stricter celebration of the *English* Liturgy in his own Chapel at *Edenburgh*, than had been formerly, but frequently consulted how to have it universally used through the whole Kingdom; but the *Scots* Bishops, being jealous that this might be an Argument of their dependance on the Church of *England*, rather desired that the Liturgy framed in *Scotland*, in King *James* his time, might be received, wherein the new Translation authorized by that King in the *Psalms*, *Epistles*, *Gospels*, *Hymns*, and *Sentences*, instead of the old Translation was received; and (except on *All-Saints-day*, when *Wisdom* the third, and *Ecclesiasticus* the fourteenth are appointed to be read, for morning and evening Prayer) no *Apocrypha* Chapters were directed to be read therein: though above 60 Chapters are read in the *English* Liturgy, for the first Lessons from the 28. of *September* to the 24. of *Nov.*

To this Proposition the King agreed, and the Book sent by K. *James* formerly into *Scotland*, was remitted to *England*, and after many serious consultations and some alterations, made by advice of divers of the Bishops, and Clergy of *Scotland*, then here it was perfected, Printed and Published, and sent into *Scotland*: The Bishops and Noblemen of the King's Council, then present at *Edenburgh*, resolved, That the Book should be first read in the great Church, on the before-mentioned 23. of *July*; and on the Sunday before, notice thereof was publickly given in the Church: There were present both the Archbishops, many of the Privy-Council, and others of the best Quality in *Edenburgh*, besides a great concourse of ordinary People: Amongst this multitude there appeared no sign of trouble, but no sooner was the book opened by the Dean of *Edenburgh*, but a number of the meaner sort with clapping their hands and outcries, made a great uproar, and one of them, called *Jane* or *Janet Geddis*, (yet living at the writing of this Relation) flung a little folding-stool, whereon she sate, at the *Dean*'s head, saying, *Out thou false Thief, dost thou say the Mass at my Lug?* which was followed with so great noise and confusion, that not any one could either hear or be heard; whereupon the Bishop of *Edenburgh* stept into the Pulpit, and hoping to appease them by putting them in mind, that the place, in which they were, was holy ground, and by intreating them to desist from the profanation of it, they were the more enraged, throwing at him cudgels, stools, and what else was in the way, even to the endangering of his life. Upon this, the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, Lord Chancellor, called down the Provost and Bailiffs of the City from their Seats to their assistance, who (not without some difficulty) put the unruly people out of the Church, and made fast the doors: This done, the *Dean* proceeded in reading the Book, the multitude in the mean while rapping and pelting the windows with stones, to disturb the exercise, but notwithstanding all their clamour, the Service was ended, but not the peoples rage, who waiting the Bishop's retiring to his Lodging, so assaulted him as (had he not been rescued by a strong hand) he had probably perished by their violence.

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The same morning the Service Book was read in the next Church to S. *Gyles*, though not without noise and tumult, yet not so great as in the other: In the *Grey-Friars* Church Mr. *Ramsey* refused to read it, and was afterward suspended for the same; but the Elect Bishop of *Argyle*, his Colleague, began to read it, but was so menaced, cursed and exclaimed against, that he was forced to give over. In the *College* Church *Rollock*, one of the Preachers, who the Sunday before at the Intimation of the reading had much commended the Book, and undertaken this day to read it, upon notice, how it was received in the Church of S. *Gyles*, broke the Promise he made to read it, thinking it the safer course to leave himself to the Censure of all men for his levity, than offend the multitude, whose favour he sought; but he was suspended also.

The morning thus past, the Council assembled at the Lord Chancellor's Lodging, and sent for

1637. for the Provoſt and Bayliffs, to adviſe with them how to prevent the like tumults in the afternoon, which they promiſed to endeavour, and it was ſo effected. Another Book was read in the Church of S. Giles, and further Order then that afternoon, without any ſuch diſturbance as had in the morning: only the Biſhop of *Edenburgh* in his return to his Lodging was rudely treated by the People, both by Execrations and other ways.

All this time the Magiſtrates and Council of the City ſeemed to diſlike theſe tumultuous proceedings, that when their Miniſters gravely ſet themſelves from reading the Book, until ſecurity were given for the ſafeguard of their perſons, they drew up an Act, bearing for indemnity of their ſelves, and for ſufficient maintenance; and while they ſeemed to expreſs their zeal herein, they ſent circular Letters to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* into *England*, in which they deſired him, *To recommend to the King their Adding to his Service, and to undertake for them, that the moſt commendable part, for ſuſtaining the practick practice of the Service-Book*: This Undertaking of the Magiſtrates of *Edenburgh*, made the King remit ſomething of his intended rigour againſt the Offenders in this firſt uproar, hoping by that his Clemency to oblige them the more in their duty towards him: and now the Councel were in conſultation for appointing a new day, for renewing the exerciſe of the Service-Book, to which the Biſhops, Miniſters, and Magiſtrates agreed: But before the day came, the Magiſtrates and People were ſo practiſed on by the Incendiaries (*Hamilton*, *Leſly*, and *Rankin*, and one *Dickſon* a diſcarded Reader, that they began to ſtart from their former Promiſes, and preſented to the Councel a Petition, requeſting that the Service-Book might be laid upon them, until the King's Pleaſure ſhould be further known, which Petition they aſſented to, they were neceſſitated to ſubſcribe by the Example and Importunity of all ranks, from all parts of the Kingdom: And the Miniſters alſo petitioned, that the Orders, whereby they were enjoined to receive the Book, might be ſuſpended. There was nothing elſe of publick note done from *January* (which is the day on which the long Vacation uſually begins) till the firſt of *October*, for the time of Harveſt drew all ſorts of People (*Save the Citizens*) into the Country. But ſo ſoon as Harveſt was done, the Delegates of the following Diſorders had ſo ſtrengthened, That the conflux of Nobility, Gentry, Miniſters and Burgeſſes from all parts, came to be very numerous at *Edenburgh*, in expectation of ſome great matters of Religion to be treated of in Councel. At their firſt appointed day of meeting, and they were to conſult upon their Behaviour, that a preſent ſurrection was feared, which forced the Councel on the 19th of *October*, the firſt appointed day of Aſſembling, to make three Proclamations of the firſt importing, *That no perſon ſhould [illegible] Church Affairs, till the Biſhops and Miniſters [illegible] People ſhould [illegible] and Aſſemblies, and ſhould [illegible] all thoſe ſtirring [illegible] any ſuch matters, were appointed to [illegible] Days, under the pain of Rebellion.*

Three Proclamations for appeaſing the Tumults in *Edenburgh*.

The ſecond for removing the Subjects (which is with [illegible] the Term) from Edenburgh to Lithgow; and the third for calling in, and burning a ſeditious Book, entituled, A Diſpute againſt the *Engliſh Popiſh* Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirk of *Scotland*.

Theſe Proclamations rather fomented than extinguiſhed the flame then begun, for the next day the Biſhop of *Galloway* being to ſit with the Lords Juſtice upon ſome ſpecial Buſineſs in the Councel-Houſe, he was purſued with vehement railings all along the Street to the Councel-door, where he was no ſooner got but they ſurrounded the Houſe, and demanded the delivery of him to them; The Lord Treaſurer adverſified of the Biſhop's danger, came to his relief, but being got in he was in no better plight than the Biſhop, for the fury of the People ſtill encreaſed, whereupon the Provoſt and Councel of the City were called to ſuppreſs the Tumult, but their conſultation was the ſame as before, for they were ſo compaſſed by the People, and threatened with fear of their lives to ſign a Paper. *Firſt, That they ſhould adhere to their Proſecution of the Service-Book*: *Secondly*, [illegible] to *their ſaid* Rollock, *Ramſey* and *Henderſon*. Upon notice of this, the Treaſurer and the Earl of *Wigton* went in perſon to the Town Councel-houſe, where they had the like ſtorm to what abated, becauſe the Magiſtrates had ſigned the Paper, and they were going back in hopes, that the Diſorders would be ſo far quieted upon this Condeſcention, that they might ſet the Biſhop free, but no ſooner had they appeared in the Street, but they were aſſaulted, and the Treaſurer had his white Staff, and Cloak taken from him, and hardly got into the Councel-houſe: In the great hazard, Proclamations ſent to ſome of the Popular Nobility, and Gentry in the Town, diſaffected to the Service-Book, to come to their aid, who readily came, as was deſired, and they peaceably guarded the Lords to *Holy-rood-houſe*, and the Biſhop to his Lodgings.

Outrages committed by the Rabble upon the Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord Treaſurer, with others.

The Lords of the Councel after the Tumults were diſſolved, that very Afternoon, commanded Proclamation to be made at the Croſs at *Edenburgh*, for the repreſſing ſuch diſorders for the time to come; but to this little obedience was yielded, for whereas the firſt Tumult had been raiſed by the Faith and Beleif of the people, and was decried by all the better ſort; this ſecond Was the fact of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens (except the Magiſtrates) who were now grown ſo inſolent, that they ſent Commiſſioners to the Councel-Table, to require, that their ſtanding Miniſter and Reader might be reſtored, and have aſſurance for the performance of what was promiſed here by the Magiſtrates at the laſt Inſurrection; and a while after, there were Preſented to the Lord Chancellour and Councel, two Petitions: The firſt in the name of the Men, Women, Children and Servants of *Edenburgh*, againſt the Service-Book; and the Second in the Name of the Lords, Noblemen, Gentry, Miniſters and Burgeſſes, againſt the Service-Book, and Book of Canons, as indicted contrary to Law (becauſe not allowed by a General Aſſembly) by the procurement of the Prelates, and therefore they declined their authority, and crave they may be Judy of them ſic in Councel being purſued

Another Proclamation for repreſſing diſorders in *Edenburgh*.

Two Petitions preſented to the Lord Chancellor and Councel in *Edenburgh*, againſt the Service-Book.

1638. till their Complaints be tried: This laſt Petition was by the Council ſent to the King, who was ſo much diſpleaſed therewith, that he delayed to give any Anſwer to it, but gave order to the Council, to ſignifie unto his good Subjects his averſeneſs from Popery, and deteſtation of Superſtition, the contrary whereof the heads of the commotions had abuſed them with. The Council alſo finding *Edenburgh* at this time a Seat of Sedition, and diſobedience to the King's Authority, cauſed the Seſſion to be adjourned from *Edenburgh* (which was ſomewhat too near to *Stirling*, which was 24 miles diſtant, that ſo the diſorderly multitude, there not together, might be diſperſed by the neceſſary attendance of ſuch as had any Law buſineſs there by the King's Command, the Lords of the Council publiſhed a Proclamation for diſperſing the great and dangerous multitude, yet together, and aſſuring the People of the King's ſincerity towards the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom; upon the publication whereof, both at *Stirling*, *Linlithgow* and *Edenburgh*, it was received, whilſt it was reading, with jeering, and after it was ended with a Proteſtation againſt it by many Earls, Lords, Miniſters, and Burgeſſes, and a conflux of all other ſorts of People: And in purſuance of this Violation of the King's Authority they began to inveſt themſelves with the Marks and Majeſty of Sovereignty, erecting in *Edenburgh* four principal Tables or Councils, one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Burgeſſes, and a fourth of the Miniſtry, out of which there was a general Table of ſeven Commiſſioners, choſen from the other four, who conſulted of what was propoſed to them by the other Tables, and what they did, was put in practice with ſtrict obedience over all the Kingdom.

Many of the Nobility, Miniſters and Burgeſſes proteſt againſt it.

Four Tables or Councils erected in *Edinburgh*.

The firſt Act of this General *Table*, was the Renewing of a Confeſſion of Faith ſubſcribed by King *James* and his Houſhold, in the Year 1580, taken after by all perſons 1591, by Ordinance of the Lords of his Privy-Council and Act of the General Aſſembly, and ſubſcribed again 1590, by a new Ordinance of Counſell at the deſire of the general Aſſembly, with a general Band for maintenance of the true Religion, and the King's Perſon: This Confeſſion was called the negative Confeſſion, wherein the Authority of the *Pope*, *Tranſubſtantiation*, *Images*, *Religious Oaths*, *Auricular Confeſſion*, *Prayer for the dead*, and all the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, as well in Doctrine as outward Rites, are enumerated at large, and particularly abjured, and a Claule is inſerted by which the Subſcribers did call God to witneſs that in their minds and hearts they did fully agree to the ſaid Confeſſion, and did not flatter and diſſemble in any ſort.

The Negative Confeſſion renewed without the Authority of the King.

The occaſion of the firſt taking thereof, we ſhall make a little digreſſion to relate, for the better underſtanding theſe proceedings.

The Earl of *Lenox* being near of kin to King *James*, always bred in *France*, in the Year 1580, came from thence to viſit him, and by his courteous and modeſt behaviour grew ſo much into his favour, that he would not ſuffer him return thither, but gave him many preferments in *Scotland*. This gave a great diſtaſte to ſome about the Court, and becauſe he favoured the *Roman* confeſſion, the Miniſters exclaimed much againſt him as ſent from *France* to pervert the King in his Religion. The King to ſtay their declaiming, called the Miniſters to *Edenburgh* together, and acquainted them that he had taken great pains to convert his Cozin, and had obtained his conſent to take a Miniſter into his Houſe, which would ſerve to debar Jeſuites and *Romiſh* Prieſts from him, and win him by conference to a great liking of the Truth; Mr. *David Lindſey* a Miniſter of *Leith* was held the fitteſt for this ſervice, as well for his skill in the *French* Tongue, as for his moderation otherwiſe; by whoſe Converſe, the Earl was quickly brought to ſome diſlike of the Church, and openly at a Communion confeſſed the errours wherein he had been educated. Yet did not this remove the Jeſuites from the People, which were licenſed by the indulgence of certain Diſpenſations ſent from *Rome*, whereby the *Roman* Catholicks were permitted to promiſe, ſwear, ſubſcribe, and do what elſe ſhould be required of them, ſo as in mind they continued firm, and did uſe their diligence to advance the *Roman* Faith.

1638.

Theſe Diſpenſations being communicated to the King, he cauſed his Chaplain, Mr. *John Craig*, to read the Confeſſion of Faith aforementioned, which he himſelf for example to others, did publickly ſwear to and ſubſcribe, and the like was done by the Earl and the whole Council and Court at that time, and it was afterward renewed at the times before expreſſed.

This Confeſſion was not the National Confeſſion of the Church of *Scotland*, for that was penned twenty years before, and containing the poſitive Grounds of Divinity, was ratified by Act of Parliament, in the Year 1567, and received in the body thereof, and confirmed by a number of ſucceeding Parliaments: but this Negative Confeſſion, with little more than the Mandate of King *James* in his Minority (being but 15 years of Age) on the occaſion before recited, to which he himſelf afterward profeſſed his diſlike at the Conference at *Hampton Court*, laying, Mr. *Cowel* the compiler cited, with his *Reſtorum*, and *Duretti*, that ſubtle to many purpoſes, that ſimple People were unable to conceive them, and ſo being amazed did either fall back to Popery, or remain ſtill in their Ignorance. If I (ſaid he) ſhould hold my ſelf to that form, the confeſſion of my Faith muſt be in my Table-Book, and not in my Head. But that which was the aggravation in the ſame page of this Confeſſion, by theſe Confederates, was not ſo much the doing it without the Authority of the King and Council, but adding (Band or Covenant) to it far differing from the Band in the Year 1590, wherein they make an interpretation of the Confeſſion, contrary to the plain and true meaning of it, and declare, changing on of their intended Reformation. The firſt Band was for maintenance of the King's Perſon and Authority with their lives and fortunes in defence of the Goſpel of Chriſt, and Liberties of the Kingdom; but in this Covenant they ſwear to the mutual defence and aſſiſtance of another, with their beſt counſel, bodies, means and whole power, againſt all Perſons whatſoever, excepted the King who not excepted,

This

1638. This Confession and Covenant was first taken by the Tables, and afterwards imposed on all sorts of People, with great violence and menaces were used in many places, with beating, tearing of Cloaths, drawing Blood, and exposing to the utmost all Injuries and Reproaches, at *Edenburgh*, S. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, *Glasgow*, *Lanerick*, and many places more: all those Professours in Colleges, and Ministers, who out of Conscience towards God, and Loyalty to the King, and either dissuade others, or could not by their entreaties or threatnings be perswaded to it themselves. The Laws were positive against this manner of Leaguing, it being expresly declared in two Acts of Parliament, 1584. *Jac.* 6. Act. 12. and *Parliamento nono Reg. Mariæ*, Act. 75. That all Leagues of Subjects amongst themselves without the Privity and Approbation of the King, to be Sedition, and the Authors and Abetters of them to be punished as guilty of Sedition: but so great was the transportation of Zeal in the People, inflamed by the insinuation of the Chiefs of the Confederates, that the Law could take no place. All Professours in Colleges, and Ministers that refused to subscribe their Covenant, were removed, for many good Men that misliked the tumultuary way of offering it, were also scandalized at the interpretation by the Tables put upon it, for they declared, That this Confession was to be interpreted and ought to be understood of all the pretended Novations, no lesser than if every one of them had been expressed in the said Confession: by which, the five Articles of *Perth* before spoken of, passed in the Year 1618. concerning kneeling at the Sacrament, private Communion to the Sick, private Baptism, Confirmation of Children, and Observation of Festivals, as also the Service Book, the Book of Canons, the High Commission, things which Mr. *Craig* never heard of (nor perhaps imagined) are sworn against, so that they made the living swear what was the mind of the dead, for in that Confession, those Romish Corruptions were only abjured, which in that time had infected the Church; these Zealots nevertheless, when some eminent Ministers (who at their admission had sworn obedience to and practice of these Points) when they disputed this Interpretation, and offered some qualification to it, they assured them they might swear, with a reservation of not abjuring Episcopacy, the Articles of *Perth*, or any thing by Parliament or General Assembly established; urging, that it would breed great Division, if any alteration of the Words wherein the Covenant was conceived, should be admitted.

Violence used to those that refused this Covenant.

Professors of Colleges and Ministers removed upon the same account.

The King being much displeased with these Indignities upon his Royal Authority, and their refusal of that Satisfaction which he offered to redress their Complaints, intended to do that by Power, which Perswasion could not effect; but the Marquis of *Hamilton* then very prevalent with him, diverted that course, offering his service to compose the Differences. The King being in his nature always prone to lenity, was quickly induced to condescend to this Motion, and sent him down in the Quality of his Commissioner, authorizing him with large powers to settle the Peace of that Kingdom. The Marquis at his first arrival finding the City of *Edenburgh* filled with extraordinary numbers of People from several parts of the Kingdom, because of the sitting of the Tables; went to a place called *Dalkeith*, about 7 Miles from thence, where he assembled the Council to consider of the best Ways and Means of serving the King in the prosecution of the Trust committed to him: but whilst he was in these Consultations, the Magistrates of *Edenburgh* presented an humble Application to him, to repair to the King's Palace at *Edenburgh*, where (as they pretended) they might more conveniently give demonstration of their Affection to the King's Service. The Marquis considering what great influence the City had over all the rest of the Cities and Burghs of Scotland, was willing to gratifie them in their request, and went thither. That if they would undertake that their Citizens should behave themselves as dutiful Subjects, and take Order that the Multitudes now present there (who call themselves Covenanters) and the Guards which the Tables had lately set about the Castle of *Edenburgh* should be dismissed, he would repair to the City; otherwise not: The Magistrates undertook to perform all that the Marquis proposed; adding, that they feared some Aspersions might be laid upon them, of disloyalty to the King, from which they doubted not to clear themselves when he should please to hear and examine their Proceedings: The Marquis upon this their undertaking, went the next day to *Edenburgh*, to the King's Palace at *Holy-rood-House*, where after he was a little eased, he fell presently upon the main business with the Confederates, to whom he made two Propositions.

1638.

His two Propositions.

First, *What they expected from him for satisfaction to their Complaints; whereunto they answered, That they desired from them no retracting, to their former Confessions, especially to renouncing and disclaiming their late Covenant.* To which after some time they made answer, *That they desired a General Assembly of the Church, and then a Parliament, in which two Judicatories they would represent and discuss their Grievances: To this second, they said, They could not acknowledge that they had ever parted from their obedience; and to the first Condition, they should rather renounce their Religion, than abjure one Word or Syllable thereof.* And presently after they had given their answers, they possessed the People with many mis-reports, and the Sermons of the Preachers of *Edenburgh* were filled with Admonitions, that they should take heed of crafty Compositions, or yielding in the least point of their intended Reformation.

The Marquis found much troubled at these Actions, and thought the best expedient he could use to reclaim the People, was to publish a Proclamation, which he had brought with him from the King, of his Grace and Favour towards them, for removing such Grievances, and satisfying them with his Readiness for the maintenance of the true Religion, and his Averseness from Popery; but before he did this, by Advice of the Privy-Council he writ a Letter to the King, to desire him to sweeten it with a Favour of restoring to the City of *Edenburgh* the sitting of the Session, and all Courts of Justice, as a thing very acceptable to the Judges, Advocates, and all Dependants upon the Law, and to all others which had Business depending in the Courts, but chiefly to the City of *Edenburgh*, which complained much of being impo-

The Marquis obtains of the King for the restoring of the sitting of the Session, and all Courts of Justice.

The Marquis writes into Scotland to compose the differences.

1638. impoverish'd by their absence. To this the King returned a very Gracious answer, intimating that the Courts of Session should presently be again to sit at *Edinburgh*, and to Sessions thereof. Proclamation was made for the first sitting down of the Session on the third day of *July*, which was receiv'd with great joy by the Judges, Advocates, and the Gentry and Citizens of *Edinburgh*, so that the Marquis and the Council did then believe the former winds began to be prepared to [illegible] Proclamation of the King's Gracious Pardon was to be published in the next [illegible] upon the news of this gone to the Confederates pretending not to know the [illegible] of it, were resolved as to tell the Marquis would give no satisfaction to the People, [illegible] they [illegible] would make protestation against [illegible] in this, they perceiving the intelligence brought back of the Courts of Justice to *Edinburgh* wrought very much upon many of their Party, to a good settlement of the King's Affairs towards them, cast about how to compass their own Ends, in order whereunto they had sent their number to the Marquis, to desire that Sir *Robert Spotswood*, President of the Session, and Sir *John Hay*, Clerk Register or Master of the Rolls, might be restored from their Banishment, they would peace submit and compound all that was past, which the Marquis refused to grant, otherwise, for whereof, they should be subjected to Treason, and thought it not fit they should be pardoned for any Crime before they were legally convicted of it: but that they had [illegible] and they expect to be [illegible] for a reparation, but they thought [illegible] would give them occasion to [illegible] the People as a fault of the King's Favour [illegible] for they [illegible] upon the [illegible] Party. That the Judges were [illegible] to Episcopal Government, and Prelacy, and Abettors of the late [illegible] that they spoke publick [illegible] whatsoever Act, Decree, Order [illegible] Party of these Judges [illegible] and void in Law, [illegible] ning talk, they never proceeded in any process against them [illegible] vestigation [illegible] they were often told by the [illegible] Party good [illegible] prove them [illegible] found guilty, [illegible] but receive [illegible] vided for [illegible] perceiving them [illegible] ceed [illegible] which they [illegible] had been guilty of [illegible] them: And now the [illegible] Marquis caused the King's [illegible] pronounced at the [illegible] the King took [illegible] lastly, [illegible] Service Book, [illegible] millian, many [illegible] Religion and Laws, [illegible] good Subjects, [illegible] the true Protestant Religion, [illegible] the practice of the Colledge and Synod [illegible] thing of that nature, but in [illegible] legal way

A Proclamation made for the first sitting.

The Kings Proclamation pronounced at the Cross at *Edinburgh*.

1638.

The Proclamation arraign'd in a Protestation of the Confederates.

The Marquis comes to the King at *Greenwich*, and acquaints him with the affairs. He is sent back with new Instructions, and an order to call a General Assembly, and a Parliament.

[illegible] Lords of the Council to confer with some

1638. some of the chief of the Confederates of all Orders concerning some necessary Propositions fit to be resolved on before the calling of the Assembly, both concerning the members of which it was to be constituted, and concerning the matters to be treated of; (two consultations usually previous to that meeting: for the omission whereof, in an Assembly of later times, they had so grievously complained, that in a Petition exhibited by the Ministers of their side, it was alledged for a Nullity of that Assembly) but this was rejected as a limitation of the Assembly: The Marquis then told them, he could not call the Assembly till he had once again attended the King: Upon this they caused Rumors to be spread, that the Marquis neither had power from the King, nor any intention from himself to give them satisfaction: Wherefore the Marquis, to disabuse the people in this matter, reduced what he at first propounded, to two heads, which he tendered to them in these words:

The Marquis's Proposals in order to an Assembly and Parliament.

1. If the Lords and the rest will undertake for themselves and the rest, that no Laicks shall have Voices in chusing the Ministers to be sent from the several Presbyteries to the General Assembly, nor none else but the Ministers of the same Presbytery.

2. If they will undertake that at the Assembly, they shall not go about to determine of things established by Act of Parliament, otherwise than by Remonstrance or Petition to the Parliament, leaving the determining of things Ecclesiastical to the General Assembly, and things settled by Act of Parliament, to the Parliament.

Then I will presently Indict a General Assembly, and promise upon My Honour, immediately after the Assembly to Indict a Parliament which shall Cognosce of all their Complaints.

They dislike the proposals, and invest themselves with a power of convoking an Assembly.

This would not be condescended unto, but they told the Marquis, if he did not return from the King by the 21*th.* of *September*, to Indict a General Assembly by the King's Authority, they would themselves call one: for they had about this time published a Book, wherein amongst other things it was asserted, That the power of Convoking an Assembly, in case the Prince was an enemy of the Truth, or negligent in advancing the good of the Church, was in the Church it self.

The Marquis hastened with all diligence to the King, and informed him of all Occurences that passed, which occasioned many Debates of the way to be used to bring that Kingdom to peace and quietness.

The *Scots* about the King advised, that he should not have any recourse to Arms, but in an unavoidable extremity; the Lords of the Privy Council in *Scotland* were many of them in private League with the Confederates, so that nothing could be relyed on from them: And therefore that which was thought the best expedient, was to take an exact view of all the Petitions, Remonstrances and Protestations of the Confederates which they had since the beginning of the troubles exhibited either to the King, or the Marquis, or Privy-Council, and to grant them all: And besides all these, because the heads of the Confederates had made it a principal motive to alienate the minds of the people from the King, that he was inclined to Popery, and had an aversion to the Reformed Religion; It was adjudged and consented to by the King, to command and urge the renewing of that Confession and Covenant by his authority, which they had taken without it, by which Legitimation, to save the people who were to swear it, from incurring the danger of those Laws, which made it very criminal to enter into any Covenant without his Authority: And instead of that unjust band of Confederacy which they added to the confession to bind themselves to mutual maintenance and defence against all persons whatsoever, the King caused the General Band for maintenance of the true Religion and the King's person, so be added in the same words as it was expressed, and taken in the year 1590. by an Ordinance of the Privy-Council at the desire of the General Assembly. 1638.

With these Concessions all drawn up in a Proclamation, the Marquis returned into *Scotland* within eight days after his first coming to *Ostrland* to the King, and arrived there before the time limited for his return: The Confederates had made many Resolutions in his absence, and though they promised no election of Commissioners for the Assembly should be made before 21. of *September*, the day agreed upon for his return, they gave order that the Election should be made the two and twentieth, being the next day after, according to which Order, Commissioners for the Assembly were elected in many Presbyteries, before the King's Answer could be known, or before the Assembly was indicted, which was not till some days after these Elections; and although they would admit of no conference with the Marquis, for debating of what Members the Assembly was to be constituted, and the manner thereof, which they said, would be a pre-limitation of it, they sent out to every Presbytery several Articles, wherein many Qualifications were made, limiting both the matter and manner thereof, with a form of Commission to be given to the Commissioners from every Presbytery, requiring that the persons elected should repair to *Edenburgh* after their Election, to consult before-hand of what was to be said or done at the Assembly.

Notwithstanding all these disorders, the Marquis assembled the Council at *Holy-Rood-house*, and communicated to them the particulars of the King's grace and favour for the appeasing of the Troubles of the Kingdom, which they received with excessive Joy, believing that malice it self could not invent a pretence of keeping the people from being fully satisfied: The news of this made the heads of the Confederates bestir themselves, fearing their reign was towards an end, and some of them came to the Marquis sitting in Council, and moved him to delay the publishing of the Proclamation till the *Monday* following, for the next day being *Sunday*, they intended their Ministers should in their Pulpits cast such aspersions on it as might not easily be removed; but the Marquis would not be prevailed with, and the Proclamation was that day published at the Market-Cross; which was to this effect, *That the King did annul and rescind all Acts and Proclamations that had been made concerning the Service-Book, Book of Canons and High Commission, and the practise of them: he also dispensed with the*

The Kings Proclamation published at the Cross, where he authorizeth their confession and band annexed.

1638. *the practice of the five Articles of* Perth; *and it was declared, that all persons Ecclesiastical or Civil, of what quality, title or degree soever, should be liable to the Tryal and Censure of Parliament, General Assembly, or any other Judicatories competent, and that no other Oath should be administred to any Ministers, at their Entry into the Ministry, but that which is contained in the Act of Parliament: Otherwise in manifestation of the King's integrity to Religion, all persons should be enjoyned by his authority, to subscribe the Confession of Faith, with the Band annexed; and that no doubt may be left in the minds of the people of the King's Intentions, it is declared, that the Marquis, the King's Commissioner, has a Warrant to summon a Free General Assembly, to be holden at* Glascow, *the 21st. of* November, *and a Parliament at* Edenburgh, *the 15th. of* May.

The Lords of the Council approve the King's Proclamation and subscribe and swear to the confession and Band authorised by the King.

All the Lords of the Council did seem very well to approve of this Proclamation, highly extolling the Goodness and Piety of the King, for having offered so just a means for the conservation of the purity of Religion, and the peace of the Kingdom; and in a letter, which they sent to him upon this Subject, they offered to defend his Person and Royal Authority, in the profession of that confession, now by him authorised, which they all solemnly subscribed after the Marquis, who represented the King's person, and appointed Commissioners for all Countreys and Places, to have it sworn to, and subscribed by all the people, throughout the Realm. Many of the more moderate, both Magistrates, Ministers, and others in several Towns and Places, that had taken the Covenant injoyned by the Confederates, were very well satisfied, with the expressions of the King's condescentions mentioned in the Proclamation, and did swear and subscribe to the Confession and Band, by the King directed, which began now to be called the King's Covenant: But the Lords, Ministers and others of the Tables, and their Confederates did not acquiesce therein, alledging that this Proclamation did in many parts of it tacitely condemn the precedent Actions, and restrain the Liberty of the Intended General Assembly; and to shew their dislike, they framed a long Protestation against it, a Copy whereof they tendred to the King's Herald, at the same time the Proclamation was proclaimed, which was to this effect.

A protestation of the Confederates against the Kings proclamation.

That what the King granted in this Proclamation, did not free them from their just fears and apprehensions, and was not sufficient to cure the wounds of the Church and State; That the King ascribed the last Troubles to their fear of the innovations of Religion and Law, and not to the Innovation themselves, as if the cause were rather in apprehension, than in reality and substance. That the King having extolled the present Government of the Church, according to the late innovated forms of service therein, they could not be secured with a bare suspension of their Usage; if they were not formerly taken away. That the General Assembly would be deprived of its just liberty, both in the Election of its Members, and the matters to be therein discussed, because the King appointed Bishops in the Indiction of the Assembly, to be there present, though they ought not so to be, unless deputed by the Presbyteries.

That the King declared, his intentions not to innovate any thing in Religion, whereas it depends on the general Assembly, to abolish all such Ecclesiastick Constitutions, which appear to them to be hurtful to the Church. 1638.

That seeing all Persons Ecclesiastical and Civil, are liable to the Tryal and Censure, as in the Proclamation mentioned and expressed, They protested that the Archbishops and Bishops be not present, as having voice at the Assembly, but as persons guilty to appear, to undergo censure, for the Complaints made, and to be made against them, and that the warning by this Protestation, and the King's Proclamation should be a sufficient Citation for their Tryal in Life, Office, and Benefice.

That they cannot subscribe this Confession, and Band by the King appointed: because it will tend to a division of them, in regard that they had already sworn, not directly or indirectly to suffer themselves to be divided from this conjunction, which consisted not in the general confession (which they agree to be the same) but also in the explanation and application thereof; and moreover by this new subscription they should both condemn their former subscription, and preclude the like laudable course in the like necessity to be taken by posterity.

That if they should swear the Confession, they should be obliged to maintain the Articles of Perth *and Episcopacy, for an Oath is to be taken according to the intention of the person that commends it; and this being now appointed by the King's Mandate of the 9th. of* Septemb. *last, It is plain, that the King's mind and intention is, That this Confession be sworn for the maintenance of Religion, as it is now professed, including the Innovations, and Episcopacy, which under that name were ratified by the Kings first Parliament: And if it be objected that the Marquis and the Council do by their Act urge the Confession as it was professed in the year 1580. It is answered, that no such Act is yet published by Proclamation: By approving the Proclamation concerning the Ministers Oath according to Act of Parliament, (which is to swear simple obedience to the Diocesan Bishop) we should, say they, seem to determine that the* Confession of Faith *in* 1580. *doth consist with Episcopacy, whereas that Question is referred, as other of the like kind, to the Assembly.* And they conclude, with an Appeal from the Lords of the Council to the next general Assembly, exhorting all to subscribe the Confession and Covenant, as by them explained and applied, and hold back their hands from all other Covenants, till the Assembly be convened, and determine the present divisions and differences.

The Marquis, and the Lords of the Council perceived by this protestation, that the confederates endeavoured all they could to blast the King's Intentions, and they wondred much at their Appeal from the Council to the Assembly, which was by Act of the eighth Parliament of King *James* made High-Treason: They saw also, by what the Confederates did, that little good was to be expected from the approaching Assembly (which was summoned to appear at the time expressed by the King's Proclamation) for they had used great Industry, that all that

should

1638. should be chosen thereunto, should be of the most rigid and most affectionate to their Covenant; and to exclude the Bishops from having any place there, they published, That they Perfons cited as Criminals before the Assembly, could have no Voice there; and to maintain that, they drew up a Libel against the Arch-Bishops and Bishops, which they exhibited on the 14th of October to the Presbytery of Edenburgh, who proceeded thereon, as if all the Bishops had been subject to their Authority; and after some short consideration of the Libel, which was full of Scandal and Reproaches on the Bishops, they ordered, that it should be referred to the next Assembly, and that the Libel and their Order of Reference should be read in all Churches, with a publick warning and citation to all persons to be present at the Assembly, to answer to the Complaints against them.

A Libel drawn up against the Arch-bishops and Bishops, by this means being made Criminal, are excluded from having any Place in their Assembly.

Many judged this proceeding to be contrary to all the Legal Forms of Justice, as done on no other design, but to render the Bishops odious to the People: For the Assembly when they came to consider of the matter, entered not into the examination of the particular Crimes, with which the Libel or Bill of Complaint was filled, but upon the abolishing of Episcopacy, &c. though it is evident, that if they had had Power, they would not have spared the Bishops, whom the Confederates had represented as obnoxious to the People.

The day of the Assembly being come, the Marquis for Commissioner was read, and thereupon [illegible] a Declinator was presented to the Commissioner in the name of the Archbishops and Bishops against the Assembly, alledging a Nullity in it, for that was not free, nor the Commissioner the only judge of the Members of it, and many other things, particularly against the legality thereof, because the Administration of the Sacraments, which belong to the Ministry, were not there heard of in that Church: But they found very much fewerity in the Assembly, and a resolution to proceed; for the Commissioner declared, that he could not admit of any Declinator, for that he was not clearly agreeable to the Covenant, which they would by no means have altered: And as to the Question, Whether the Assembly was free? they said, the Bishops themselves had declared it to be free, were it not for the Commissioner, and that they had a competent Judge of the Complaints against them; and it was agreed in the affirmative. The Marquis answered as well as he could, since the Chief of the Confederates, who so lately prosecuted against the Bishops in Council, as Parties to their Complaints, and made a Declinator of the Councils Authority, and pleaded in their Acts, made while they were sitting, could now oppose the like, though with more weight offered in this case; for most of the Members of the Assembly having taken the Oath of the Covenant, Confederation, and Association against the Bishops, and Episcopacy, (which being Antilogies to judicial Acts) had barred themselves from being Judges, either of the Persons or Calling of these Bishops: But the Marquis bore yet a deeper resentment of their Behaviour for another cause, for the King having nominated six Lords of the Privy Council, to be Assessors to him in his Commissioner in that Assembly, they absolutely refused to admit of them, or allow their suffrage, affirming, That were the King himself present, he should have but one Voice, and that no Negative in another.

The Declinator is read by the Clerk, was a Declaration, the same in every substantial Point with the Declaration, discharging the Service-Book, Book of Canons, &c. This Declaration being read, was signed by the Commissioner, and required to be entred into the Books of the Assembly; provided that this Act of Registration of this Declaration, should be no approbation of the Lawfulness of this Assembly, to the dissolution whereof he was next to proceed, and therefore protested, That whatsoever should be done or said in it, should not be Obligatory, or be reputed an Act of a General Assembly: The very night of the intended Dissolution of this Assembly, the Marquis assembled the Council to draw up a Proclamation for dissolving it, which being resolved upon, was subscribed by all but the Earl of Argyle, who began now to shew himself for the Confederates.

A Declinator of the Bishops against the Assembly.

Lay-elders admitted into their Assembly.

The Bishops Declinator rejected.

Six Lords of the Privy Council nominated by the King's Assessors to the Marquis, refused and denied their Suffrage.

The Marquis his Speech to the Assembly.

A Proclamation for the dissolution of the Assembly.

The Declaration being formed, and published on the 20th, was encountered with a Protestation of the Confederates, That it is [illegible] and they will adhere to all their former Protestations: Accordingly pursuing the Tenor of these Protestations, presently declaring the former General Assemblies (which they themselves would disown) to be null, and deprived all the Bishops, and some they excommunicated, and soon after abolished Episcopacy it self, as inconsistent with the Laws of their Church.

Encountred with a Protestation of the Confederates.

Episcopacy abolished by the Assembly.

The Marquis seeing all things tending to a present Rupture, sent to desire leave of the King to come into England, which he obtained; but before he went, he saw an end of the Assembly, which made many Acts not necessary here to be related, and by their own Authority appointed annual Assemblies, the first whereof was assigned to meet at Edenburgh, the first of July 1639.

Annual Assemblies ordained.

As soon as the Marquis was gone, the Confederates drew up a Declaration, Addressed to all good Christians of England, to justifie their Intentions and Actions, which had so many undutiful Reflections in it of the Government, that it was suppressed by the King's Authority, and he published a Declaration, to satisfie all his faithful

Their Declaration to justifie their actions suppressed by the King's Authority.

1638. Subjects of the seditious Practices of those in *Scotland*, who had, under Pretext of Religion, designed the subversion of his Royal Authority, which was commanded to be read in all Churches.

Mary de Medicis the Queen Mother comes into *England*.

On the last of *October* this Year, *Mary de Medicis*, the Widow of *Henry* the 4th. King of *France*, and Mother to the Queen, came into *England*, and was very honourably entertained: Whilst she stayed here, she was lodged at the King's Palace at St. *James's*, but she finding the King likely to be involved in Troubles, to reduce his Subjects of *Scotland* to Obedience, after some Months stay returned into *Holland*.

The *Scots* prepare for War, invite home their Commanders abroad, seize on divers Castles, and the King's Arms, and Ammunition.

The *Scots* having made all things defensative to Accommodate, made vigorous Preparations for War, and sent for Succours to such of the neighbour Princes and States, from whom they could expect any Assistance: They also invited home many Eminent Commanders of their Nation, from *Sweden* and *Holland*, to take Employment in their Armies, many of which were in the beginning of the Year come to them. They seized on the Castles of *Edenburgh* and *Dunbarton*, and took out of *Dalkeyth* all the King's Arms and Ammunition, laid there the Year before by the Marquis of *Hamilton*; next they chose *Alexander Lesly*, an old experienced Officer, to be Captain General of their Armies, to whom all the Chiefs of the Confederates (who took Arms) Solemnly swore Obedience in all orders of War, and he swore in like manner, faithfully to exercise his Charge.

Alexander Lesly made their Captain General.

The Marquis of *Argile* was sent to take care of those places Frontier of *Ireland*, and the Lord of *Montross* had the charge of *Aberdeen* and the more Northern Parts, and Colonel *Monro* was sent towards the Borders of *England*, to keep all things quiet till the Levies were perfected.

The King in that mean time was not Idle, but made very great Levies in all places, and his Army got his Army together, he gave the Command thereof to the Earl of *Arundel*, as General, under whom the Earl of *Essex* was Lieutenant General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horse, the rest of the Officers were many of them Persons of the best Quality. And the Army in general consisted of the flower of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Nation: With this Army the King set out on the 27th. of *March*, and coming by easie Marches, within two Miles of *Berwick* on the 28th. of *May*, where he Incamped, and General *Lesly* about the same time, marched the *Scots* Army to the Borders towards *England*, and Incamped at *Dunse*, within Four Miles of *Berwick*.

The Earl of *Arundel* General of the King's Army.

1639.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* sent with a Fleet to *Leith*.

The King when he began his March, had sent the Marquis of *Hamilton*, with a Fleet well furnish'd with Soldiers to *Leith*, to secure that place, and make Preparations in the Country in those Parts to hinder any new Levies, and reduce *Edenburgh*, *Leith*, and those Forts and Strengths he could, to Obedience. He arrived in the Month of *May* with his Fleet in the Road before the Town called the *Pyes*, where after some stay, he Landed some of his Men in a little Island, to give them Breath and some Refreshments, and there he received a Visit from his Mother, a most rigid Covenanter, which made many of the King's Friends suspect his Integrity; and the *Scots* upon the Shore that saw this, were heard to say, *They knew the Son of such a Mother could do them hurt.*

1639.

The Army under *Lesly*, was better armed, for they had not Three thousand Muskets amongst them, so that though they got a good share on the Business, they were better prepared for a Treaty than a Battel, nevertheless those of that Nation about the King were not wanting on their part, to make the Preparations of their Country-men more terrible, and the Earls of *Traquair* and *Roxborough*, and other Noblemen of *Scotland*, who had Permission to repair to *York* to the King, as he was in his March, for mediation an Atonement, did so practise upon the *English* Lords by their Insinuations, that they mitigated much the displeasure of some, and quite took off the edge of others, so that after the King had been a while in his Leaguer near *Berwick*, he was easily disposed to receive Overtures from them, to be received into his Grace and Favour, which they made with great Protestations of their Resolution upon his gracious Assurance of the preservation of their Religion and Laws, to give Example to others of all Civil and Temporal Obedience, which could be required or expected from his loyal Subjects; this produced a Treaty, for which on the King's part were appointed, The Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Berkshire* for *Mary Lane*, and Secretary *Cook*; and for the *Scots*, the Earls of *Rothes* and *Dumfermling*, the Lo. *Lee*, [illegible] and [illegible] having several Debates and Treaties [illegible] upon a Pacification, which on the King's part concluded upon [illegible] for the better [illegible]

A Pacification made by the King and the *Scots*.

[illegible] Articles [illegible] granted: [illegible] to be [illegible] matters [illegible] Parliament [illegible] Assembly [illegible] Treaties [illegible] Commissioners [illegible] Pacification [illegible] Articles

1639.

The Articles of Pacification were these, the 17th. of *June*, 1639.

Articles of Pacification.

1. THE *Forces of* Scotland *to be disbanded and dissolved within* 24 *hours after the Agreement of the King's Declaration.*

2. *The King's Castles, Forts and Ammunition to be delivered after the said Publication, so soon as he should send to receive them.*

3. *His Ships to depart presently after the Delivery of the Castles, and in the mean time no interruption of Trade.*

4. *All Persons, Goods and Ships detained by the King since the first of* November, *to be restored.*

5. *No Meetings, Treatings, Consultations or Convocation of any of the* Scots, *but such as are warranted by Acts of Parliament.*

6. *All Fortifications to desist, and to be remitted to the King's pleasure.*

7. *To restore to every one their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and Means whatsoever taken and detained from them, by whatsoever means, since the first of* November *last.*

The King signed the Declaration on the 18th. of *June*, and the same day the Commissioners on each part signed the Articles, and the *Scots* Commissioners subscribed a short Declarative Submission in these words:

A declarative submission subscribed by the *Scots* Commissioners.

In Obedience to his Majesties Royal Commands, We shall upon Thursday *next the twentieth of* June *dismiss our Forces, and immediately thereafter deliver his Majesty's Castles, &c. And shall ever in all things carry our selves like humble and loyal Subjects.*

Rothes. Dunfermlin. Loudon. Dowglas. Henderson. Johnston.

The Pacification being thus agreed, the King sent for some of the *Scotch* Lords, and informed them that he had given Orders to the Marquis of *Hamilton* to draw off the Fleet, and did intend to have been at *Edenburgh* at the opening of the Assembly, but that he had received Letters from the Queen, which intimated a necessity of his presence at *London* about some pressing affairs, but he would depute the Earl of *Traquayr* with full power and authority, as his High Commissioner to hold the Assembly and the Parliament.

The Earl of *Traquayr* deputed the King's Commissioner.

Most men thought these Graces of the King to his *Scotch* Subjects would have obliged them to an intire Submission to his Authority, but the Confederates had some further designs of trouble: For no sooner was the King's Declaration published, but at that instant they encountred it with a Protestation of several Heads. *First, of adhering to the late General Assembly at* Glascow *as a Free and General Assembly of the Church, and to all Proceedings there, especially to the sentences of Deprivation and Excommunication of the Bishops: Secondly, of adhering to their Solemn Covenant and Declaration of the Assembly, whereby the Office of Bishops is abjured. Thirdly, in regard many of the Gentry and the Ministers, who had long attended at* Edenburgh *during the discussion of the Pacification and the preparatives to it, were to repair to their own homes, whereby such of them as had Suits depending at Law, could not stay at* Edenburgh *to attend them, they Declared, That if any Members of the College of Justice should attend the Session or Term, all their Acts and Sentences of Judgments should be void and ineffectual.*

The *Scots* Protestation against the King's Declaration.

1639.

The King could not but resent this Ingratitude, but was forced to temporize, in hopes that at the meeting of the Parliament, some moderate Counsels might temper the minds of the people: he had been so just to those Conditions of Peace which he granted them, that he immediately discharged his Army, which if he had kept together, or any considerable part of them, until he had seen their Soldiers disbanded, their Officers cashiered, their Forts and Castles delivered up to him, and some good Issue of the Assembly and Parliament to be held at *Edenburgh*, he had preserved his Honour among Foreign Princes, and crush'd those practices at home, which afterward undermined his Peace, and destroyed his Glories.

The *Scots* did not punctually perform any one Article, the Castle of *Edenburgh* was indeed put under the command of Sir *Patrick Ruthen* by the King's Orders, but they did not slight their Fortifications at *Leyth*, they still kept their Officers in pay, and continued their meetings and consultations, disquieting, molesting and frighting all of different Inclinations; and the more to stir up the people, they dispersed a Scandalous Libel, Entituled, *Some Conditions of his Majesty's Treaty with the Subjects of* Scotland *before the English Nobility, are set down here for a Remembrance.*

The *Scots* breach of Articles.

This Paper consisted of eight Heads, which were pretended to be drawn out of Notes taken upon the several Discourses with the King about the matter of his Declaration: This was put into the hands of the E. of *Pembroke* at his coming from *Berwick*, who pretended not to have read it, but seal'd it up till he had presented it to the King; The matter of it was very scandalous, and derogatory to the King's Honour; for all the substance of the Declaration was so qualified thereby, that the whole sense and intention of it was perverted. The King therefore summoned all the *English* Lords that were privy to these Transactions, to meet in Council, who disavowed any such consent of his Majesty, as in that Paper was expressed, and therefore both they and all the rest of the Council became Petitioners to the King, that it might be burnt by the common Hangman, as a false and scandalous Paper, which was done accordingly.

Upon the sixth of *August* (old stile) The General Assembly conven'd at *Edenburgh* according to the King's Indiction, and sate till the 24th. the chief matters passed, were the Confirmation of the Act of the Assembly at *Glascow*, the abolishing Episcopacy, the five Articles of *Perth*, the High Commission, the Liturgy, and the Book of Canons, and ended with rendring thanks to the King for his Indulgence towards them, in the assent of his Commissioner to their Acts, and assigned another to meet at *Aberdeen* the next year, in the month of *July*.

The General Assembly conven'd at *Edenburgh*.

The Assembly now ended, the Parliament which was prorogued till the last of *August*, did again come together: The first four days pro-

The Parliament meet again.

1639. duced a high debate about settling their constitution to determine what Estate should supply that of the Bishops now aboliſh'd, which being at last agreed, they fell upon other matters concerning Reſciſſory Acts of former Parliaments, and ſeveral Conſultations tending rather totally to Eclipſe the King's Regal Power, and to new Model his Government, than to reform abuſes: ſo that he ſent an Expreſs to the Earl of *Trequayr* to Prorogue the Parliament again, till the ſecond of *June* following.

To this Prorogation they very unwillingly ſubmitted, declaring that the King had no Power to prorogue them without their conſent, and they appointed ſome of every of the three Eſtates to continue in *Edenburgh* till they had made a Remonſtrance thereof to the King, which before the ſeparation they perfected, and the Earl of *Dumfermlin* and the Lord *Lawden* were ſent to preſent it to him: Theſe coming to the Court without warrant from the King's Commiſſioner, were ſent back again without Audience, and after a while the Commiſſioner himſelf comes up to inform the King of the preſent condition of *Scotland*, which being reported to the Council, it was reſolved, That the Diſobedience of that Nation was not reducible but by force. And thus matters ſtood between the King and them about the beginning of *December*, which for the better connexion of the Relations of that Affair, we have drawn thus far in time; but we muſt now look a little back to Affairs of *England*.

The Lords *Dumfermlin* and *Lowden*, preſenting a Remonſtrance to the King without Warrant from his Commiſſioner, are ſent back without Audience.

The Prince Elector comes to *England*.

The Prince Elector, in *July* this year, arrived at the Court of *England* in proſecution of a deſign he had to get the Command of the Army of Duke *Bernard*, *Saxon Weymar* lately dead, which conſiſted of a gallant number of *Swedes*, *Germans*, and other Nations: The King did like very well of the buſineſs, and propoſed it to the French Embaſſador, offering that the Prince ſhould joyn in perpetual League with *France*, and that he would contribute what he could to his aſſiſtance. The Embaſſador ſeemed to be very well pleaſed with the Offer, and told the King that he doubted not but his Maſter would approve of it, and that Cardinal *Richlieu*, the chief Miniſter of that State, would be willing to ſerve the King and the Prince therein: and thereupon he diſpatched a Meſſenger to *Paris*, to acquaint the French King with the matter: but in the mean while, it was ſuggeſted to the King, that *Richlieu* under-hand fomented the Troubles of *Scotland*, whereby the confederate Covenanters had been encouraged to write a Letter to that King for aſſiſtance, ſo that the reality of *Richlieu* was ſo much ſuſpected, that the Prince was adviſed to go privately through *France* to Duke *Bernard*'s Army, of which it was believed he might by his appearance eaſily get the Command. The Prince therefore in *November* paſſed over to *Bullen*, and from thence endeavoured to paſs by diſguiſe through *France*, but at *Lyons* he was diſcovered, and taken Priſoner. And the King of *France* interpreted this Action of the Prince of no fair intentions towards him, becauſe it was done in a time of Treaty, ſo that he was kept under a ſtrict Guard.

A Sea-fight between the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders*.

The great buſineſs of this Summer was a Sea-Fight betwixt the two Navies of *Spain* and *Holland* in the *Downs*, which we ſhall here inſert in the words of Sir *John Pennington*, the King's Vice-Admiral, who made this following Narration thereof. 1639.

The *Spaniſh* Fleet conſiſting of near ſeventy Sail, bound and deſigned for *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, with a recruit both of Men and Money, met with the Vice-Admiral of the *Holland* Fleet, having in his company ſeventeen ſmall Ships, *September* the ſeventh, and entred into a very fierce diſpute with them, until the *Hollander* perceiving himſelf too weak, got to Wind-ward, Sailing along towards *Dunkirk*, and continually firing their Ordnance to give warning to their Admiral, who lay before that Town with the reſidue of the Fleet: in the firſt Encounter the *Hollanders* had two Ships ſunk, and the next morning by two of the Clock the Admiral came up, and joyning with the Vice-Admiral between *Dover* and *Calais*, they ſet upon the *Spaniards*, and continued a very ſharp fight till paſt Noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two Gallions, ſunk another, and much ſhattered the reſt, though they were but 25 Sail to the *Spaniards* 60 and upwards, and at length forced them upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt near *Dover*, where they left them, and bare off for the Coaſt of *France*, not willing to attempt any thing againſt them within the King of *England*'s Liberties.

The *Spaniards* being now got, as they thought, under the Lee of *England*'s Protection, began to plot how to get rid of their bad Neighbours; and the *Spaniſh* Reſident importuned the King, that he would keep the *Hollanders* in ſubjection two Tydes, that in the interim they might have the opportunity of ſhipping away for *Spain*; but the King being in amity with them both, was reſolved to ſtand Neuter, and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired ſome *Engliſh* Ships to tranſport their Souldiers to *Dunkirk*, the King upon complaint of the Dutch Embaſſador, ſtrictly commanded, that none ſhould take in any *Spaniards*, nor paſs beyond *Graveſend* without Licence, but the *Spaniards* and the *Hollanders* plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the *Spaniard* at length ſomewhat outwitted his Enemy, and by a Stratagem in the Night conveyed away 14 *Dunkirk* Ships, and in them Four thouſand Men.

In the beginning of *October*, the King ſent the Earl of *Arundel* to the Admiral of *Spain*, *Don Antonio D'Oquendo*, deſiring him to retreat upon the firſt fair Wind, becauſe he would not they ſhould Engage within his Seas, but the Wind continued Eaſtwardly ſo long (a thing not uſual in that Seaſon) as the *Hollanders* got daily freſh ſupply from *Zealand*, ſo that at length their Fleet was compleated to an hundred Ships, wherewith they encompaſſed their Enemies within Piſtol-ſhot, for four days: But that which was ſo long an interview of theſe two Fleets, at laſt turned to an Engagement.

On the Eleventh of the ſame Month, *Van Trump* the Dutch Admiral, charged the *Spaniards* with Cannon and Fireſhips ſo furiouſly, as made them all cut their Cables, and being 53 in number, 23 ran on ſhore, and ſtranded in the *Downs*, whereof three were burnt, two ſunk, and two periſhed on the ſhore. One of theſe was a great Gallion, the Vice-Admiral of *Galicia*, commanded by *Don Antonio de Caſtro*, which had 52 braſs

1639. brass pieces of Ordnance: the remainder of the 23 stranded, and deserted by the *Spaniards*, were man'd by the *English*, to save them from the *Dutch*: The other thirty *Spanish* Ships under the Command of the Admirals *Don Antonio D'Oquendo*, and *Lopez* Admiral of *Portugal*, went to Sea and kept in close Order until a great Fog fell upon them, when the *Dutch*, taking the advantage thereof, interposed betwixt the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the Fog cleared up, when the Admiral of *Portugal* began to flame, being fired with two *Holland* Fire-ships, which *D'Oquendo* perceiving, he presently took his course towards *Dunkirk* with the Admiral of that Place, and some few Ships more, for most of the rest were taken. Of these thirty eleven were sent into *Holland*, three perish'd upon the Coast of *France*, one near *Dover*, five sunk in the Fight and only ten escaped.

These two potent Enemies being both Friends to *England*, the *British* Seas ought by rule of State to have been an harbour of retreat to secure the weaker from the stronger, not the Scene of their hostile Engagement, and had this presumptuous Attempt of the *Hollander* been made in times of another temper, it would not, it's like, have been so silently connived at, and their victory might have cost them the loss of *England*'s Correspondence: But Self-denial is a Christian, not a Martial Virtue, and who is able to resist the temptation of an advantage, whereby he may destroy his Foe, upon the nicety of exceeding his just limits? Besides, The King, the Dutch well knew, was of a Genius as not querulous, so if provoked, very placable, and the disposition of his affairs as well as of his mind, dissuaded him at this conjuncture from expostulating the matter with them.

About the 19th of *November* being the Anniversary night of the King's Birth-day, a great part of the Walls of the Castle of *Edenburgh* fell down, and the King having given order for the repair thereof, the Confederate Covenanters would not permit any Materials to be carried in for that use, which added much to those resentments, which the King had conceived against them, so that preparations of War went on against them, but the King's Treasure being exhausted by the last Summers Expedition, he consulted with the Lords of the Council of his means of Supply, who considering the present exigence of Affairs, advised the calling of a Parliament, as the best expedient to assist and strengthen him, both with Money and Counsel; to this the King readily agreed, being ever (till diverted by the practice of intemperate Men) a great lover of Parliaments; and in compliance with this Advice, a Parliament was intimated to be assembled on the 13th. of *April*. This Resolution was taken the fifth of *December*. and the notice given so long before, for two Reasons; first, that the Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy of *Ireland* (being lately sent for hither on the occasion of these troubles) might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did, and managed so much to the King's advantage, that an Army of 8000 Horse and Foot were speedily raised, and Money granted to the Parliament there, to keep them in pay, and furnish them with Ammunition and Arms, and all other necessaries: Secondly, That by the reputation of a following Parliament, he might borrow Money, for the carrying on of the War, which could not admit of so much delay, as is commonly used in those great Councils, in the granting of Subsidies; which last being represented to the Lords of the Council, many of them subscribed to a Loan of great sums of Money for the King's Assistance. The Deputy of *Ireland*, being about to return to *Ireland*, on the errand before expressed, to give good example here, first subscribed 20000 *l.* the Duke of *Richmond* as much, and most of the Lords (except the Marquis of *Hamilton*) and likewise the Bishops, and the Judges and Officers, and Dependants of Courts of Judicature, both of the Common and Civil Law, and generally the greatest part of the Gentry, even the Recusants contributed according to their abilities.

The Wall of the Castle of *Edenburgh* not suffered to be repaired by the Covenanters.

The King calls a Parliament in *Scotland*.

A Loan for the King's Assistance against the *Scots* subscribed to by many of the Lords of the Council and Bishops, &c.

The King thus busie in providing against the *Scots*, they endeavoured to remove the Storm hanging over them, by an humble Address to him, craving leave to represent to him the State of all their Transactions: The King said, He was accostable by any Subject he had, and would not therefore deny that, which was pretended to be from a whole Kingdom, which he never refused from a private man.

This Answer being sent, the Earl of *Dumfermlin*, Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *William Douglass*, and Mr. *Robert Barkley*, attended the King as Commissioners from *Scotland*, who being admitted, and their Commission examined, it was found, that the two last were not named in nor impowered by it, but the King hoping to gain upon them by Lenity, insisted not thereon.

Commissioners from *Scotland* to the King.

The King apointed a Select Committee of the Council, to hear the Allegations of the Commissioners, as also what could be said by the Earl of *Trequayr*, touching those Matters, where things were handled with so much acrimony, that no good understanding could be arrived at: And at this very time of their Addresses to the King by Supplication, the Confederates in *Scotland* acted very different from peaceable Men, for they secured many of the Nobility, and Gentry of that Nation, who stood firm to the King, and now again as they had done the last year, invited and procured to their Service many Commanders from *Holland*, and other places; but that which manifested most their bad Intentions to the King, was a Letter written to the Lord *Lowdon*, subscribed by himself, and several others of the chief Confederates, to the *French* King, to favour their Proceedings, and grant them his Assistance; of the which the Original came to the King's hands, and being known to be *Lowdon*'s Character, he was therefore Committed to the *Tower*.

Lord *Lowdon* committed to the Tower for a Letter to the *French* King.

Cardinal *Richlieu* was no small Incendiary in this Difference betwixt the King and *Scots*, for the King making it always a great Master-piece, to keep the Ballance even betwixt *France* and *Spain*, that neither of them being too strong for the other, the Affairs of Christendom might be the evener poised, he knew the *French* design of driving the *Spaniard* out of *Flanders*, and the rest of the *Netherlands* could not be effected, unless the King were imbroyled at home: So that he

1639. he ſent his Chaplain and Almoner, Mr. *Thomas Chamberlayn*, a *Scotch-man*, to aſſiſt the Confederates in advancing the buſineſs, and to attempt all ways of exaſperation, and not to depart from them, till he might return with good News, in this *Project*. *Con* alſo the Pope's Agent to the Queen, a *Scot* by Nation, and one *Reed* of the ſame Country were very active, and many *Scotch* Jeſuits, at this time in *England*, were not idle, and *Hamilton*'s Chaplain had often ſecret Communication with *Con*; all which Practices were diſcovered in a great part by one *Andreas Habernfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, then become *Phyſician* to the King's Siſter, the *Palſegrave*'s Relict, who made it alſo apparent that many of the Nobility of *England*, and the chief Favourites at Court (among whom the Earl and Counteſs of *Arundel*, Secretary *Windebanke*, and *Endymion Porter*) were named to be acquainted, and conſenting with their Tranſactions. To this the King, out of the bounty of his nature, gave not much credit.

The death of Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*.

About the latter end of this year, *John Spotſwood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Primate and Chancellour of *Scotland*, died at *London*, he was one that by his juſt deſert arrived to thoſe high dignities; in whom there always appeared great prudence and conduct, clearneſs of Spirit, and ſolidity of Judgment, he left this World very aged, and it was his happineſs to do it without ſeeing that Deſolation, which after happened to his Country, and to be interr'd near his beloved Maſter King *James*, in the Abbey Church of *Weſtminſter*, than which none perhaps contains more magnificent Trophies of Death: Near the ſame time alſo died, that Grave and Learned Judge, Sir *Thomas Coventry*, Privy Counſellor to the King, and Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England* fifteen years, one that was a truly Loyal Subject, and a good Patriot, and in the adminiſtration of Juſtice ſo incorrupt, that Malice it ſelf ſtands mute in the blemiſh of his Fame: Sir *John Finch*, the Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, ſucceeded him in the Office of Keeper of the Great Seal.

The death of the Lord Keeper *Coventry*.

Sir *John Finch* Lord Keeper.

An Embaſſador from the States of *Holland*.

The Heer of *Somerdick*, Ambaſſador from the States of the *United Provinces*, in the Month of *January*, had Audience of the King; he had with him Count *William* of *Naſſaw*, and the *Rhine-Graves*, and a very ſplendid Train, his buſineſs was to give him ſatisfaction concerning the late attack made upon the *Spaniards* by the *Dutch* Fleet in the *Downs*, and the Embaſſy was ſweetned by ſome overture of a Marriage betwixt the young Prince of *Orange*, and the King's eldeſt Daughter, of which more hereafter.

The Parliament ſits in *England*. 1640.

On the thirteenth of *April* the Parliament ſate, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, being not long before created Earl of *Strafford*, and made Lord Lieutenant of that Realm, was led into the Upper-Houſe by two Noblemen, where he gave an account of his Service in *Ireland*, where he had obtained the Grant of four Subſidies for the maintenance of an Army, as before was hinted; Mr. *John Glanvil* was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and generally the choice of Members to that houſe was ſo good, that great probabilities were given of a happy Union betwixt the King and this Parliament; but in the midſt of this expectation ſome ill Inſtruments at Court by their factious contrivances undermin'd all, and amongſt theſe, the chiefeſt imputation was laid on Sir *Henry Vane*, the principal Secretary of State, who bore a grudge to the Earl of *Strafford*, for that he had cauſed himſelf to be made Baron of *Raby*, to which he aſpired, it being a Mannor granted to him, together with *Barny* Caſtle, from the Crown; and becauſe he ſaw the Earl very earneſt to incline the King to endeavour by all fair means to gain the Affections of the Commons, out of a deſire to ſee a good iſſue of this Parliament, to the calling whereof it was generally believed none had more contributed than he had done; He reſolved to endeavour that the Parliament ſhould rather be abruptly diſſolved, than any good ſucceſs be produced by the Earl's Counſels; to effect which, on the one ſide Inſinuations were made to ſome, of the Dangers to be feared by the Army raiſed in *Ireland* in order to Religion; and to others of the juſtneſs of the pretences of the *Scots*, and the good that might be obtained by favouring them in this Conjuncture; and on the other ſide every thing was repreſented to the King in the worſt ſenſe, and that ſo ſlily, as no indirect intentions could be perceived; The matter of Supply gave a fit occaſion to heighten diſcontents: For the King being intent to vindicate his Honour, which he thought to be trampled on by the Inſolencies of the *Scots*, was very earneſt in preparing for the War againſt them, and to enable him therein, he preſſed hard for ſupplies, and offered to the Commons in recompence of their aſſiſtance to him, to quit for ever his Claim of Ship-money, which at that time being warranted by a Judgment of all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, had as good an Eſtabliſhment as our Laws could give it: The Commons were ſomewhat deliberate in this affair of Money, and firſt they deſired ſecurity from the King for redreſs of Grievances in three particulars. 1640.

The Commons deſire redreſs of grievances.

First, for clearing the Subjects Property.
Secondly, for Eſtabliſhment of Religion.
Thirdly, for the Privileges of Parliament.

The Lords ſeemed ſomewhat more ſenſible of the King's Propoſition for ſupply, and after many Conferences with the Commons, did at laſt diſpoſe them to a Compliance, but the Queſtion being in that Houſe asked, how much would ſerve to anſwer the preſent Expectation? Secretary *Vane* demanded twelve Subſidies, which drew them into ſuch high Debates, that all things became deſperate, ſo that on the fourth of *May* by an unanimous conſent of the King's Council, he was adviſed to their Diſſolution, and the Parliament was the next day diſſolved.

The Parliament diſſolved.

It is ſaid this fatal Action was precipitated upon ſome Intelligence, that the Houſe of Commons meant to vote againſt the War with *Scotland*, which was ſuggeſted, for that the day before in the Debates for Money, ſome glances had been made at an inquiſition into the cauſes of the War, which were improved to draw on that fatal Counſel; and it was likewiſe reported, that the Marquis of *Hamilton* was a great Stickler in this matter,

Mr. *Glanvil* choſen Speaker.

1640. manner, and that he had privately prevailed with the King to dissolve the Parliament before it was proposed in Council, thereby to compass his Majesties further ends, thereby might confirm the Scots and distract the English, to work his own Advantages on both.

The Convocation of the Clergy was continued to the 29th. of May, and they granted the King a benevolence of Four Shillings in the Pound, the all their Ecclesiastical Preferments to be paid Six Years together then next ensuing; but this their countenance, and the Additions made by them, were Censured and Condemned in the following Parliament.

The dissolution of this Parliament was by some ill disposed People wrongfully ascribed to the Advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, so that on the 5th. of May, a Paper was posted up on the Old Exchange, by one John Lilburne, exciting the Apprentices to rise and rifle his House at Lambeth on Monday following, of which he having notice, made Provision of some quantity of Arms and Ammunition for his Defence, and that night of the Day appointed Five hundred of the Rabble beset his House, and strove to force an entrance, but were repulsed, and made to depart without doing much more Mischief, than uttering their Anger in Scurrilous Language against him, and breaking the Windows of the House; the next day many of them were apprehended and Imprisoned in the Prison in Southwark; but a few days after forsook their Confinement, got together, and came to the Prison and broke it open, and set them free: Nevertheless one of the chief Incendiaries, Tompkins, arraigned, condemned, hanged, drawn and quartered on the 21st. of May.

The King being disappointed of Supply by the breaking up of the Parliament, was very industrious to get Money other ways, to go on the War; to which end, the City of London were sent to for a Loan, and all Knights and Gentlemen, who held Land in Capite of the King, were summoned to send Men, Horses and Arms, according to their Abilities. The Citizens pleaded Poverty by want of Trade, and refused to lend, though the City was scarce at any time richer, and the Trade greater. They were soon after in Wales and Cales by a Tumult, Peace, and this would draw Warrants, and act to take any Imposition; but this could not be supported at this time, for the Citizens of their backwardness was a Contempt to the Government, and that the City of London should be guided, ordered and governed by the City of Westminster, during the time of their Misdemeanours, their Charter for that Purpose was declared forfeited to the King, and many Fines were imposed upon the Inhabitants planted there. Notwithstanding the Duty remained, the Gentry generally hoarded their Money to supply the King, and by that Assistance and other before mentioned Aids, the King was quickly raised a very good Army, wherein the Earl of Northumberland was appointed General, the Earl of Strafford Lieutenant-General, and the Lord Conway General of the Horse. Northumberland was sick, and could not go, but the King went himself in Person, to whom the Queen then great with Child was delivered of her Son Henry, who was born at Oatlands

The Convocation of the Clergy grant the King a Benevolence of 4s. per pound, for six Years together.

Archbishop Laud taken by the Rabble in his House at Lambeth.

The City refuse to lend the King Money.

The Earl of Northumberland appointed General of the King's Army, but falling sick, the King goes himself in Person.

Lent, on the 20th. of July; but in the mean time the Army was on their march Northward, and my Lord Conway marched with his Horse some days before the rest could come up, and he was marching. News was brought that the Scotch Army was marched to Durham, which was their old Quarter the last Years not far from Berwick. Upon this Advice he was ordered to haste forwards towards Newcastle, but ere he got thither, such Intelligence came, That the Scotch Army was marched into England, on the 20th. of August. The King met this Advice in his way to York, and dispatched Orders to Conway, to do what he could to impede their Advance, till the Army could be raised; upon this Advice Conway called his Officers together, the result was, that they should keep the Fals at Newburn upon Tine, to hinder their possessing of Newcastle, where Sir Jacob Astley had newly entred with his Regiment; but had not time to make any Fortifications. The King made all the haste he could, but by that time he reached North-Allerton, about two days march on this side of Newcastle, the Lord Conway sent to him an account of a Defeat of the Forces under his Command, which they had received at Newburn: The substance of which Action was as followeth.

August the 27th. the Lord Conway upon Information of the March of the Scotch Army, and their design upon Newcastle, drew up Three thousand Foot, and about Twelve hundred Horse to Defend the Pass at Newburn. The Foot he placed behind a Breast-work newly cast up for that purpose, and planted the Horse in convenient Posts to be ready to receive the Enemy if they came on. General Leslie marched the greatest part of his Army that night to the Ryton side, and before Morning planted seven Pieces of Ordnance, which he answered with Bullets, that they might not be seen by the Enemy: The next Morning he sent a Trumpet with a Letter to the Lord Conway, desiring leave therein as pass towards the King with their Petition; to which he returned Answer, he would be a true Pass, but not an Army: Leslie then commanded Three hundred Horse to advance into the River, whom the Musqueteers from behind the Works forced to retire, as they were enforced to retire; Leslie then charged his Cannon upon the Scots Foot, which so terrified them, that they quickly left their Station, and threw down their Arms, and fled: The Scots Horse encouraged with this Success, plunged into the River, and passing over, and were gallantly received by [illegible] Troops, commanded by Commissary-General Kirkham, Sir Patrick Ogilby, Captain [illegible] and Captain Lumsden, O Neal, but they were so overpowered with numbers, that they were forced to retreat in disorder. There was slain of the Scots Horse [illegible] and retreating the Enemy Conway then ordered the Pass, and left the Scots Army without any further opposition, possessed Newcastle, which was deserted before quitted by the Scots Army, as also at that time Tinmouth, but he first sent his Cannon in the Night Conway retreated with his Troops towards York, to which place the King and the Earl of Strafford with the rest of the Army was marched before, and there by the Lieutenant-General he was accused of not doing his Duty,

1640.

The Lord Conway's Forces defeated at Newburn.

1640. duty at Newcastle, which he as well as the rest executed that unhappy Prelacy (for the Quarrel many Men thought it) proceeded not from any Malice to a particular Person, but chiefly upon him.

The Earl of Hadington kill'd by an accidental firing of the Castle of Dunglas.

Whilst the Scots Army were on their march towards Newcastle, a party from them was ordered to Dunglas, and there set fire to the Ordnance which General Leslie had left there, under the command of Hadington, who with some Troops more Guard the Borders, came in to secure them: but they were forced to leave them hastily to answer [illegible]. The Earl was one of the Keepers [illegible] of the Castle of Dunglas, by an Accident of fire [illegible] sizing, which was done, as the Scots say, either by accident, or by the malice of the Earls Enemies.

The Scots find their Friends and Favourers in England.

The Scots [illegible] made a way of intelligence [illegible] his Nobility and Gentry [illegible] well in the Councils of Arms [illegible] gainst them, and by this means [illegible] rage to invade the Kingdom, which they durst not have done, and [illegible] was afterwards to the Reputation of [illegible] drafted to the Parties of [illegible] gained himself to have been the [illegible] in it, as most [illegible] Kinne to the Royal Family of the [illegible] Mr. [illegible] afterwards [illegible] Council [illegible] the Year 164[illegible] this King was often employed [illegible] in the Commonwealth [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

1640. The *Scots* joyn also in a Petition for calling a Parliament.

The *Scots* proceeded hand in hand with their Friends in *England*, in the substance of a Petition to the King about this time presented, requesting that a Parliament might be called in *England* for setling a Peace between the two Nations: they sent the Petition to the Lord *Lenerick* Secretary of State for *Scotland*, who delivered it to the King, but an Answer thereunto was respited to the meeting of the Peers.

The Peers assemble at *York*. The Substance of the King's Speech.

On the 24th. of *September*, the Peers assembled at *York*, and the King at the opening of the Assembly spake to them to this effect, *That an Army of Rebels being within the Kingdom, he thought it advisable according to the Practice of his Predecessors in like cases, to call them together, that with their Advice and Assistance, he and they might proceed joyntly to the Chastisement of their Insolencies, and secure him and his good Subjects from their Malice: He said, He had of himself resolved to call a Parliament to meet on the third of* November *next, and in the mean time he desired their Advice on two points. First, what Answer to give to the Petition of the Rebels* (for so he now on all occasions termed the *Scots*) *and in what manner to treat with them: Secondly, how the English Army should be maintained till Supplies from the Parliament might be had.*

The Lords entred into Consultations of these Matters, and for their better Information, the King caused a true Relation to be given to them of the state of the whole Business, and upon what Reason and Advices, the unanimous consent of the Privy-Council for this War was guided: After many Debates, To the first point, they advised the King to a Treaty with the *Scots*; and to the second, they used their Mediation with the City of *London*, for a Loan to the King for the present support of his Army: A Message was hereupon sent to the *Scots*, to intimate his Majesties consent, that a Treaty should be had at *York* betwixt him and them; The *Scots* replied, They held that no place of security for their Commissioners, considering that the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who had his residence there, commanded his Majesties Army, and who proclaimed them Traytors in *Ireland* before the King had done it in *England*, and against whom as a chief Incendiary they intended to complain: hereupon it was concluded that the Treaty should be at *Rippon*, and the King appointed six Earls, and as many Barons to be Commissioners on his part, and the *Scots* nominated as many Noblemen on theirs, and for the better understanding of the state of the Affair, the Earl of *Traquayr*, the King's late Commissioner in *Scotland*, was ordered to be present, to give account as occasioned offered of what had passed in *Scotland* from the beginning of the Troubles; the Earl of *Bristol* managed the Treaty for the *English*, and the Lord *Lowdon* for the *Scots*, the greatest part of the demands of each side were accorded without great difficulty: That which seemed hardest to the *English*, was to consent to the raising of Monies in *England* for the *Scots*, having an Army of their own at the same time in being: For the *Scots* notwithstanding their pretences of coming into *England* without a charge to the Nation, had by this time increased their Levies to the Sum of Eight hundred and Fifty Pounds a Day: Nevertheless, the *English* Lords willing on any Condition to make Peace, agreed with the *Scots*, in the ensuing Articles; which on the 26th. of *October* were signed by the Commissioners, and afterwards by the King; but there were many other Demands of the *Scots* referred to a further Treaty, which the King consented to be afterwards holden at *London*. The Articles agreed upon at *Rippon*, were these following:

A Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*.

1640. The Articles of Agreement signed by the Commissioners at *Rippon*.

1. *That there be a Cessation of Arms both by Sea and Land from this present.*

2. *That all acts of Hostility do henceforth cease.*

3. *That both Parties shall peaceably remain during the Treaty, whatsoever they possess at the time of the Cessation.*

4. *That all such Persons who lived in any of his Majesties Forts beyond the River* Tees, *shall not exempt their Lands which lye within the Counties of* Northumberland *and the* Bishoprick *of* Durham, *from such Contributions as shall be laid upon them for the Payment of Eight hundred and fifty pounds* per diem.

5. *That none of the King's Forces on the other side of* Tees, *shall give any Impediment to such Contributions, as are already allowed for the maintenance of the* Scottish *Army, and shall fetch no Victuals nor Forrage out of their Bounds, except that which the Inhabitants and Owners thereof shall bring voluntarily unto them, and that any restraints or detention of Victuals, Chattel or Forrage, which shall be made by the* Scots *within those Bounds for their maintenance shall be no Breach.*

6. *That no Recruit shall be brought into either Armies from the time of the Cessation, and during the Treaty.*

7. *That the Contribution of Eight hundred and fifty Pounds* per diem, *shall be only raised out of the Counties of* Northumberland, Bishoprick, *Town of* Newcastle, Cumberland *and* Westmerland: *and that the not Payment thereof shall be no Breach of the Treaty, but the Counties and Towns shall be left to the* Scots *Power to raise the same, but not to exceed the Sum agreed upon, unless it be for Charges of driving; to be set by a Priser of the Forrage.*

8. *That the River of* Tees *shall be the Bounds of both Armies (excepting always the Town and Castle of* Stockton, *and the Village of* Egliff) *and the Counties of* Northumberland *and* Bishoprick, *be the Limits within which the* Scottish *Army is to reside, having Liberty for them to send such Convoys as shall be necessary for the gathering up only of the Contribution, which shall be unpaid by the Counties of* Northumberland *and* Cumberland.

9. *That if any Person commit any private Insolence, it shall be no breach of the Treaty, if upon complaint made by either Parties, Reparation and punishment be granted.*

10. *If no Victuals be delivered upon the Prices which shall be agreed upon, and ready Money offered for the same and refused, it shall be no Breach of the Cessation to take such Victuals, paying such Prices.*

11. *No new Fortifications to be made during the Treaty against either Parties.*

12. *That the Subjects of both Kingdoms may in their Trade of Commerce freely pass to and fro, without any stay at all, but it is particularly provided, that no Member of either Army pass without a formal Pass, under the hands of the General, or of him that commands in chief.*

1640. The Earl of *Montroſs* having been a while miſled by the Confederates, after ſome time diſcovered, that notwithſtanding their fair Pretences, they had no good Intentions to the King, and was therefore willing to leave their Party; he had in the Army two Regiments of Foot and one of Horſe, and there were Five or Six Regiments amongſt his Friends: the firſt diſtaſte he took, was a little time after the Pacification, when he perceived the Confederates to make no further uſe of it, than to gain time of greater Strength, to ſet up thereby a kind of Arbitrary Deſpotical Government, but finding the People ſo infatuated by the ſpecíouſneſs of their Pretences, he was forced to continue his former vigour in acting with them, that they might have no Jealouſie of him, and upon the advance of the *Scottiſh* Army to invade *England*, he was the firſt that marched out of the Kingdom at the head of his own Regiment; but during the Treaty at *Rippon*, he found means to write a Letter to the King, wherein he aſſured him of his Fidelity; and a moſt ready Obedience to him: This Letter was by ſome of the *Scotch* of the King's Bed-chamber ſecretly taken out of his Pocket, and a Copy thereof ſent to General *Leſly*: he preſently ſends for the Earl to him, and told him he had managed a Correſpondence with their Enemies, and that he had known the Heads of Princes toſt off for leſſer Matters: The Earl required an Inſtance, and thereupon *Leſly* produced a Copy of his Letter to the King; to which he boldly anſwered, *That he underſtood not that writing to the King was to hold intelligence with an Enemy, but rather what became the duty of a Loyal Subject to his Sovereign*: this Anſwer did ſo amuſe the General, that he thought it not at that time convenient to purſue the buſineſs farther, for fear of a revolt in the Army, wherein *Montroſs* had a great Party.

The Earl of *Montroſs* being diſſatisfied at the Proceedings of the Confederates, ſends a Letter to the King, to aſſure him of his Fidelity.

The time now approach'd for the meeting of the Parliament, and great endeavours were uſed in many parts of the Kingdom to have ſuch Perſons choſen as ſhewed their diſlike of the Government of the Church, or had been earneſt pretenders for Reformation in former Parliaments.

The Parliament aſſembled. The King's Speech.

On the third of *November*, being the day prefixt, the Parliament aſſembled, and the King expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe, *He declared his earneſt deſire for the happineſs and proſperity of the Kingdom, deſiring them, as he promiſed he would, to lay aſide all prejudice, and he would now clearly and freely put himſelf upon the Love and Affection of his Engliſh Subjects; willing them to conſider the beſt way for the ſafety and ſecurity of the Kingdom of* England, *and in order to it, firſt to think of the chaſing out of the Rebels, (for ſo he termed the Scots) and next for ſatisfaction of their juſt Grievances, wherein he would heartily concur, that the World might ſee his intentions were to make this a glorious and flouriſhing Kingdom; freely leaving it to them where to begin; and adding, that it ſhould not be his fault if this were not a good and a happy Parliament; and in the concluſion he told them, for their better underſtanding the ſtate of all Affairs, he had commanded my Lord-Keeper to give them a ſhort and free account of all Matters.*

The King having ended, the Lord-Keeper gave them a ſummary Relation of all things relating to the *Scotch* Invaſion, we will not ſay Rebellion, for it was ill reſented by ſome conſiderable Perſons, that the King in his Speech had repreſented them under that Character, whereof he having notice, told them two days after, he muſt needs call them Rebels who had invaded *England* with an Army. 1640.

Great was the expectation of all People concerning the ſucceſs of this Parliament, which was much raiſed, upon the King's declared reſolution at the opening of it, to concur with them in ſatisfying all their juſt Grievances.

The long intermiſſion of Parliaments had produced many Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies in the Government, by the Remiſsneſs of ſome, and the Rigor of others in Church and State, which inflamed the Zeal of many good Men of both Houſes, at this their meeting, to be very earneſt in their Endeavours for the redreſs of Grievances, wherein they were very much heightened by ſome others of the Lords and Commons Houſe, who were in Confederacy with the *Scots*, and in a kind of Combination to alter the Government of the Church, and therewith to have ſo much influence on that of the State alſo, as to gain to themſelves Honours and Advancement into Places of Power and Truſt: The purſuit of theſe things, made them exceed the Method and Paths of their Predeceſſors, and by fomenting Jealouſies, countenancing and procuring tumultuous Petitions and Aſſemblies by Menaces and Force, they often obtained the accompliſhment of their Purpoſes, contriving without Doors in private Meetings, what they deſigned to proſecute in their Aſſemblies. Raiſing of Money by extraordinary Means, when Neceſſity was the beſt Argument for ſo doing, Billeting of Soldiers, Innovations in Matters of Religion, and illegal Impriſonments, were the great Grievances of the Subject now to be redreſs'd: but the means uſed to remove theſe, engaged the Reformers in proceſs of time in a bloody War, to act over all the ſame things with greater exceſs, demonſtrating thereby the extream hazard of intemperate Council.

Succeſs in this War enlarged their Deſires, and extended their Ambition, it bred thoughts in them they never thought before, and this was that which drew on the Ruine of the King, and with him for ſome time the ſubverſion of our Monarchy; for many of thoſe that were in the beginning moſt active for Reformation, had not in their proſpect the Calamity that enſued, and too late repented the Errors of their former actings, when they could not ſtem the violence of that Tide, their impetuoſity had ſwell'd to too great a height. Theſe matters will appear more plainly by what follows in the courſe of the Hiſtory, whereof the greateſt part as to this King's Reign will be taken up in the Proceedings of this Parliament.

Five ſtanding Committees ſettled.

The firſt weeks Buſineſs was in ſettling the five ſtanding Committees, for Grievances, Religion, Courts of Juſtice, Trade, and Priviledges in Elections, and in ſeveral declamatory Speeches againſt the exorbitances of Government both in Church and State. A great part whereof were aſcribed to the Counſels of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners were now come to *London*, in order to the concluſion of ſome things undetermined at *Rippon*: Theſe had many private Conferences with their Friends of the Houſe of Commons; and it was agreed by them, That the Earl ſhould be immediately impeached

at

1640. The Scottish Commissioners agree with their Friends of the House of Commons to impeach the Earl of *Strafford* of High-Treason.

at his first coming to the House of Peers, for he was not yet come from *York*, and this they resolved on to prevent, and be before-hand with him in an Impeachment he had ready against Mr. *Pym*, and some of the Leading Members of both Houses, for holding Intelligence with the Scots, which he intended to have offered in the House of Peers as soon as he had taken his place amongst them: Wherefore those in the Commons House that were concerned, were very industrious in their designs, and the House had not late many days before he was therein declared to be guilty of High-Treason, and a secret Committee of five more nominated to collect Matter for Impeachment against him: This was like to take up more time than the Prosecutors could with convenience to themselves allow of, so that the House were prevailed with, upon assertions of particular persons, to vote, that a general Impeachment of High-Treason should be made against him to the Lords, to endeavour thereby to have him sequestred from that House. And on the 11. of *November* Mr. *Pym* was sent from the Commons to the Lords with a Message, which he delivered in these words.

Mr. Pym's Message from the Commons to the Lords.

My Lords,

The Knights, Citizens and Burgesses now assembled for the Commons in Parliament, have received information of divers traiterous Designs and Practices of a great Peer of this House: And by vertue of a Command from them, I do here in the Name of the Commons now Assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all the Commons of England, *accuse* Thomas *Earl of* Strafford, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *of High-Treason: and they have commanded me further to desire your Lordships, that he may be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Prison; They have further commanded me to let you know, that they will within a very few days repair to your Lordships with the particular Articles and Grounds of this Accusation.*

The Earl being required to withdraw, it was much debated by the Peers, whether he should be imprisoned on a general Accusation, without any particular Act of Treason charged against him; but upon the Question it was carried in the affirmative: and he being called in, kneel'd at the Bar; and after standing up, the Lord Keeper spake to him as followeth:

The Lord Keeper's Speech to the Earl of *Strafford* upon his Impeachment.

My Lord of *Strafford*,

The House of Commons in their own Name, and in the Name of the whole Commons of England, *have this day accused your Lordship to the Lords of the Higher House of Parliament, of High-Treason; the Articles they will in a very few days produce, in the mean time they have desired of my Lords, and my Lords have accordingly Resolved, that your Lordship shall be committed to safe Custody to the Gentleman Usher, and be sequestred from the House, till your Lordship shall clear your self of the Accusations that shall be laid against you:* And hereupon he was immediately taken into Custody.

The next day the Commons considering the great Pressures of the Northern Counties by the two Armies that lay upon them, resolved that a hundred thousand pound should be forthwith raised for their maintenance, and till it could be regularly levied, a hundred thousand pound was borrowed in the City upon the Credit of some of the Members of the House of Commons: many Petitions from all Parts were brought to them for redress of Grievances, and to be relieved against Orders and Decrees of the Council Table, Star-Chamber, and High Commission Court, which were referred to several Committees, and divers were ordered to be enlarged out of Prison upon these Petitions, especially *Pryn*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick*, who seemed more eminent than the rest of the Sufferers; and a while after by the intercession of the Lords with the King, the Bishop of *Lincoln* also was freed from his Imprisonment in the Tower.

1640. A hundred thousand pounds borrowed of the City to maintain the Army in the North.

Pryn, *Burton*, *Bastwick*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* enlarged.

The King willing to be rid of the Scotch Army, hastened the Commission to the Lords who were imployed in the Treaty at *Ripon*, or any ten of them, to treat with the Scottish Commissioners, or any seven of them, being the Earls of *Rothes* and *Dumfermlin*, *John* Lord *Loudon*, Sir *Patrick Hepburn*, Sir *William Douglas*, *William Drummond*, *John Smyth* Bayliff of *Edenburgh*, *Alexander Wedderburn*, *Hugh Kennedy*, *Alexander Henderson*, and *Archibald Johnston*, to take into consideration their Demands, and compose all differences arising thereupon, which Commission was passed under the Great Seal of *England* on the 23*d*. of *November*, and in a while after, the Scots presented their Demands, which were eight in number, and afterwards they put in seventeen heads, wherein One, (and that not the least considerable) was, That some Scottish men of respect might be in Places of Trust about the King, Queen, and Prince: This was that which all their pretences aimed at, notwithstanding their Zeal to Reformation of Religion; and though all they desired else was granted, they never attained their ends in this, for the troubles which they raised, did not only bring after them a Misery to this Nation, but theirs also, and the Ring-leaders of them wanted not their part thereof.

Lords appointed to treat with the Scots Commissioners in order to a full pacification.

The Scots present eight Demands.

Sir *Francis Windebanke*, Secretary of State, was aimed at as one of the great Delinquents in the Opinion of the Parliament, being one suspected in his Religion, a great favourer of Priests of the *Romish* Church; for whom he had obtained many Reprieves, and was thought to be guilty of Misdemeanors of a higher nature: But he thinking himself not sufficiently provided to ride out the approaching storm, made his escape into *France*, where he died a *Roman Catholick*.

Secretary *Windebank* foreseeing a storm, makes his escape into *France*.

In the consideration of Grievances, the charge imposed upon the Subject for providing and furnishing of Ships, and the Assessments for raising money for that purpose, commonly called Ship-money, are voted by both Houses to be against the Laws of the Realm, and all proceedings in the Case both at the Council Table, Star-Chamber, and Courts of Justice, declared null and void. This was thought a strange way of proceeding; First, because all the Judges had subscribed unanimously to the Lawfulness of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared

Ship money voted unlawful.

1640. to be Judge: Secondly, becauſe being brought to a publick teſt, after it had been argued by Counſel on both ſides in the Courts of Juſtice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, They paſſed a definitive Sentence for it on the behalf of the King: Thirdly, becauſe the Votes of the Houſes of Parliament were paſſed without hearing the Kings Council, or calling the Judges to ſhew the Reaſons of their Opinions: And fourthly, becauſe the Arguments of Juſtice *Croke* and Juſtice *Hutton*, for the illegality thereof, were ordered to be put in Print, and thoſe of the other Judges for the legality of it, ſuppreſſed: But thoſe Votes were not by the makers of them deemed a ſufficient ſecurity againſt impoſing the like charge for the future, but they took in the King's Aid to an Act of Parliament for the confirmation of them. And they now began to conſider of a Charge of High Treaſon againſt the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and the Judges: In the firſt whereof they made ſome expedition, but more deliberate in that of the Judges, being willing to keep a rod over them, that nothing ſhould be declared for Law againſt their intentions: This Debate of the Ship-money lead them to conſider of the firſt occaſion of the raiſing of it, which was becauſe the Parliament immediately preceding the laſt, was diſſolv'd without thoſe Supplies the King expected from them; and from hence they were led into an Enquiry of ſeveral violations of the Priviledges of Parliament, by the commitment of divers Members, and a Judgment againſt them in the King's Bench: And then all the Inconveniencies were ſumm'd up that hapened by the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments, to provide againſt which, they reſolved of a Bill for a Triennial Parliament. Theſe Debates took up many days: but in the mean time, whilſt theſe Conſultations were had for a reformation of the civil State, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners and their friends were not idle in their endeavours, to reform or alter the Eccleſiaſtical State: In order whereunto, many Petitions from all places were delivered to the Houſe of Commons againſt Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Government of it by Biſhops, amongſt which, one was preſented by Alderman *Pennington*, ſubſcribed by fifteen hundred Citizens of *London*.

The Citizens preſent a Petition againſt Church-Ceremonies.

This Petition was very ſurpriſing to many ſober men in the Houſe of Commons, who were not unwilling to have the abuſes in the Government of the Church reformed, but could not approve of the abolition of the Government it ſelf, ſo that after ſome debate, the Petition was tranſmitted to another time; but thoſe that favoured the buſineſs, though they were not ſucceſsful in it, fell a while after upon another Argument more plauſible, which was an inſpection into the legality of the late Convocation, which produced this Reſolution of the Commons.

The illegality of the late Convocation reſolved upon, and their Canons and Conſtitutions voted down.

That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation, hath no power to make Canons, Conſtitutions or Laws Eccleſiaſtical, to bind either Laity or Clergy without a Parliament: And that the Canons are againſt the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, againſt the King's Prerogative, Property of the Subjects, the Right of Parliaments, and do tend to Faction and Sedition.

The Clergy of this Convocation thought themſelves hardly uſed in theſe Votes, who thought to have been called by themſelves or their Counſel to have juſtified their proceedings, alledging that it was never known before, that the Convocation had dependance upon the Parliament, either in the calling or diſſolving of it, nor in the confirmation and authoriſing of the Acts thereof, but only on the King himſelf, as appears by the Statute made in the 26th of *Henry* the Eighth, and the conſtant Practice ever ſince: and it is certain, that before the Canons were ſubſcribed, they were imparted to the King, and by him communicated to the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges and the King's Counſel learned in the Laws of this Realm, being then attending; In the hearing of all which they were read, and by all approved, which had been ſtrange, if any thing tending to Faction and Sedition, or to the diminution of the Subjects Property and the King's Prerogative, or otherwiſe againſt the known Laws of the Land, had been found in them: but the Reputation of the Commons was at this time ſo great, it was not ſafe for any to diſpute their Actions: The very ſame day that the Canons were thus voted down, the *Scots* Commiſſioners had preſented a Paper to the Parliament, wherein they named the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, an Incendiary, and promiſed to bring in a complaint againſt him the morrow after: this produced an Order in the Houſe of Commons for a Committee to draw up a Charge againſt him; but the *Scots* failing to bring in their Complaint the next day, Mr. *Hollis* the day after, was ſent up to the Lords from the Commons with a general Impeachment of High Treaſon againſt him, praying that he might be ſequeſtred from Parliament, and in a few days they would reſort to them, with the particular ground of their Accuſation; immediately upon this, the *Scots* Commiſſioners ſent in their Charge, upon the reading whereof he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Uſher of the *Black Rod*, where he continued ten weeks before any particular Charge was brought againſt him: The Lord Keeper *Finch* was the next great Delinquent againſt whom the Commons deſigned to proceed, whereof he having gained intelligence, he moved by his Friends in that Houſe, that he might be permitted to clear himſelf before them of ſeveral Imputations that lay upon him; which the Commons agreed to, and on the 21ſt of *December* he made an elegant and quaint Oration, tending to the Vindication of himſelf in every particular, but notwithſtanding all that he could ſay, they voted him that very day a Traytor, upon theſe Conſiderations.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being impeached of High Treaſon, is committed to the *Black Rod*.

1. *For refuſing to read the Remonſtrance againſt the Lord Treaſurer* Weſton, 4. Caroli. *when the Parliament deſired it.*

2. *For ſoliciting, perſwading, and threatning the Judges to deliver their Opinion for the levying of Ship-money.*

Lord Keeper *Finch* voted a Traytor.

3. *For ſeveral illegal Actions in Forreſt matters.*

4. *For ill Offices done in moving the King to diſſolve the laſt Parliament, and cauſing his Majeſties Declaration thereupon to be put forth.*

The next day he was accuſed before the Lords, but he wiſely withdrew himſelf into *Holland*, and thereby eſcaped the danger that threatned him, and

He flies over into *Holland*.

1640.

Sir *Edward Littleton* succeeds in his place.

and a while after Sir *Edward Littleton* was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* in his place.

A Match proposed between the Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary*, approved by the Parliament.

The King having been some time in treaty with the Dutch Embassador, for a Match betwixt the young Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary* his daughter, before he would make any conclusion therein, thought fit to communicate the same to the Lords in Parliament, which he did on the 10. of *February*; the Considerations that induced him to this Treaty, he said, were three: First, the matter of Religion, wherein there needed no dispensation, nor fear that his Daughters Conscience should be any way perverted.

Secondly, He esteemed a strict Alliance and confederacy with the States, as useful to the Kingdom as that of any of his neighbours, especially considering their affinity, neighbourhood, and way of strength; And lastly, the use he might make of this Alliance towards the establishing of his Sister and Nephews. He told them, the Articles of Marriage were in a manner concluded, but not to be ratified till that Alliance should be ended and agreed, which he said he thought not fit to enter upon without their assistance; he then delivered to them the Propositions offered by him to the States Embassadour, which he left to their consideration and free debate, desiring them to make as much expedition in their Counsels as so great a business should require: The Lords communicated this favourable Proposition of the King to the Commons, who resented it very well, and indeed nothing from the King since the first sitting of this Parliament was so acceptable to both Houses, which was a wonder, considering the jealousie of the Times. About this time, or a few days before, the particular Charge against the Earl of *Strafford* was brought up to the Lords by Mr. *Pym* under 28 Articles. They had a little while before exhibited some general Articles, to which he could not be forced to answer; but upon this further Impeachment, the Lords required him to answer to the whole, and though the Charge was very long, yet were the Commons so pressing for his Answer, that by the 24th of *February* he delivered it to the Lords, and it was read in the House, the King being present.

A particular Charge brought by Mr. *Pym* against the Earl of *Strafford*, whereupon he is committed to the *Tower*.

Upon the carrying up of this Impeachment, he was taken out of the Custody of the Usher of the *Black Rod*, and committed to the Tower; he moved the Lords to have Counsel allowed him, which was much opposed by the Commons, but his Accusation having much in it of matter of Law, he had permission to have Counsel: The Articles as they consisted first of Generals, and as they were after distributed into Particulars, we shall insert when we come to the Relation of his Tryal.

The King gives his assent to the Bill for a Triennial Parliament.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments having passed both Houses, was on the 16th of *February* offered to the King, it was intituled, An Act for the preventing inconveniencies happening by the long Intermission of Parliaments; and at the same time the Commons presented an Act for the Relief of his Majesties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom, which was a Grant of Four entire Subsidies: to both which the King gave his Royal Assent.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments was an Act of as great Favour to the Subject as ever pass'd in Parliament; for if the King should refuse to summon a Parliament at the time therein limited, the Chancellor or Keeper might issue out Writs to summon the Peers, and for election of the Commons: and if the Chancellor or Keeper should not do it, any twelve of the Peers might summon the Parliament; and if the Peers should omit the issuing out of Summons, the Sheriffs in Counties, and other Magistrates respectively might cause Elections to be made; and if the Sheriffs should refuse, the Freeholders in Counties, and all other persons that have right of choosing, might make Election of Members: And the Members so chosen, were under great penalties obliged to attend: with many other clauses to accomplish the end designed by the Act, which also had in it several expressions too reflecting on the Prerogative: but the King really believing most of the mischiefs then complained of, proceeded from the too long intermission of Parliaments, and being resolved for the future to communicate freely and frequently that way with his Subjects, he consented to it: And this Act of his Grace and Favour, was so pleasing to the Parliament, that upon a conference with both Houses it was unanimously agreed to wait upon the King at *Whitehall*, and return him their humble thanks, and that night Bone-fires and other tokens of joy were made in the City by Order of Parliament.

1640.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* ordered to the *Tower*.

On the same day the Charge against the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was carried from the Commons to the Lords by Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, whereupon he was ordered to the *Tower*; but upon his humble Suit to the Lords, his commitment was respited till the first of *March*.

The Scots Commissioners laboured very much under-hand to introduce their Presbyterian Discipline into the Church of *England*, and by their Confederates had made an active Party in the House of Commons, who took frequent occasion of aspersing the Bishops, and in these debates they spared not Episcopacy: also the debate of the forementioned City Petition was now resumed, and many Members spake for the eradication of the Episcopal Hierarchy, amongst which *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the younger Son of the Lord *Say*, was most vehement; but the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Digby*, and many others of great Learning and Integrity, did by the weight of Reason so far prevail, that the Order of Episcopacy was yet preserved, tho' their power was much lessened by a Vote passed in the House of Commons preparatory to a Bill, *viz.* That no Bishop shall have any Vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial power in the Star-Chamber, nor bear any sway in temporal affairs, and that no Clergy-man shall be in Commission of the Peace. The next thing of Note, was the Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford*, which began on the 22 of *March*, and was so remarkable in the circumstances of it, that we shall be very particular in the Relation thereof.

The Bishops Votes in Parliament voted down.

The Earl of *Strafford* brought to his Tryal.

He came from the Tower about seven of the clock in the morning, accompanied with six Barges, wherein were 100 Souldiers of the Tower, all with Partizans for his Guard, and 10 pair of Oars: at his landing at *Westminster* he was attended with 200 of the Trained Bands, and was

Guarded

1640. Guarded by them into the Hall: The King, Queen and Prince came about 9 a clock, but kept themselves private within their Closets, so that the King saw and heard all that passed, but was seen of none: When the Earl entred the Hall, the Porter asked the Usher of the *Black Rod*, whether the Ax should be carried before him or no, who answered, That the King had expresly forbidden it; nor was it the Custom of *England* to use that Ceremony, but only when the Party accused was to be put upon his Jury. Those of the Upper House sate with their Heads covered, those of the Lower House that were present (for they sate not there as a House) were all uncovered. The Bishops upon the Saturday before did voluntarily decline the giving of their Suffrages in Matters criminal, and of that nature, according to the provision of the Canon Law, and Practice of the Kingdom to this day, and therefore would not be present; yet withal they gave in a Protestation, that their absence should not prejudice them of that or any other Privilege competent to them, as the Lords Spiritual in Parliament, which was accepted.

The Bishops decline the giving of their Suffrages in the matter

The Earl of *Arundel* sate as Lord High-Steward of *England*, and at the Earls appearing, commanded the Prosecutors to proceed. Mr. *Pym* being Speaker of the Committee of the Commons that were appointed to prosecute, gave in the Articles of Impeachment, which we shall here insert as they were read in Court.

The Articles of Impeachment

1. That he the said *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* hath traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government by Law, which he hath declared by traiterous Words, Counsels and Actions, and by giving his Majesty Advice by force of Arms, to compel his loyal Subjects to submit thereunto.

2. That he hath traiterously assumed to himself Regal Power over the Lives, Liberties, Persons, Lands and Goods of his Majesties Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*, and hath exercised the same tyrannically, to the Subversion of many, both of Peers, and others of his Majesties Liege People.

3. That the better to enrich and enable himself to go through with his traiterous designs, he hath detained a great part of his Majesties Revenue, without giving legal Account, and hath taken great Sums out of the Exchequer, converting them to his own use, when his Majesty was necessitated for his own urgent Occasions, and his Army had been a long time unpaid.

4. That he hath traiterously abused the Power and Authority of his Government, to the increasing, countenancing, and encouraging of Papists, that so he might settle a mutual dependance and confidence betwixt himself and that Party, and by their help prosecute and accomplish his malicious and tyrannical Designs.

5. That he hath maliciously endeavoured to stir up enmity and hostility between his Majesties Subjects of *England*, and those of *Scotland*.

6. That he hath traiterously broken the great trust reposed in him by his Majesty, of Lieutenant General of his Army, by wilfully leaving divers of his Majesties Subjects to death, his Army to a dishonourable Retreat by the Scots at *Newburn*, and the Town of *Newcastle* into their hands, to the end that by the effusion of Blood, by dishonour, and so great a loss of *Newcastle*, His Majesties Realm of *England* might be engaged in a National and Irreconcileable Quarrel with the Scots.

1640.

7. That to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his traiterous Courses, he laboured to subvert the Rights of Parliaments, and the ancient course of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments by which words, Counsels and Actions, he hath traiterously, and contrary to his Allegiance, laboured to alienate the hearts of the King's liege people from his Majesty, to set a division between them, and to ruine and destroy his Majesties Kingdoms, for which they impeach him of High-Treason against our Soveraign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

8. And he the said Earl of *Strafford* was Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant-General of the Army there, (*viz.*) of his most Excellent Majesty for his Kingdoms both of *England* and *Ireland*, and Lord President of the North, during the time that all and every of the Crimes and Offences before set forth were done and committed: And he the said Earl was Lieutenant-General of all his Majesties Army in the North parts of *England*, during the time that the Crimes and Offences in the 5th. and 6th. Articles set forth, were done and committed.

The further Impeachment which was more particular, was thus expressed.

1. That he the said Earl of *Strafford* the 21st. day of *March*, in the eighth year of his now Majesties Reign, was President of the King's Council in the Northern parts of *England*.

That he the said Earl being President of the said Council, on the 21st. day of *March*, a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, with Schedules of Instruction thereto annexed, was directed to the said Earl and others the Commissioners therein named, whereby amongst other things, Power and Authority is limited to the said Earl and others the Commissioners therein named, to hear and determine all Offences and Misdemeanors, Suits, Debates, Controversies and Demands, Causes, Things and Matters whatsoever therein contained, and within certain Precincts in the said Northern parts therein specified, and in such manner as by the said Schedule is limited and appointed.

That amongst other things in the said Instructions, it is directed, that the said President and others therein appointed, shall hear and determine according to the course of Proceedings in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, divers Offences, deceits and falsities therein mentioned, whether the same be provided for by the Acts of Parliament or not, so that the Fines imposed be not less than by Act or Acts of Parliaments provided for by the Offences is appointed.

That also amongst other things in the said Instructions it is directed, that the said President and others therein appointed, have power to examine,

1640. amine, hear, and determine, according to the Course of Proceedings in the Court of *Chancery*, all manner of Complaints for any Matter within the said Precincts, as well concerning Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, either Free-hold, Customary or Copy-hold, as Leases and other things therein mentioned, and to stay Proceedings in the Court of Common Law, by Injunction, or otherwise, by all Ways and Means, as is used in the Court of *Chancery*.

And although the former Presidents of the said Council had never put in Practice such Instructions, nor had they any such Instructions, yet the said Earl in the Month of *May* in the said 8th. Year, and divers Years following, did put in practice, exercise and use, and caused to be used and put in practice, the said Commission and Instructions, and did direct and exercise an exorbitant and unlawful Power and Jurisdiction, on the Persons and Estates of his Majesties Subjects in those Parts, and did disinherit divers of his Majesties Subjects in those parts of their Inheritances, sequestred their Possession, and did Fine, Ransom, Punish and Imprison them, and caused them to be Fined, Ransomed, Punished and Imprisoned, to their Ruine and Destruction, and namely Sir *Conyers Darcy*, Sir *John Bourcher*, and divers others against the Laws, and in subversion of the same: And the said Commission and Instructions were procured and issued by Advice of the said Earl.

And he the said Earl, to the intent that such illegal and unjust Power might be exercised with the greater License and Will, did advise, counsel and procure further Directions, in and by the said Instructions to be given, that no Prohibition be granted at all, but in cases where the said Council shall exceed the limits of the said Instructions: And that if any Writ of *Habeas Corpus* be granted, the Party be not discharged, till the Party perform the Decree and Order of the said Council.

And the said Earl in the 13th. Year of his now Majesties Reign, did procure a new Commission to himself, and others therein appointed, with the said Instructions, and other unlawful Additions.

That the said Commission and Instructions were procured by the Solicitation and Advice of the said Earl of *Strafford*.

2. That shortly after the obtaining of the said Commission dated the 21st. of *March* in the 8th. Year of his now Majesties Reign, (to wit) the last day of *August* then next following, he the said Earl, (to bring his Majesties Liege People into a dislike of his Majesty and of his Government, and to terrifie the Justices of the Peace from executing of the Laws; he the said Earl being then President as aforesaid, and a Justice of the Peace) did publickly at the Assizes held for the County of *York* in the City of *York*, in and upon the said last day of *August*, declare and publish before the People there attending for the Administration of Justice according to the Law, and in the presence of the Justices sitting, that some of the Justices were all for Law, but they should find that the King's little Finger should be heavier than the Loyns of the Law.

3. That the Realm of *Ireland* having been time out of mind annexed to the Imperial Crown of this his Majesties Realm of *England*, and governed by the same Laws; the said Earl being Lord Deputy of that Realm, to bring his Majesties Liege People of that Kingdom likewise into dislike of his Majesties Government, and intending the subversion of the fundamental Laws and settled Government of that Realm, and the Destruction of his Majesties Liege People there, did upon the 30th. day of *September* in the 9th. Year of his now Majesties Reign, in the City of *Dublin* (the chief City of that Kingdom, where his Majesties Privy Council and Courts of Justice do ordinarily reside, and whither the Nobility and Gentry of that Realm do usually resort for Justice) in publick Speech before divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and before the Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder, and many Citizens of *Dublin*, and other his Majesties Liege People, declare and publish, That *Ireland* was a conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased; and speaking of the Charters of the former Kings of *England* made to that City, he further said, That their Charters were nothing worth, and did bind the King no further than he pleased. 1641.

4. That *Richard* Earl of *Cork* having sued out Process in course of Law for recovery of his Possession, from which he was put by colour of an Order, made by the said Earl of *Strafford* and the Council Table of the said Realm of *Ireland*; The said Earl of *Strafford* upon a Paper Petition, without legal Proceedings, did the 20th. day of *February* in the 11th. Year of his now Majesties Reign, threaten the said Earl of *Cork* (being then a Peer of the said Realm) to imprison him, unless he would surcease his Suit, and said, he would neither have Law nor Lawyers dispute or question any of his Orders: And the 20th. day of *March* in the said 11th. Year, the said Earl of *Strafford* speaking of an Order of the said Council Table of that Realm made in the time of King *James*, which concerned a Lease, which the said Earl of *Cork* claimed in certain Rectories or Tythes, which the said Earl of *Cork* alledged to be of no force, said, That he would make the said Earl, and all *Ireland* know, so long as he had the Government there, any Act of State there made, or to be made, should be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdom, as an Act of Parliament. And did question the said Earl of *Cork* in the *Castle-Chamber*, upon pretence of Breach of the said Order of the Council Table, and did sundry other times, and upon sundry other occasions, by his Word and Speeches, arrogate to himself a Power above the fundamental Laws and established Government of that Kingdom, and scorned the said Laws and established Government.

The Castle Chamber is the same with the Star-Chamber in England.

5. That according to such his Declarations and Speeches, the said Earl of *Strafford* did use and exercise a Power above and against, and to the subversion of the said fundamental Laws and established Government of the said Realm of *Ireland*, extending such his Power to the Goods, Free-holds, Inheritances, Liberties and Lives of his Majesties Subjects of the said Realm, *viz.* The said Earl of *Strafford*, the 12th. day of *December*, *Anno Dom.* 1635. in the time of full Peace, did in the said Realm of *Ireland* give and procure,

to

1640. to be given againſt the Lord *Mount-Norris*, (then and yet a Peer of *Ireland*, and then Vice-Treaſurer and Receiver-General of the Realm of *Ireland*, and one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and Keeper of the Privy Signet of the ſaid Kingdom) a Sentence of Death by a Councel of War called together by the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, without any Warrant or Authority of Law, or Offence deſerving any ſuch Puniſhment: And he the ſaid Earl did alſo at *Dublin* within the ſaid Realm of *Ireland* in the Month of *March*, in the 14th. Year of his Majeſties Reign, without any legal or due Proceedings, or Tryal, give or cauſe to be given a Sentence of Death againſt one other of his Majeſties Subjects, whoſe Name is yet unknown, and cauſed him to be put to Death in execution of the ſaid Sentence.

6. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* without any legal Proceedings, and upon a Paper Petition of *Richard Ralſtone*, did cauſe the ſaid Lord *Mount-Norris* to be diſſeiſed and put out of his Free-hold and Inheritance of his Mannor of *Tymore* in the County of *Armagh*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the ſaid Lord *Mount-Norris* having been two Years before in quiet Poſſeſſion thereof.

7. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* in the Holy Trinity in the 13th. Year of his now Majeſties Regin, did cauſe a Caſe commonly called *The Caſe of* Tenures *upon defective Titles*, to be made or drawn up without any Jury or Tryal, or other legal Proceſs, and without the conſent of Parties, and did then procure the Judges of the ſaid Realm of *England* to deliver their Opinions and Reſolutions to that Caſe, and by colour of ſuch Opinions and Reſolutions, did without any legal Proceeding cauſe *Thomas* Lord *Dillon* a Peer of the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, to be put out of Poſſeſſion of divers Lands and Tenements, being his Free-hold in the County of *Mayo* and *Roſecommen*, in the ſaid Kingdom, and divers other of his Majeſties Subjects to be alſo put out of Poſſeſſion, and diſſeiſed of their Free-hold, by colour of the ſame Reſolutions, without legal Proceedings, whereby many Hundreds of his Majeſties Subjects were undone, and their Families utterly ruined.

8. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* upon a Petition of Sir *John Gifford* Knight, the firſt day of *February* in the ſaid 13th. Year of his Majeſties Reign, without any legal Proceſs made a Decree or Order againſt *Adam* Viſcount *Loftus* of *Elye*, a Peer of the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, and Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and did cauſe the ſaid Viſcount to be impriſoned, and to be kept cloſe Priſoner, on pretence of Diſobedience to the ſaid Decree or Order.

And the ſaid Earl without any Authority, and contrary to his Commiſſion, required and commanded the ſaid Lord Viſcount to yield unto him the Great Seal of the Realm of *Ireland*, which was then in his Cuſtody, by his Majeſties Command, and impriſoned the ſaid Chancellor for not obeying ſuch his Command.

And without any legal Proceedings did in the ſame 13th. Year Impriſon *George* Earl of *Kildare*, a Peer of *Ireland*, againſt Law, thereby to enforce him to ſubmit his Title to the Mannor and Lordſhip of *Caſtle-Leigh*, in the Queens County (being of great yearly Value) to the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*'s Will and Pleaſure, and kept him a Year Priſoner for the ſaid Cauſe, two Months whereof he kept him cloſe Priſoner, and refuſed to enlarge him, notwithſtanding his Majeſties Letters for his Enlargement to the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* directed. 1640.

And upon a Petition exhibited in *October* 1635. by *Thomas Hibbots*, againſt Dame *Mary Hibbots* Widow, to him the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*; the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* recommended the ſaid Petition to the Council Table of *Ireland*, where the moſt part of the Council gave their Vote and Opinion for the ſaid Lady; but the ſaid Earl finding fault herewith, cauſed an Order to be entred againſt the ſaid Lady, and threatned her, that if ſhe refuſed to ſubmit thereunto, he would Impriſon her, and Fine her 500*l.* that if ſhe continued obſtinate, he would continue her Impriſonment, and double her Fine every Month by Month: Wherefore ſhe was enforced to relinquiſh her Eſtate in the Land queſtioned in the ſaid Petition, which ſhortly after was conveyed to Sir *Robert Meredith*, to the uſe of the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*.

And the ſaid Earl in like manner did Impriſon divers others of his Majeſties Subjects, upon pretence of Diſobedience to his Orders and Decrees, and other illegal Commands by him made for pretended Debates, Titles of Lands, and other Cauſes in an arbitrary and extrajudicial Courſe, upon Paper Petitions to him preferred, and no other Cauſe legally depending.

9. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, the 16th day of *February* in the 12th. Year of his now Majeſties Reign, aſſuming to himſelf a Power above and againſt Law, took upon him by a general Warrant under his Hand, to give Power to the Lord Biſhop of *Downe* and *Connor*; his Chancellor or Chancellors, and their ſeveral Officers thereto, to be appointed to Attach and Arreſt the Bodies of all ſuch of the meaner and poorer ſort, who, after citation, ſhould either refuſe to appear before them, or appearing, ſhould omit or deny to perform or undergoe all lawful Decrees, Sentences and Orders iſſued out againſt them, and them to commit and keep in the next Gaol, until they ſhould either perform ſuch Sentences, or put in ſufficient Bail to ſhew ſome reaſon before the Council Table, of ſuch their contempt and neglect; and the ſaid Earl the Day and Year laſt mentioned, ſigned and iſſued a Warrant to that effect, and made the like Warrant to all other Biſhops and their Chancellors, in the ſaid Realm of *Ireland* to the ſame effect.

10. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* being Lord-Lieutenant, or Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, procured the Cuſtoms of the Merchandiſe Exported out and Imported into that Realm to be framed to his own Uſe.

And in the Ninth Year of his now Majeſties Reign, he having then Intereſt in the ſaid Cuſtoms (to advance his own Gain and Lucre) did cauſe and procure the native Commodities of *Ireland* to be rated in the Book of Rates for the Cuſtoms (according to which the Cuſtoms were uſually gathered) at far greater Values and Prices than in truth they were worth: That is to ſay, Every Hide at 20*s.* which in truth is worth but Five Shillings, Every Stone of Wool at thirteen Shillings

1640. shillings four pence, though the same ordinarily were worth but five shillings at the utmost, by which means the Custom which was before but a twentieth part of the true value of the Commodities, was inhanced sometimes to a 5th. part, and sometimes to a 4th. and sometimes to a 3d. part of the true value, to the great oppression of the Subjects, and decay of Merchandise.

11. That the said Earl in the 9th. year of his now Majesties Reign, did by his own will and pleasure, and for his own lucre, restrain the exportation of the Commodities of that Kingdom without his License, as namely Pipe-staves and other Commodities, and then raised great sums of money for licensing of exportation of those Commodities, and dispensation of the said restraint imposed on them, by which means the Pipe-staves were raised from 4 l. to 5 or 5 l. per thousand to 10 l. and sometimes 12 l. per thousand, and other Commodities were inhanced in the like proportion, and by the same means by him the said Earl.

12. That the said Earl being Lord Deputy of Ireland on the 9th. of January in the 13th. year of his Majesties Reign, did then under colour to regulate the Importation of Tobacco into the said Realm of Ireland, issue a Proclamation in his Majesties Name, prohibiting the Importation of Tobacco without Licence of him and the Council there, from and after the first day of May, 1638. after which restraint, the said Earl, notwithstanding the said restraint, caused divers great quantities of Tobacco to be imported to his own use, and freighted divers Ships with Tobacco, which he imported to his own use; And that if any Ship brought Tobacco into any Port there, the said Earl and his Agents used to buy the same to his own use at their own price; And if that the owner refused to let him have the same at under-values, then they were not permitted to vent the same; by which undue means, the said Earl having gotten the whole Trade of Tobacco into his own hands, he sold it at great and excessive prices (such as he list to impose) for his own profit.

And the more to assure the said Monopoly of Tobacco, he the said Earl on the 25th. day of February in the 13th. year aforesaid, did issue another Proclamation, commanding that none should put to sale any Tobacco by wholesale from and after the last day of May then next following; but what should be made up into Rolls, and the same sealed with two Seals by himself appointed, one at each end of the Roll. And such as were not so sealed to be seized, appointing 6 d. the pound for a reward to such persons as should seize the same. And the persons in whose custody the unsealed Tobacco should be found, to be committed to Gaol; which last Proclamation was covered by a pretence of the restraining the sale of unwholesom Tobacco, but it was only to advance the said Monopoly.

Which Proclamation the said Earl did rigorously put in Execution by seizing the Goods, Fining, Imprisoning, Whipping and putting the Offenders against the same Proclamation on the Pillory, as namely, *Barnaby Hubbard, Edward Cockram* and *Thomas Tomes*, and divers others: And made the Officers of State, and Justices of Peace and other Officers, to serve him in compassing and Executing these unjust and undue Courses, by which Cruelties and unjust Monopolies, the said Earl raised an Hundred thousand pounds *per ann.* gain to himself: And yet the said Earl tho' he inhanced the Customs where it concerned the Merchants in general, yet drew down the impost formerly taken on Tobacco from 6 d. the pound to 3 d. the pound, it being for his own profit so to do. And the said Earl by the same and other rigorous and undue means, raised several other Monopolies and unlawful exactions for his own gain, *viz.* on Starch, Iron-pots, Glasses, Tobacco pipes, and several other Commodities. 1640.

13. That Flax being one of the principal and Native Commodities of that Kingdom of *Ireland*, the said Earl having got great quantities thereof into his hands, and growing on his own Lands, did issue out several Proclamations, *viz.* One dated the 21th. day of *May* in the 11th. year of his Majesties Reign, and the other dated the one and thirtieth of *January* in the same year, thereby prescribing and enjoyning the working of Flax into yarn and thread, and the ordering of the same in such ways, wherein the Natives of that Kingdom were unpractised and unskilful: which Proclamations so issu'd, were by his Commands and Warrants to his Majesties Justices of Peace and other Officers, and by other rigorous means put in execution; and the Flax wrought or ordered in other manner than as the Proclamation prescribed, was seized and imployed to the use of him and his Agents, and thereby the said Earl endeavoured to gain, and did gain in effect the sole sale of that native Commodity.

14. That the said Earl of *Strafford* by Proclamation dated the 16th. day of *October* in the 14th. year of his Majesties Reign, did impose upon the Owners, Masters, Pursers and Boatswains of every Ship, a new and unlawful Oath, *viz.* That they (two or more of them) immediately after the arrival of any Ship within any Port or Creek in the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, should give in a true Invoyce of the outward bulk of Wares and Merchandises, and number of Goods, and the qualities and conditions of the said Goods, as far as to them should be known, and the names of the several Merchants Proprietors of the said Goods, and the places from whence they were freighted, and whither they were bound to discharge; which Proclamation was accordingly put in Execution, and sundry persons enforced to take the said unlawful Oath.

15. That the said Earl of *Strafford* traiterously and wickedly devised and contrived by force of Arms in a warlike manner to subdue the Subjects of the said Realm of *Ireland*, to bring them under his tyrannical power and will, and in pursuance of his wicked and traiterous purposes aforesaid, the said Earl of *Strafford* in the 12th. year of his Majesties Reign, did by his own Authority, without any warrant or colour of Law, levy and impose great sums of Money upon the Towns of *Ballimore, Baudonbridge, Talaw*, and divers other Towns and Places in the said Realm of *Ireland*, and did cause the same to be levied upon the Inhabitants of those Towns by Troops of Souldiers with force and arms, in a warlike manner: And on the 9th. day of *March* in the 12th.

1640. year of his now Majesties Reign, traiterously did give Authority unto *Robert Savile* a Sergeant at Arms, and to the Captains of Companies of Soldiers in several parts of the Realm, to send such numbers of Soldiers to lie on the Lands and Houses of such as would not conform to his Orders, until they should render obedience to his said Orders and Warrants, and after such submission (and not before) the said Soldiers to return to their Garrisons: And did also issue the like Warrants unto divers others, which Warrants were in War-like manner with Force and Arms put in execution accordingly, and by such War-like means he did force divers of Majesties Subjects of that Realm to submit themselves to his unawful Commands.

And in the said 12th. year of his Majesties Reign, the said Earl of *Strafford* did traiterously cause certain Troops of Horse and Foot armed in War-like manner, and in War-like array with Force and Arms to expel *Richard Butler* from the Possession of *Castle Cumber* in the Territory of *Idough* in the said Realm of *Ireland*, and did likewise, and in the like War-like manner expell divers of His Majesties Subjects from their Houses, Families and Possessions, as namely, *Edward Brewman*, *Owen Oberman*, *Patrick Oberman* and Sir *Cyprian Horsefeilde*, and divers others, to the number of about a Hundred Families, and took and imprisoned them and their Wives, and carried them Prisoners to *Dublin*, and there detained them till they did yield up, surrender or release their respective Estates and Rights.

And the said Earl in like War-like manner hath, during his Government of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, subdued divers others of his Majesties Subjects to his will, and thereby, and by the means aforesaid, hath levied War within the said Realm against his Majesty and his liege people of that Kingdom.

16. That the said Earl of *Strafford* the 22d. of *February* in the 7th. year of his now Majesties Reign, intending to oppress the said Subjects of *Ireland*, did make a Proposition, and obtained from his Majesty an Allowance, that no complaint of injustice or oppression done in *Ireland*, should be received in *England* against any, unless it first appeared that the party made first his address to him in *Ireland*: And he restored divers Fryeries and Mass-houses (which had been formerly suppressed by the precedent Deputies of that Kingdom, Two of which Houses were in the City of *Dublin*, and had been assigned to the use of the University there) to the pretended owners thereof, who have since imployed the same to the exercise of the Popish Religion.

17. And in the Month of *May* and *June* last, the said Earl did raise an Army in the said Realm of *Ireland*, consisting of Eight thousand Foot, all of which, except 1000 or thereabouts, were Papists, and the said 1000 were drawn out of the old Army there, consisting of 2000 Foot, and in their places there were 1000 Papists put into the Army by the said Earl. And the more to engage and tye the new Army of Papists to himself, and to encourage them, and to discourage and wear out the old Army, the said Earl did so provide, that the said new Army of Papists were duly paid, and had all necessaries provided for them, and permitted the exercise of their Religion, but the said old Army were for the space of one whole year and upwards, unpaid. 1640.

18. And the said Earl being appointed Commissioner within Eleven several Counties of the Northern parts of *England*, for compounding with Recusants for their Forfeitures due to his Majesty, which Commission beareth date the 8th. day of *July* in the 5th. year of his Majesties Reign that now is, and being also Receiver of the composition Money thereby arising, and other debts, duties and penalties for his Majesties use, by Letters Patents dated the Ninth day of the said *July*, He, to engage the said Recusants to him, did compound with them at low and under-rates, and provided that they should be discharged of all proceedings against them, in all his Majesties Courts both Temporal and Ecclesiastical, in manifest breach of, and contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm in that behalf established.

19. That the said Earl having taxed and levied the said Impositions, and raised the said Monopolies, and committed the said oppressions in his Majesties Name, and as by his Majesties Royal command, he the said Earl in *May* in the 15th. year of his Majesties Reign, did of his own Authority continue and frame a new and unusual Oath, by the purport whereof among many other things the party taking the said Oath, was to swear that he should not protest against any of his Majesties Royal Commands, but submit himself in all obedience thereunto; which Oath he so contrived to enforce the same on the Subjects of the *Scottish* Nation inhabiting in *Ireland*, and put them to a discontent of his Majesty and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majesties said Subjects there to take the said Oath, some whereof he grievously fined and imprisoned, and others he destroyed and exiled, and namely the Tenth of *October*, *An. Dom.* 1639. he fined *Henry Steward* and his Wife who refused to take the said Oath, Five thousand pounds a-piece, and their two Daughters, and *James Grey* 3000 *l.* a-piece, and Imprisoned them for not paying the said Fines; The said *Henry Steward*'s Wife and Daughters, and *James Grey*, being the King's liege people of the *Scottish* Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner. And the said Earl upon that occasion did declare, That the said Oath did not only oblige them in point of Allegiance to his Majesty, and acknowledgement of his Supremacy only, but to the Ceremonies and Government of the Church Established or not Established by his Majesties Royal Authority, and said, That the refusers to obey he would prosecute to the Blood.

20. That the said Earl in the 15 and 16 years of his Majesties Reign, and divers years past, laboured and endeavoured to beget in his Majesty an ill Opinion of his Subjects, namely those of the *Scottish* Nation, and divers and sundry times, and especially since the pacification made by his Majesty with his said Subjects of *Scotland* in Summer, in the 15th. year of his Majesties Reign; he said Earl did endeavour to perswade, incite and provoke his Majesty to an offensive War against his said Subjects of the *Scottish* Nation:

1641. and the ſaid Earl by his Counſel, Actions and Endeavours, hath been, and is a principal and chief Incendiary of the War and Diſcord between his Majeſty and his Subjects of *England*, and the ſaid Subjects of *Scotland*, and hath declared and adviſed his Majeſty, that the demands made by the *Scots* in their Parliament, were a ſufficient cauſe of War againſt them; The ſaid Earl having formerly expreſſed the heat and rancour of his mind, towards his Subjects of the *Scottiſh* Nation, *viz.* The Tenth day of *October*, in the 15*th.* year of his Majeſties Reign, he ſaid, that the Nation of the *Scots* were Rebels and Traytors; and he being then about to come to *England*, he then further ſaid, that if it pleaſed his Maſter (meaning his Majeſty) to ſend him back again, he would root out of the ſaid Kingdom, (meaning the Kingdom of *Ireland*) the *Scottiſh* Nation both root and branch. (Some Lords and others who had taken the ſaid Oath in the precedent Article only excepted.) And the ſaid Earl hath cauſed divers of the Ships and Goods of the Scots to be ſtayed, ſeized and moleſted, to the intent to ſet on the ſaid War.

21. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* ſhortly after his Speeches mentioned in the laſt precedent Article, to wit, in the 15*th.* year of his Majeſties Reign, came into this Realm of *England*, and was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and continued his Government of that Kingdom by a Deputy; at his arrival here, finding that his Majeſty had with much Wiſdom and Goodneſs compoſed the troubles in the *North*, and had made a pacification with his Subjects of *Scotland*, he laboured by all means to procure his Majeſty to break that Pacification, incenſing his Majeſty againſt his Subjects of that Kingdom, and the Proceedings of the Parliament, there: And having incenſed his Majeſty to an offenſive War againſt his ſaid Subjects of *Scotland* by Sea and by Land, and by pretext thereof to raiſe Money and Forces for the maintenance of that War, he counſelled his Majeſty to call a Parliament in *England*, yet the ſaid Earl intended, if the ſaid Proceedings of that Parliament ſhould not be ſuch as ſhould ſtand with the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*'s miſchievous deſigns, he would then procure his Majeſty to break off the ſame, and by ways of Force and Power to raiſe Monies upon the ſaid Subjects of this Kingdom.

And for the incouragement of his Majeſty to hearken to his Advice, he did before his Majeſty and his Privy-Council then ſitting in Council, make a large Declaration, that he would ſerve his Majeſty in any other way, in caſe the Parliament ſhould not ſupply him.

22. That in the Month of *March* before the beginning of the laſt Parliament, the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* went into *Ireland*, and procured the Parliament of that Kingdom to declare their aſſiſtance in a War againſt the *Scots*; and gave directions for the raiſing of an Army conſiſting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, being for the moſt part Papiſts as aforeſaid, and confederating with one Sir *George Ratcliff*, did, together with him the ſaid Sir *George*, traiterouſly conſpire to imploy the ſaid Army for the ruine and deſtruction of the Kingdom of *England*, and of his Majeſties Subjects, and of altering and ſubverting the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. And 1640.
ſhortly after, the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* returned into *England*, and to ſundry perſons declared his Opinion to be, That his Majeſty ſhould firſt try this Parliament here, and if that did not ſupply him according to his occaſions, he might then uſe his Prerogative as he pleaſed, to levy what he needed, and that he ſhould be acquitted both of God and Man, if he took ſome other courſes to ſupply himſelf, though it were againſt the will of his Subjects.

23. That upon the Thirteenth day of *April* laſt, the Parliament of *England* met, and the Commons Houſe (then being the repreſentative body of all the Commons in the Kingdom) did according to the truſt repoſed in them, enter into debate and conſideration of the great Grievances of this Kingdom, both in reſpect of Religion, and the publick Liberty of this Kingdom, and his Majeſty referring chiefly to the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the ordering and diſpoſing of all matters concerning the Parliament: He the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, with the aſſiſtance of the ſaid Arch-Biſhop, did procure his Majeſty by ſundry Speeches and Meſſages, to urge the ſaid Commons Houſe, to enter into ſome reſolution for his Majeſties ſupply, for maintenance of his War againſt his Subjects of *Scotland*, before any courſe were taken for relief of the great and preſſing Grievances, wherewith the Kingdom was then afflicted: whereupon a demand was then made from his Majeſty of Twelve Subſidies for the releaſe of Ship-money only; and while the ſaid Commons then Aſſembled (with expreſſions of great Affection to his Majeſties Service) were in debate and conſideration of ſome Supply, before reſolution by them made; He the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* with the help and aſſiſtance of the ſaid Archbiſhop, did procure his Majeſty to diſſolve the laſt Parliament upon the Fifth day of *May* laſt: And upon the ſame day, the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* did treacherouſly, falſely and maliciouſly endeavour to incenſe his Majeſty againſt his loving and faithful Subjects, who had been Members of the ſaid Houſe of Commons, by telling his Majeſty they had denied to ſupply him: and afterwards in the ſame Month, did treacherouſly and wickedly counſel and adviſe his Majeſty to this effect, *viz.* That having tryed the affection of his people, he was looſe and abſolved from all Rules of Government, and was to do every thing that power would admit, and that his Majeſty had tryed all ways, and was refuſed, and ſhould be acquitted both of God and Man; And that he had an Army in *Ireland* (meaning the Army abovementioned, conſiſting of Papiſts, his Dependants, as is aforeſaid) which he might imploy to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience.

24. That in the ſame Month of *May*, he the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, falſely, treacherouſly and maliciouſly publiſhed and declared before others of his Majeſties Privy Council, That the Parliament of *England* had forſaken the King, and that in denying to ſupply the King, they had given him the advantage to ſupply himſelf by other ways; and divers times he did maliciouſly, falſely and wickedly publiſh and declare, That ſeeing the Parliament had refuſed to ſupply his Majeſty

1640. in the ordinary and usual way, the King might provide for the Kingdom in such ways as he should hold fit, and that he was not to suffer himself to be mastered by the frowardness of the people.

And having so maliciously slandered the said House of Commons, he did with the help and advice of the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Finch*, late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, cause to be printed and published in his Majesties Name, a false and scandalous Book, Entituled, *His Majesties Declaration of the Causes that moved him to dissolve the last Parliament*, full of bitter and malicious Invectives, and false and scandalous Aspersions against the said House of Commons.

25. That not long after the dissolution of the said last Parliament (*viz.* in the Month of *May* and *June*) he the said Earl of *Strafford* did advise the King to go on rigorously in levying of the Ship-money, and did procure the Sheriffs of several Counties to be sent for, for not levying thereof; divers of which were threatned by him to be sued in the *Star-Chamber*, and afterwards by his advice were sued in the *Star-Chamber* for not levying the same, and divers of his Majesties Loving Subjects were sent for, and Imprisoned by his Advice, about that and other illegal Payments.

And a great Loan of 100000*l.* was demanded of the City of *London*, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the Sheriffs of the said City were often sent for to the Council-Table, to give an Account of their Proceedings in raising of Ship-money, and furthering of that Loan, and were required to certifie the Names of such Inhabitants of the said City as were fit to lend, which they with much humility refusing to do, he the said Earl of *Strafford* did use these or the like speeches, *viz.* That they deserved to be put to fine and ransome, and that no good would be done with them till an Example were made of them, they were laid by the heels, and some of the Aldermen hang'd up.

26. That the said Earl of *Strafford* by wicked Council having brought his Majesty into excessive Charges without any just cause, he did in the Month of *July* last (for the support of the said great Charges) counsel and approve two dangerous Projects.

1. To seize upon the Bullion, and the Money in the Mint.

2. And to embase his Majesties Coin with the mixtures of Brass.

And accordingly he procured One hundred and thirty thousand pounds, which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers Merchant-strangers and others, to be seized on, and stayed to his Majesties use: And when divers Merchants of *London*, owners of the said Bullion, came to his house to let him understand what great mischief that course would produce here and in other Parts, and what prejudice it would be to the Kingdom by discrediting the Mint, and hindering the Importation of Bullion; he the said Earl told them, that the City of *London* dealt undutifully and unthankfully with his Majesty, and that if any hurt came to them, they might thank themselves, and that it was the course of other Princes to make use of such Monies to serve their occa- 1640.
sions.

And when in the same Month of *July*, the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers Reasons against the embasing of the said Money, he told them, That the *French* King did use to send Commissaries of Horse with Commissions to search into mens Estates, and to peruse their Accounts, that so they might know what to Levy of them by Force, which they did accordingly Levy: and turning to the Lord *Cottington*, said, That this was a point worthy his Lordship's consideration.

27. That in or about the Month of *August*, last, he was made Lieutenant General of all his Majesties Forces in the Northern parts against the *Scots*, and being at *York*, did in the Month of *September* by his own Authority, and without any lawful Warrant, Impose a Tax on his Majesties Subjects in the County of *York*, of 8*d. per diem*, for maintenance of every Soldier of the Trained Bands of that County, which sums of Money he caused to be levied by Force: And to the end to compel his Majesties Subjects out of fear and errour to yield to the payment of the same, he did declare that he would commit them that refused the payment thereof, and the Soldiers should be satisfied out of their Estates, and they that refused it, were in very little better condition than guilty of High Treason.

28. That in the Month of *September* and *October* last, he the said Earl of *Strafford*, being certified of the *Scots* Armies coming into the Kingdom, being then Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army did not provide for the Town of *Newcastle* as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to be lost, that so he might the more incense the *English* against the *Scots*: And for the same wicked purpose, and out of a malicious desire to engage the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in a National and bloody War, he did write to the Lord *Conwey* the General of the Horse, and under the said Earl's command, that he should fight with the *Scottish* Army at the passage over the *Tyne*, whatsoever should follow notwithstanding; that the said Lord *Conwey* had formerly by Letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army then under his Command was not of Force sufficient to encounter the *Scots*, by which Advice of his, he did, contrary to the duty of his place, betray his Majesties Army then under his Command, to apparent danger and loss.

After these Articles were read, the Earl's Answer thereunto which he had delivered in writing into the Lords House was also read, and this took up the time till two in the afternoon: at which hour the Court rose, and the Earl was remanded to the Tower, with Orders to be there again the next day at Eight in the morning.

On *Tuesday* he came accompanied, as before, and staid in the *Exchequer-Chamber* till Nine in the morning, at which time the Court being sate, and the King, Queen and Prince within their Closets, the Earl was brought in.

Mr. *Pym*, one of the Prosecutors, first aggravates the Charge against the Earl.

Mr. *Pym*, one of the Prosecutors, began first, and aggravated the Charge, which was the day before read, with many superlative expressions. The main Points whereof were, *That it was a*

Treason

1640. *Treason far beyond the reach of words, that a Native Subject and a Peer of* England, *the prime Governour of* Ireland, *the Commander of his Majesty's Forces, and a Protestant in Religion, should have in such an impious and gross manner recompenced his Majesty's Favours, abused his Goodness, and drawn all his Dominions into Hazard and Peril of their Religion, Lives, Goods and Privileges: That one of these Faults alone had been enough and too much for the fulfilling of the Exorbitancy and Wickedness of any one Man, and what Punishment could be thought upon sufficient to expiate Crimes of such a transcendent Nature?*

The Earl begins to make his defence.

The Earl with great Moderation spake in his own Defence to this purpose: *He modestly recounted his Services done to the King and Crown of* England, *and his Endeavours for Advancement as well of the Honour as Commodity both of* England *and* Ireland; *and as to* Ireland *he said, That there had been more Parliaments there since his Government, than in Fifty Years before; that he had opposed divers Projects and Monopolies, and improved the Kings Revenue from* 50000 l. per Annum, *to* 120000 l. per Annum: *That he had restored the Churches maintenance, suppressed the Out-Laws, established Obedience to Royal Authority, and restrained the Tyranny and Usurpation of Great Ones over the Commons; yet for the effecting of all these Actions, he reputed himself the most weak and meanest Instrument.*

Pym offers three new Articles against him.

Mr. *Pym*, after the Close of his Speech, told the Lords, there were three new Articles that the Commons had adjoyned to his Charge by an After-search, and moved that he might presently reply to the same: Whereunto the Earl answered, *It was very strange that after the close of the Process, and where Matters were come to be scann'd and examined by Proofs, that any new Charge should be given in; yet lest he should seem to decline the maintenance of his own Innocency, and the defence of his Honour, he said he was willing to hear them, and have them alledged, provided that a convenient time might be allowed to make his Replies to them.* But Mr. *Pym* excepted against this, and told them, That the House of Commons did conceive it to be dangerous to grant any further time on this occasion: Upon this Importunity, the Lords did retire themselves, and after a little time of stay, returned, and declared, that they had found the Earls Suit to be equitable in desiring further time for answering; yet seeing the Articles themselves neither for number nor weight seemed to be of that Importance, but that he might furnish out a present Answer, they thought it fitting to grant no Delay. The Earl then intreating them to pardon the weakness of his Extemporary Answers, desired to hear the Articles read which were these;

To which the Earl answers.

Pym excepts against the Earl's Answer.

The Lords retire a while, and return, and grant him no further time.

The Articles are then read.

1. That he had within these two years withdrawn 30000 *l.* sterling from the Exchequer in *Ireland*, and imployed it to his own private Uses.

2. That in the beginning of his Government, the Garrisons in *Ireland* had been maintained by the English Treasury.

3. That he had advanced Popish and infamous Persons, as the Bishop of *Waterford*, and others, to the Prime Dignities of the Church of *Ireland*.

1640.

The Earl answers to the three Articles newly enforced.

1. To the Frist he answered, *That Thirty thousand pounds were set apart for the King's late Service at his most special and most peremptory Command, for which he produced the King's own Letter already approved, at his Acquittance at the Exchequer-board in* Ireland.

2. To the Second, *That at the beginning of his Government, as ever before his time, the Garrisons had been burthensom to the Kingdom of* England, *but that he had so improved the Revenue, that they were now paid by that Crown without any Charge to this; for which if the best endeavours of a Subject may justly expect any reward from his King and Countrey, he craved leave to think that he rather deserved many Thanks than the least Punishment.*

3. To the Third, *He attests all the Clergy of* Ireland, *if ever he had taken upon him any particular meddling in advancing their Church-men, or whether he had done any thing concerning such Affairs, but upon the special advice of the best and wisest of their number, adding, that when he befriended the Bishop of* Waterford, *he conceived of him as a Man of Integrity and Learning, fit for such an Imployment, nor was there then the least suspicion of those monstrous Impieties wherewith he was afterwards charged. That he had now justly suffered for the same, and that he hoped they would not lay a necessity upon him to propheſie and divine of the future Conditions and Deportments of Men: For others of the Church suspected of Popery, he knew none such, but should answer to the Particulars so far as they concerned him, when they should happen to be alledged.*

This was all the business of this day; the Lords rose, and the Earl was appointed to come again the next morning, at which time they intended to proceed upon the particular Article, and give Oath to the Witnesses; for hitherto they had only been upon the general Heads.

On the Frist of the special Articles they insisted not.

The Names of the Committee of the House of Commons, Prosecutors of the Earl.

The Committee of Prosecutors were Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, Mr. *John Maynard*, Mr. *Bulstrod Whitlock*, Mr. *John Glyn*, the Lord *George Digby*, Mr. *Oliver St. John*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *John Selden*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and Mr. *Stroud*.

The Lords being sate, and the Earl present on *Wednesday* in the Morning, Mr. *Glyn* first spake: He said,

Mr. *Glyn's* Speech to the charge in the 2d. Article.

The Earl of Strafford *was Impeached not with simple, but accumulative Treason; for though in each particular such a monstrous Crime could not be apprehended, yet when all conceived in the Mass, and under one view, he should be undoubtedly found the most wicked and exorbitant Traytor that ever was Arraigned at the Bar: He added, That his Charge was, intending to subvert and change the fundamental Laws, Liberties, and Privileges of both the Kingdoms, and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government: This, he said, could not appear but by the Fruits, which were*

1640. *were either in Expreſſion or Action. The Expreſſions were;*

1. *That in the Preſence of the Juſtices ſitting at* York *he ſaid, Some were all for Law, but they ſhould find that the King's Little Finger ſhould be heavier than the Loins of the Law.*

To this being the Subſtance of the ſecond Article, the Earl replied, *That having ſpoken ſufficiently before to his Juſtification in general, he would by their Lordſhips favour add theſe few words, That it did ſtrike him to the heart, to be accuſed of ſuch a wicked Crime, and that ſuch honourable Perſons who were the Companions of his youth, and with whom he had ſpent the beſt of his days, ſhould now riſe up in Judgment againſt him; yet he thanked God for it, it was not Guilt but Grief, that ſo much troubled him; he added, That it was a wonder how he had gotten ſtrength ſufficient in ſuch infirmity of Body and anguiſh of Mind, to collect his Thoughts, and ſay any thing at all for himſelf: But the Almighty God who knows him to be innocent, had furniſh'd him with ſome abilities to give teſtimony to the Truth, and a good Conſcience: He therefore intreated, that if either in Judgment or Memory, he ſhould at any time fail, it might be imputed to his great weakneſs: and Although the Gentlemen his Accuſers ſhould ſeem more ready in their Accuſations, than himſelf in his Defence, that it might not prejudice his Cauſe who in very unequal terms, had to do with learned and eloquent Lawyers, bred up a long time, and inured to ſuch judiciary Pleadings, and whoſe Rhetorick he doubted not might preſent many to their View in a Multiplying-Glaſs: he told them farther, that for theſe many years he had been weary of Publick Service, and that now it was his reſolution, after he had vindicated his honour, to retire himſelf, and to enjoy his much longed-for Privacy: And yet he could not but ſay, it had been his hearty wiſh and deſire, to have rather voluntarily reſigned his places of Honour like a ripe Fruit fallen from the Tree, than to be violently pulled from thence as a fruitleſs and Unprofitable withered Branch.*

The Earls Anſwer.

To the Charge of Treaſon, he ſaid, *That under favour he conceived, although all the Articles contained in his Impeachment were verified againſt him, yet they could not all amount to Treaſon, neither Simple nor Accumulative; for, ſaid he, I do not underſtand by what interpretation of Law, the Diverſion of Juſtice can be called a Subverſion of the Same, or the Exceeding of a Commiſſion, the Uſurpation of a New Power; To the Particular alledged, he replied, That his words were inverted, for that his Expreſſion was, That the Little Finger of the Law, (if not ſupported by the Regal Power in granting Pardons for the Penalties of the ſame) was heavier than the King's Loyns: That this was his Expreſſion, he verified,*

1. *Firſt by the Occaſion, for he ſpake the words a long time ſince to ſome who had been impriſoned at* York, *and were then by the King's Favour ſet at Liberty, whom he incited to Thankfulneſs towards his Majeſty by this Expreſſion.*

2. *Secondly, by Sir* William Pennyman, *a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who was there preſent and heard the words; which Sir* William *declared to be true.*

In the Examination of the Witneſſes againſt him to this Article, he convinced one of them of Untruth, by interrogating, where he was when the Speech was heard, and how far diſtant from him? to which the Man replied, *He was twelve yards from him:* The Earl then ſaid, *It was impoſſible for him to hear a man three yards off, by reaſon of a Deafneſs he had, which had held him fourteen years,* which being found true, the Witneſs was rejected. 1640.

Another Witneſs, Sir *David Fowles*, was brought againſt him, againſt whom he excepted as his known and profeſs'd Enemy; but that was not allowed of, becauſe in matters of Treaſon, a Man's Enemy may witneſs againſt him *pro Domino Rege*: this was all that was done for that time.

On *Thurſday* he appeared again, and the ſecond Expreſſions in the third Article of the Charge, was charged againſt him, *viz.* 1641.

That he had declared that *Ireland* was a Conquered Nation, and that the King may do with them what he pleaſed; and ſpeaking of the Charters of the former Kings of *England* made to the City of *Dublin*, he ſaid, They were nothing worth, and did bind the King no farther than he pleaſed. The ſecond Expreſſion in the 3d. Article charg'd againſt him.

This was aggravated as a prime Note of his tyrannical Will and Diſaffection, that would permit no Law to bound the Subject, but what himſelf, and ſuch as he ſhould appoint, might draw by ſiniſtrous Informations from a Gracious and well-meaning Prince, and if this were admitted, the whole power and liberty of the Republick would utterly be loſt.

To this he replied, *That the firſt part of it cannot be denyed:* And to the ſecond, *That he ſaid only, That the King was the Law-giver, which he hoped none could deny without incurring the Crime of Treaſon; and that the King's Sentence was a Law in Matters not determined by Acts of Parliament, which all but diſloyal Subjects would grant: profeſſing withal, that it had been ever his Endeavours to have the Liberty of the Subject and the Royal Prerogative follow both in one Channel; knowing that if either of them croſſed other, we could expect nothing but a Subverſion of the Common-wealth, either by Tyranny or Rebellion: That the Prerogative was like the firſt, the Liberty of the Subject like the ſecond Table, either both or neither can be preſerved: That in his Duty he ſtood obliged, firſt to the King as God's Anointed, then in the ſecond place to his Country, if it did not croſs the Regal Power: And therefore hoped that what he had ſaid was ſo far from being Treaſon, that he thought a thouſand ſuch Expreſſions would not make up one Felony.* This was all the Proceedings of this Day. The Earl Anſwers thereunto.

On *Friday*, two other Expreſſions were urged againſt him out of the Fourth Article: Two Expreſſions out of the fourth Article urg'd againſt him.

1. That he would neither have Law or Lawyers diſpute or queſtion any of his Orders.

2. In ſpeaking of the Earl of *Cork*, he ſaid, he would make him and all *Ireland* know, ſo long as he had the Government, That any Act of State there

1641. there made, or to be made, ſhould be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdom as an Act of Parliament.

The Earls Anſwer. The Earl of *Cork* was the main Witneſs to prove theſe expreſſions.

The Earl anſwered, *It were hard meaſure for a Man to loſe his Honour and his Life for a haſty word: he confeſſed, he had often ſaid, he would not ſuffer his Orders to be contemned, becauſe in contempt of him, his Maſter's Honour would be wounded.*

To the ſecond he ſaid, *If a proportionable Obedience was not as well due to Acts of State, as to Acts of Parliament, in vain did the Council ſit: And that he had done no more than what former Deputies and chief Governours of* Ireland *had done: And what was agreeable to his Inſtructions for the Council Table, which he produced.*

He convinced the Earl of *Cork* of two overſights in his Depoſition, for he had declared upon his Oath, that the Earl had cauſed an Ordinance made againſt him to be interlin'd, and ſome words to be ſcraped out, which words were notwithſtanding ſtill found to be in the Ordinance by an Authentick Copy under the hand of Sir *Paul Davies*, Clerk of the Council-Board in *Ireland*, which the Earl of *Strafford* produced.

In the next place, the Earl of *Cork* alledging amongſt other things, that he had advanced a Groom of his to be a Preacher.

He diſproves what the Earl of Cork alledged againſt him. To diſprove which, the Earl produced a Teſtimony from the Univerſity of *Dublin*, *That the Man had been a Maſter of Arts of Ten or Twelve years ſtanding before his advancement; adding withal, that my Lord* Cork *was an excellent Scholar that could breed ſuch Grooms.* Theſe matters took up the whole day on Friday.

Upon Saturday he appeared again, and having (as they ſaid) done with expreſſions, they would next proceed to his actions, and begin with thoſe concerning his excution of Martial Law againſt the Lord *Mount-Norris*, and another perſon, as the matter is laid down in the 5*th.* Article;

Which they diſtinguiſhed under four Heads:

1. That he exerciſed Martial Law in time of Peace.

2. That he was both Party and Judge in *Mount-Norris* his Caſe.

3. That he proceeded ſummarily in the matter.

4. That he had not heard the exceptions made by *Mount-Norris* againſt his Witneſſes.

To the Firſt he anſwered;

The Earl Anſwers the firſt Head of the firſt Article. 1. *That all Armies have been, and muſt be governed by Martial Law.*

2. *That there is a ſtanding Army in* Ireland, *and therefore the caſe is all one in time of Peace or War; And that the Army might be undone if they ſhould not uſe Martial Law, but were to expect remedy for the ſetling of a Mutiny, or aſſurance of Obedience from the Common Law.*

3. *That it had ever been the Practice of the Deputies, particularly of* Wilmot, Falkland, Chicheſter, *yea* Cork *himſelf, and therefore was no new thing brought in by him:* This he proved both by the production of the Military Ordinances, and by divers Witneſſes who knew Sentences given in that kind by them.

4. *That he had a particular Warrant in his Commiſſion for his Power.*

5. *That in the Lord* Mount-Norris *his Caſe, he was commanded to exerciſe the ſame by the King's particular Letter, both which he cauſed to be read.*

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To the Second he ſaid, *He was not a Judge in the Tryal, but a Party which appear'd, in that he ſate here in the Court all the time of Tryal, and gave no ſuffrage in it, and for further Evidence of his being a Party, he cauſed his Brother Sir* George Wentworth, *in regard of intereſt of Blood, to decline all acting in the proceſs.* His Anſwer to the Second Head.

To the Third he ſaid, *That he being not a Judge in this matter, the Court of War was to be anſwerable for their own proceedings, and that after a long reaſoning he had heard them ſay, No delay could ſafely be granted in Martial Courts.* His Anſwer to the Third Head.

To the Fourth he anſwered, *That he was not a Judge in the Caſe, and remembers not the exceptions againſt any Witneſſes; adding, That as he had been regular in his proceedings, ſo he had been moderate in the Execution of that Sentance: for though the Lord* Mount-Norris *juſtly deſerved to Dye, yet he had obtained for him the King's Pardon for the ſaving of his Life, and profeſſed that he intended nothing by that Sentence, but in ſome meaſure to repair his own Honour, and to give* Mount-Norris *fair reproof, who was known to be of an exorbitant and licentious Tongue and Spirit:* Adding, That if the Houſe of Commons would go on the ſame way with him, and aſſure him that the iſſue of his Charge ſhould be nothing elſe but to admoniſh him for the time to come, he would thank them heartily for it, and ſtudy amendment in all his pretended overſights: And whereas *Mount-Norris* complained, that he had jeeringly told him, when the Sentence was paſſed and pronounced againſt him, That e'er he loſt his head, himſelf would loſe his hand; he anſwered, That although he had been thought to be inſolent and haughty, yet he never was ſo impertinent to uſe this expreſſion: if any ſuch were, it was for undervaluing himſelf in ſaying, That e'er a hair of *Mount-Norris* ſhould periſh, he would loſe his hands; And truly (ſaid he) if *Mount-Norris* would ſay ſo to me, even in the worſt ſence that can be conceived, that e'er I dye, he would loſe his hand, I would take it very kindly from him. For the other Man he avouched, that he himſelf had voiced to hang him, both becauſe he was an arrant Thief, and alſo had fled from his Colours, which by the very Common Law was juſtifiable: (and to this effect, he cited a Statute 20 *Hen.* 6. and 7. *Hen.* 7.) That to fly from their Colours, is Felony: He concluded, *That ſuing he was not neceſſary to the Sentence againſt* Mount-Norris, *but not ſat there as Judge, had a power to keep Martial Courts by his Commiſſion, had not exerciſed the ſame till a new Command came from his Majeſty, had done no more than ever was practiſed in* Ireland *before his time, and had at laſt obtained* Mount-Norris *his pardon; he hoped there was nothing accuſeable in him but his too remiſs and too moderate proceedings.* His Anſwer to the Fourth Head.

Mr. *Glyn* in aggravation of his Exerciſe of Martial Law ſaid, That he knew the time when the Earl of *Strafford* was no leſs active and ſtirring Mr. *Glyn*'s aggravation of the firſt Head.

1641. ring to enlarge the liberty of the subject, and advance the Petition of Right, than now he is for extending his own Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government. 1641.

The Earl's Reply. To this he replyed, without the least semblance of Passion, *That if at any time he had done the least Service to the House of Commons, he thought his whole Life well spent, nor could they ever so graciously reward him as to give Commission to that Gentleman to express so much before that Honourable Assembly; But withal, he said, If ever any such thing was done by him, he intreated it might now be remembred, and serve to over-ballance some slight and mean over-sights committed by him, which he hoped should never make him guilty of Treason, unless it were Treason for a Man to have no more wit and prudence than God and Nature had bestowed upon him.* And so much for *Saturday*.

On *Monday* the Court sate again, and the Earl appeared, and was charged with the Sixth Article, concerning the dispossession of the Lord *Mount-Norris* of the Mannor of *Tymore*, which the Prosecutors inforced with many Arguments, saying, this Fact was,

1. Against an Act of the 7th. of *Hen.* 6. which provides all matters to be determined by the ordinary Judges.

2. Against the late Proclamation of the King.

3. Against the practice of all Deputies before that time: withal, they added, that it was a Tyranny that could not be expressed, to exercise this power over the persons of the Peers of the Land and their Goods.

The Earl's Answer to the Sixth Article. To this he replyed, *That for his part in matter of Justice* (under favour he spake it) *he thought there was no distinction to be made between a Peer of the Land, and one of the Commons, except they did think that either fear or faction should do something, which had no place in him.* He said,

1. *That the Act of H. 6. answered it self sufficiently, both because it excepted the Court of Requests* (and that his Proceedings were nothing else in Ireland) *and also it makes an express reservation of the King's Prerogative, which he said was his strength, because he derived his Commission from the King, and that the Act was the most express Warrant in the World for him.*

2. *The King's Proclamation mentioned, came not out in five years after, wherefore he thought in hard to have it disobedience objected to him for a thing that was not in being, adding, That he wished from his heart, they would respect the King's Command and Commission, with that tenderness of Affection and Obedience as he did his Proclamations: He thus proved that the like course by Summary Proceeding before the Deputy of Ireland, was the constant Practice of all the Deputies that went before him, but nevertheless, He said, he was tender to exercise that Power, till the King (induced by the humble Remonstrances of the meaner sort of People) had laid restraint upon just Reasons commanded, &c.*; calling the King's Letter in that behalf to be read.

Obj. It was objected, that other Deputies had indeed determined upon suits of Equity, and matters of Debt, but not of Land.

He replyed, *That neither he nor they had ever given Sentence or determined any thing concerning matters of Inheritance, but only concerning violent Intrusion, which was the Case in question, and which fell directly within a suit of Equity: and in deciding this controversie, he had, he said, the Lord Chancellour, the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to assist him, nor did he hear the business, till the Complainant by Petition had complained of delay of Justice in the Chancery where the suit had long depended, and upon the proofs exhibited in that Court, he made the Decree. He said moreover, the Natives would unwillingly be debarred of relief in this summary way of proceeding, because they had that dispatch in a day or two which the Common Law would not yield in so many years; that as to this matter charged on him, seeing he had done nothing therein but what was customary, necessary and equitable, and the Sentence just, he expected rather thanks from the State, than a charge for ill Deportment. He likewise shewed with what extortion and violence the Lord* Mount-Norris *had taken seisure of that piece of Land, and made the Action to appear on his part very foul; and at last he concluded, saying, That he had done no more in* Ireland, *than the Court of Requests in* England *usually doth: And that the Chancery Court in* Ireland *doth the same daily, and the last Chancellor was never charged for such Proceedings, though his Power and Authority was less than his: But the difference of the Person and his Authority (it seemeth) doth difference the matter.* And this was the business on *Monday*.

On *Tuesday March* the 31th. he was charged with the 9th. Article, to which he answered, *That the Lord* Dillon, *with others, producing his Patent according to a Proclamation on the behalf of his Majesty, the said Patent was questionable, upon which a Case was drawn and argued by Counsel, and the Judges delivered their Opinion thereupon. But the Lord* Dillon *or any other was not bound thereby, nor put out of their Possessions, but might have traversed the Office, or otherwise have legally proceeded, notwithstanding the said Opinions.* His answer to the 9th. Article.

They then proceeded to the 8th. Article, concerning a Petition exhibited by *Thomas Hibbot*, against Dame *Mary Hibbots* Widow, to which he answered, *That true it is, he had voted against the Lady* Hibbots, *and thought he had reason so to do, the said Lady being discovered, by fraud and circumvention to have bargained for Lands of a great value for a small summ. And he denied that the said Lands were after sold to his Use, or that the major part of the Council Board Voted for the Lady, the contrary appearing by the Sentence under the hand of the Clerk of the Council: which being true; He said, he might well threaten her with Commitment, in case she disobeyed the said Order; Neither had he any undue dealings with Sir* Robert Meredith, *for the Lady had her own Land back from him; he also declared with what fraud and deceit the Lady had came to her Lands.* His answer to the 8th. Article.

After this Article, they fell the same day upon the Ninth, about the giving of Warrants to the Bishop of *Downe* and *Connery*, for apprehending all such persons (and presenting them before the Council Table) as contemned the Ecclesiastical Ordinances.

This was aggravated as a new and Tyrannical Form of proceeding against the Liberty of the Subject.

To

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His Anſwer to the 9th. Article.

To this he replied:

First, *He produced the Primate of* Ireland's, *Archbiſhop* Uſher's *Teſtimony under his Hand, (he being himſelf ſick) that the ſame courſe had been uſed in* Ireland *before, and that Biſhop* Montgomery, *the Primate's Predeceſſour in the Biſhoprick of* Meath, *had had the ſame Warrant.*

Secondly, *He ſhewed the equity that ſuch aſſiſtance ſhould be given to Church-men, who otherwiſe becauſe of Papiſts and Schiſmaticks either to God or the King, would have no reſpect or obedience given them in that Kingdom.*

Thirdly, *He proved by two Witneſſes, that ſuch Warrants were in uſe before his time.*

Fourthly, he ſaid, *He had never granted any but that one, and had preſently within ſome few Months called the ſame in again; What* (ſaid he) *was the Biſhop of* Down's *carriage in it, he had no reaſon to anſwer for: But he preſumed the Biſhop could give a ſatisfactory Anſwer for himſelf when he ſhould be called in queſtion;* and ſo he concluded, *That a matter ſo juſt, ſo neceſſary, ſo cuſtomary and practical before, he hoped ſhould not be charged upon him, as an introduction of a new and Tyrannical Form of Government. And therefore ſubmitted himſelf to the Mercy of God, and the equity of his Peers in his Trial thereon.* And this was the Work on *Tueſday.*

On *Wedneſday* they charged him with the 12*th.* Article, which was preſſed hard upon him by Mr. *Glyn*, who ſaid, That the Earl of *Strafford* having eſtabliſhed an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government over the Lives, Lands and Liberties of the King's Subjects, his next deſire was to make intruſion upon the Crown it ſelf, that by applying to his own uſe the publick Revenues, he might be the more enabled to accompliſh his diſloyal and traiterous Intentions; to which end having by a new Book of Rates inhanced the Cuſtoms, he had gotten by advantage of a Leaſe from the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* (which he procured for her, far different from a former Leaſe to the Duke her Husband) above Twenty ſix thouſand pounds yearly, which was a Crime of a higher nature than thoſe contained in the preceding Articles, becauſe in thoſe there was ſome colour or pretext of Juſtice, here none; thoſe in particulars, this in general; thoſe againſt the Subjects only, this againſt the King himſelf.

For the Proof of the Charge, they produced the Leaſe of the Duke of *Buckingham*, which was read and compared with that Leaſe to the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* (which the Earl hath now by aſſignment) and ſome differences were ſhewn, ariſing to the ſumm of 2000 *lib.* in the Duke's Leaſe; the moiety only of concealed and forfeited goods were due to him, but the whole goods to the Dutcheſs in her Leaſe. Again, the King's Ships of Prizes did not pay Cuſtoms in the Duke's Leaſe, in the Dutcheſs's they did: Again, the Impoſt of the Wines (then belonging to the Earl of *Carliſle*) was not in the Dukes Leaſe, in the Dutcheſs's it was: Laſtly, Whereas the Earl of *Strafford* paid but 14000 *lib. per ann.* for the Cuſtom, it was worth to him, they ſaid, as was apparent by the Books of the Exchequer, 40000 *lib.* Witneſſes were examined.

First, Sir *James Hay*, who depoſed that the Earl of *Carliſle* had an advantage of 1600 *lib. per ann.* by his Leaſe of Wines. 1641.

Secondly, The Lord *Ranelaugh*, who depoſed, that by the inſpection of the Books of Accompts, he had found the Cuſtoms to be *Anno* 1636. Thirty ſix thouſand pounds. *Anno* 1637. 39000 *lib. Anno* 1638. 34000 *lib. Anno* 1639. 59000 *lib.*

With the Proofs they concluded the Charge; That notwithſtanding the Lord *Strafford* pretended a great meaſure of zeal and honeſty in his Majeſties Service, yet it is evident, he had abuſed the Truſt put upon him, and by withdrawing ſo great ſumms of Money from the Crown, had weakened the King, prejudiced the Subject of the protection they were to expect from him, and had been the cauſe that the extraordinary ways of Impoſt and Monopolies had been taken, for ſupplying of the Royal neceſſity: And that this Act therefore ought to be enough to make the Charge and Impeachment of High-Treaſon laid againſt him.

The Earl replied, *That he conceived he had given full ſatisfaction to all hitherto brought againſt him, about his pretended arbitrary Government, nor would be ſpend time in vain repetitions; and for the preſent Article, though in all parts it were granted to be true, yet he could not perceive by what interpretation of Law it could imply the leaſt Act of Treaſon; and when it ſhould be directly charged upon him as a point of Miſdemeanor, Oppreſſion, or Felony, he made no doubt, but he ſhould be very able to clear himſelf abundantly in that point alſo: yet leaſt any prejudice might ſtick to his Honour by theſe bold aſſertions, he was content to ſtep ſo far out of the way as to give Anſwers.*

The Earl anſwers to the 12*th.* Article.

First, *That it concerned him nothing, what Particulars in the Leaſe had paſs'd betwixt the King and the Dutcheſs of* Buckingham; *or whether ſhe had obtained more eaſie Conditions than the Duke her Husband, eſpecially ſeeing the ſame was granted ſome years before his coming to that Government; yet thus much he could ſay, that the Dutcheſs had paid Thirty thouſand pounds fine, and therefore no marvel that her yearly Rent was the leſs.*

Secondly, *For the Book of Rates (wherein the chief matter of oppreſſion and grievance ſeemed to reſt) the ſame was there eſtabliſhed by the Deputy* Faulkland, Anno 1628. *Three years before his going into* Ireland, *and therefore it was exceeding ſtrange to his apprehenſion, how that could riſe up in judgment againſt him.*

Thirdly, *That he had his intereſt in the Cuſtoms by aſſignation of a Leaſe from the Dutcheſs of* Buckingham, *which was granted her before his Government, and he never heard it before alledged as a crime of Treaſon, for a Man to make a good bargain for himſelf.*

Fourthly, *That not of his own accord, but at the King's ſpecial Command, he had undergone that Charge, on hopes that upon the enquiry into the worth thereof, the Cuſtoms might be improved for the benefit of the Crown, and the true value thereof diſcovered; this he proved by the Lord* Cottington *and Sir* Arthur Ingram.

Fifthly, *That when a new Book of Rates*

1641. *was recommended to him by the Council-board of* England, *in the time of his Leaſe, which might have been of great advantage to him, he ſo preferred a fear he had, That the Trade of* Ireland *might thereby be diſcouraged, before his own Commodity, as he preſumed in all humility to refuſe the ſaid Book, and rendred his Reaſons thereof to the Kingdom and Council-Table of* England. 1641.

Sixthly, *That he never underſtood that the Cuſtoms could ariſe to thoſe great ſumms alledged, but though they ſhould, yet his advantage was but ſmall; For firſt, dividing the Fourteen thouſand pounds he paid to the King into Eight parts, Five parts thereof was yearly given in upon Oath (and that procured firſt by himſelf) at the Exchequer Board, the other Three parts was divided amongſt Four of them, which were equal ſharers in the Leaſe, granted before his time: And therefore he was confident, he ſaid, the Lords would rather take his accuſation in this Article as an exerciſe of Rhetorick in the Gentlemen his Adverſaries, than as a thing ſpoken in good earneſt by them.*

The ſame day the 11*th.* and 12*th.* Articles were charged againſt him.

He anſwers to the 11*th.* Article. To the 11*th.* concerning Licences for Exportation of Pipe-ſtaves, he anſwered, *The Pipe-ſtaves were prohibited in King* James *his time, and not exported but by Licence, paying* 6s. 8d. *a Thouſand, and that he had not raiſed ſo much thereby to himſelf as his Predeceſſors had done for ſuch Licences.*

The 12*th.* Article was more inſiſted on, and in the opening of it, Mr. *Glyn* ſaid, That for the further advancement of his tyrannical and avaricious Deſigns, he had of himſelf eſtabliſhed a Monopoly for the reſtraint of Tobacco in that Kingdom; where they offered five particulars to the proof:

1. That he had reſtrained the Importation of Tobacco.

2. That in the mean time he had brought in a great quantity himſelf, and ſold the ſame at exorbitant prices.

3. That of Tobacco already Imported, he had forbidden any to be ſold, but what was firſt ſealed by his Officers.

4. That upon a pretended Diſobedience, he had puniſhed a great number of People by Seiſure, Impriſonments, Fining, Whipping, Pillory, and ſuch like cruel and inhumane Uſages.

5. That by theſe means he had gained 100000*l.* yearly.

For proof whereof they produced:

1. The Proclamation for reſtraining Tobacco, which was read.

2. The Proclamation about Sealing the ſame.

3. Some Witneſſes who declared the Ships had been reſtrained from landing Tobacco.

4. Others who had known ſome Tobacco ſeized on as forfeited.

5. A Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, declaring that the Earl had ſold 500 Tun of Tobacco, which ſold at 2*s.* 6*d.* *per* pound, amounts to one hundred thouſand pounds.

They concluded the Charge, That he had ſucked up the Blood of the King's Liege People, and had by this one point of oppreſſion raiſed greater ſumms to himſelf than all the King's Revenue in that Kingdom extended unto, and therefore was liable to the Crime of Treaſon, for troubling the Peace, and bereaving the People of their Goods, who were intruſted unto his Care and Government.

The Earl's Reply to this was,

He anſwers to the 12*th.* Article. 1. *That long before his coming to* Ireland, *the ſame reſtraint had been of Tobacco, and the ſame Impoſt of Eighteen pence* per *pound, enjoyned by King* James.

2. *That at that time the Tradeſmen for this Commodity paid but* 20 lib. *a year to the Crown for the Impoſt, but now* 400.

3. *That the Parliament in* Ireland 1628. *had petitioned to have the Impoſt ſettled by an Act of State for ever afterwards, as a part of the Revenue of the Crown.*

4. *That he had expreſs Command from the King for iſſuing theſe Proclamations, and therefore could not imagine more danger in them, than in others for Monopolies in* England *in the worſt ſence.*

5. *That the Proclamations were ſent forth not by himſelf alone, but by the whole Council-Board of* Ireland.

For the Proclamations, he told them, *It was his own Opinion (and if he failed in it, he humbly craved pardon, and hoped that it ſhould not be Treaſon to have no more judgment than God had beſtowed on him) that the King was endued by God with a power to make temporary Laws, and cauſe the ſame to be promulgated for the good of his People, upon ſudden emergent occaſions, to which Laws, Obedience is due, till they be abrogated by enſuing Parliaments: that he reſtrained no Man from Importing Tobacco, who was willing to pay the appointed Impoſt; that for his part, he had never traffiqued in all his time therein, nor had any part with the Contractors: And if any Tobacco was ſeized on, it was in contempt of the Proclamations: And if any perſon were cenſured to the Pillory, or Whipping, it was for known Perjury, the ordinary and uſual puniſhment in ſuch a Caſe.* Concerning the Tabacco imported, he ſaid, *No conſideration was taken of the Prices given for the Tobacco beyond Seas, of the King's Revenue of* 4000 *l. of the Merchants pains and danger in bringing the ſame home; for his part, if any advantage were made, ſurely it was not his, nor could he annul every Contract or Leaſe made by the King: And therefore ſeeing his Intereſt was none, he had done nothing but at the King's direction, and at the advice of the Council-board; ſince the ſame Impoſt was in King* James *his time, and petitioned for by themſelves in* Ireland; *he hoped his carriage in the buſineſs ſhould be ſo far from a crime of Treaſon, that it ſhould rather be thought no crime at all.* So much for *Wedneſday.*

On *Thurſday* he was charged with the 13*th.* Article, to which he made this enſuing Anſwer: His Anſwer to the 13*th.* Article.

That he did endeavour to advance the Manufacture of Linnen rather than of Woollen, becauſe the laſt would be the greater detriment to England: *That the Primate of* Ireland, *the Archbiſhop of* Dublin, *Chancellour* Loftus, *and the Lord* Mount-Norris, *all of the Council, and*

1641. *and Subscribers of the Proclamation were as liable to the Charge as himself: That the reducing of that Nation by Orders of the Council-board to the* English *Customs from their more savage Usage, as drawing Horses by their Tails, &c. had been of former Practice: That the Project was of so ill avail to him, as he was the worse for the Manufacture Thirty thousand Pounds at least, by the Looms he had set up at his own Charge: as for the Warrants that were issued out to seize upon Goods, he affirmed the same to be necessary, because there ought to be no contempt of Proclamations; but that any part did accrue to him, he flatly denied: and if any Rigour was used in the Execution, he said, Not he, but the Officers were to answer for it, for this might happen in the most just and necessary Commands, nor was there ever any Complaint presented to him of any such Matter.*

The same Day they proceeded upon the latter part of the 15*th*. Article, waving the 14*th*. and the former part of this. Mr. *Geoffry Palmer* urged upon him in these or the like words; That the Earl having by a Tyrannical Power inverted the Ordinary Course of Justice, and given immediate Sentence upon the Lands and Goods of the Kings Subjects, under pretence of Disobedience to his Orders, in Prosecution whereof he had laid Souldiers upon the same to their utter ruin: This Article, he said, of it self did contain an individual Treason, so that if there were no more than this, it were more than sufficient to convince him of his Impeachment; two things were offered in Proof:

1. The Testimony of one *Savil* a Serjeant at Arms, who was called forth, and produced the Copy of a Warrant, upon which he had sessed Soldiers.

2. He began to name some Statutes, by which such selling was Treason. But before he went on to that, the Earl desired to be heard against *Savil*'s Testimony, and said, He hoped their Lordships would not upon an Article of such importance admit of the Copy of an Order: he said, No Transcript but an Original can make Faith before the *King's-Bench* in a matter of Debt, and therefore he thought in matter of Life and Death before the Supreme Judicatory, less would not be allowed of: Moreover, if Copies be at any time received, they are such as are given in upon Oath to have been compared with the Originals, but this was not so.

Glyn hereupon replied, That this Order ought to be admitted, since it was produced by the Officer himself, who best knew it, having executed the same.

His Answer to the latter part of the 15th Article.

The Earl answered, *That was the best Argument he could use why it should not be admitted: for (said he) Mr.* Savil *may be charged with Treason, for selling Men of War upon the King's Subjects, he hath nothing for his Defence but a pretended Warrant from me: Now what he swears to my Prejudice is to his own Advantage, nor can a man by any Equity in the World be admitted to testifie against another*, in suam justificationem.

This Answer seemed so weighty to the Lords, that they rose and went up to their House; and after an hours stay, they returned, and declared, That after much deliberation, they had resolved, that this Copy should not be admitted, and willed them to proceed to other Proofs; which after a little Pause they did. 1641.

1. The Lord *Ranelagh* affirmed that he heard of such a Warrant, and knew sometimes three, sometimes five Soldiers billetted by it.

2. Mr. *Clare* declares the very same.

3. Another deposed that he had seen such a Warrant under the Deputy's Hand and Seal; and so much for the Proof.

For the Statutes alledged, one of *Edw.* 3. 6. That whosoever should carry about with them *English* Enemies, *Irish* Rebels, or Hooded Men, and sess them upon the Subject, should be punished as a Traitor. Another of *Hen.* 6. 7. That whosoever should sess Men of War, in his Majesty's Dominions, should be thought to make War against the King, and punished as a Traitor.

The Earl's Reply was,

The Earl's Reply to other Proofs.

That in all the Course of his Life, he had intended nothing more than the Preservation of the Lives, Goods and Welfare of the King's Subjects, and that he dared to profess, that under no Deputy, more than under himself, had there been a more free and uninterrupted course of Justice.

To the Charge he answered,

His Answer to the Charge.

1. *That the Customs of* Ireland *differed exceedingly from the Customs of* England, *as was clear by* Coke's *Books, and therefore though selling of Men might seem strange here, yet not so there.*

2. *That even in* England *he had known Soldiers pressed upon Men, by the Presidents of* York *and* Wales, *in case of known and open Contempts, and that both in point of Outlawry and Rebellion, and also even for Summs of Debt between Party and Party, there is nothing more ordinary than these Sessings to this Day in* Scotland, *whereby the chief House of the Owner is seized upon.*

3. *That to this day hath been nothing more usual in* Ireland, *than for the Governours to appoint Soldiers to put all manner of Sentences in Execution, which he proved plainly to have been done frequently, and familiarly exercised in* Grandison's, Faulkland's, Chichester's, Wilmot's, Cork's, *and all preceding Deputies times: And had even been done for Outlawries for the King's Debts in the Exchequer, of Collections of Contribution money, and (which comes home to the point) for small summs of Money between Party and Party, so that he marvelled* qua fronte *or with what Boldness it could be called an Arbitrary Government lately brought in by him.*

To this the Lord *Dillon*, Sir *Adam Loftus*, and Sir *Arthur Terringham* deposed: The last of whom told, that in *Faulkland*'s time he knew twenty Soldiers sessed upon a Man for refusing to pay sixteen shillings sterling.

4. That in his Instructions for executing his Commission, he had express Warrant for the same, as were in the Instructions to the Lord Faulkland *before him, both of which were produced and read.*

1641. 5. *That although all these Presidents were not, yet it were not possible to govern the Kingdom of* Ireland *otherwise, which had been from all times accustomed to such summary Proceedings.*

6. *That no Testimony brought against him, can prove that ever he gave Warrant to that Effect; And for the deeds of the Lieutenant at Arms, he did conceive himself to be answerable for it.*

And for the Acts of Parliament, he had reserved them to the Dispute of his Lawyers, but was content to say thus much for the present.

1. *That it is a Ground in the Civil Law, That where the King is not mentioned, there he cannot be included: But (with all Distance to his Sacred Person be it spoken) he conceived himself to be in his Master the King's place (for so his Commission did run) in that Kingdom of* Ireland.

2. *The Words in the Statute are not appliable to him, for God knows, he never went about in Person to lay Soldiers upon any of the King's Subjects.*

3. *That the King's own Soldiers requiring in a Customary way, Obedience to his Orders, could in no Construction be called* Irish *Rebels,* English *Enemies, or Hooded Men.*

4. *That the Use and Custom of the Law was the best Interpreter thereof, and for that he had already spoken enough.*

5. *That it savoured more of Prejudice than Equity, to start out such an old Statute against him and none others, (though culpable of the same Fact) to the overthrow and ruine of him and his Posterity.*

6. *That (under favour he conceived) for any* Irish *Custom, or upon any* Irish *Statute, he was to be judged by the Peers of* Ireland.

7. *The Statute of what Force soever was repealed.*

1. *By the* 10*th. of* Henry 7. *where it is expresly declared, nothing shall be reputed Treason hereafter, but what is so declared by the present Statute, now not a word is there of any such Treason.*

2. *By the* 11*th. of Queen* Elizabeth, *where expresly Power is given to the Deputy of* Ireland *to ses and lay Souldiers, although the same be reputed Treason in any others.*

To the Statute of *Henry* 6. he replied, *That a slender Answer might serve; he hoped that no Man would think him so inconsiderate to war against the King of* Britain *and* Ireland, *by the sessing of five Soldiers: That he had been charged by many for taking Arms for the King, but to that time never for taking Arms against him; And that he heartily wished, that no Man in all his Majesties Dominions had more Practices with Rebels and Rebellious Designs than himself.* So much for *Thursday.*

At the Close, he desired the Intermission of a Day, that he might recollect his Spirits and strength against the next time of Charge, and with much difficulty obtained rest till *Saturday.*

On *Saturday* they proceeded to the 16*th.* Article, which Mr. *Palmer* charged thus: That the Lord of *Strafford* having established a Tyrannical and Independent Authority, by giving summary Decrees and Sentences, had deprived the Subject of all just Remedy; for in that Kingdom there was no Supreme to himself to whom they might appeal: And least their just Grievances might be made known to his Majesty, he had obtained a Restraint, that no Complaint should be made of Injustice or Oppression done there, till the first Address had been made to himself, and that no person should come out of that Kingdom but upon Licence obtained from himself. 1641.

To which the Earl replied to this Effect.

His Reply to the sixteenth Article.

That the Deputy Faulkland *had set out the same Proclamation: That the same Restraint was contained in the Statute of* 25 Hen. 6. *upon which the Proclamation was founded: That he had the King's expres Warrant for the Proclamation: That he had also power to do it by the Commission granted to him: and that the Lords of the Council and the Justices not only yielded, but pressed him unto it. That it was done upon just Cause; for had the Ports been open, divers would have taken liberty to go to* Spain, *to* Doway, Rheimes, *or St.* Omers, *which might have proved of dangerous and mischievous Consequence to the State. That the Earl of* D'esmond *stood at the time of this Restraint charged with Treason before the Council of* Ireland, *for practising against the Life of one Sir* Valentine Coke. *That the Lord* Roch *was then a Prisoner for Debt in the Castle of* Dublin, *and therefore incapable of a Licence: That* Parry *was not fined for coming over without Licence, but for several Contempts against the Council-board in* Ireland, *and that in his Sentence he had but only a casting Voice, as the Lord Keeper in the Star-Chamber:* He concluded, That he hoped the least Suspicion of Treason could not accrue to him from these Actings: and for Oppression or Misdemeanour when it should be laid to his Charge, he made no doubt but he was able to answer it.

The 17*th.* and 18*th.* Articles were waved, and on the Close of the Day Mr. *Whitlock* charged him with the 19*th.* Article, saying, That he did not only tyrannize over the Bodies, but also over the Consciences of Men, and to that purpose did contrive and frame a new and unusual Oath enjoyned to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, and because of some tenderness of Conscience did refuse to take the same, he had fined them in great Summs of Money, banished a great number from that Kingdom, called all that Nation Traitors and Rebels, and said, if ever he returned home from *England*, he would root them out both stock and branch.

For Proof of this,

1. Sir *James Montgomery* was produced, who declared at large how that Oath was contrived.

2. Sir *Robert Maxwell* of *Ochyarden*, who spake to the same purpose.

3. Sir *John Clotworthy*, who declared that a great number had fled the Kingdom for fear of that Oath.

4. One Mr. *Samuel*, who deposed, that upon the 10*th.* of *October* 1638. he heard the Deputy say these Words, That if he returned, he would root them out stock and branch.

They

1641. They concluded, that this was one of the chiefeſt Crimes he had done againſt the Priviledge and Liberty of the Subject.

The Earls Reply to the 19th. Article.

The Earl replied, *That every new Article acquainted him with a new Treaſon; that if he had done any thing in all his Life acceptable to the King and Country, he conceived it to be this:* And to theſe Particulars he anſwered to this purpoſe,

1. *He deſired the Lords would call to mind the Condition of thoſe Times, No Man (pointing to my Lord Steward) knows better than your Lordſhip, who had in the Expedition againſt the* Scots, *the chiefeſt Place in his Majeſties Service: I would be very ſorry (ſaid he) to rub old Sores, eſpecially ſeeing I hope things are in a fair way to a firm Peace, and I wiſh that I may not be deceived, that is, that it may be ſo; only thus much I may ſay, we had then greater Fears and Apprehenſions in* Ireland, *leſt the* Scots *in that Kingdom (who were above* 100000 *Souls) might have joyned with their Country-men at home, for the diſturbance of our Peace: and we detected a Treaſon of betraying of the Caſtle of* Knockfergus, *to a great Man in that Kingdom (whoſe Name I now ſpare) by one* Freeman, *who upon the Diſcovery was Executed.*

The Council-Board in Ireland *reſolved to preſcribe the* Scots *an Oath, whereby they might declare their Diſcontent to their Country mens Proceedings, and oblige themſelves to the King's Service: but while we were about this, they of their own accord came to* Dublin *to Petition for it, and took it with a wonderful Alacrity and Free-heartedneſs, ſo that it is a marvellous thing for any Man to ſay it was invented, or violently enjoyned by me.*

2. *About the ſame time, the ſame Oath,* Verbum Verbo, *was by the Council of* England *preſcribed to the* Scots *at* London *and elſewhere, which was no ſmall encouragement to us in* Ireland.

3. *I had (ſaid he) which I never ſhewed, becauſe I had no need before this time, a ſpecial Warrant from the King, all written with his own Hand to that effect: And when the King commands a matter not contrary to the Law, truly, I (ſaid he) do conceive it both contrary to Law and Conſcience, not to yield him all due Obedience.*

For the proof brought againſt him, there was nothing inſiſted on, to be of any Moment but the Words.

For the firſt Words, *That he had called all the Nation Rebels and Traytors: He ſaid, there was no proof at all, nor indeed could there be any, for if I had ſaid it (ſaid he) I had been perfectly out of my Wits; and he thanked God, ſuch irrational Speeches uſed not to eſcape him: He honoured that Kingdom very much, becauſe it was the Native Soil of our Dread Sovereign, his Gracious Maſter, and becauſe he knew a great part, yea, (he hoped) the greateſt part of them had been and ever will be as Loyal and Dutiful to the King as any other of his Subjects; and of thoſe who had Subſcribed that unhappy Combination, he he knew a great many had done it againſt their Hearts and Wills, and would ever be ready upon Occaſion to demonſtrate the ſame, by Adhering to the King's Service; ſo that this Accuſation was nothing but a wreſting and perverting his Words and Meaning, of purpoſe to make him Odious: and Irritate a whole Nation againſt him.*

For other Words they were proved only by one Witneſs, which could make no ſufficient Faith, and that Witneſs too he could Evidence, if not of Perjury, yet of a notable miſtake; for he had ſworn poſitively that he had ſpoken thoſe Words the 10th. *of* October, *whereas he came out of* Ireland *into* England *the* 12th. *of* September *before, and was at* London *the* 21th.

For thoſe that had fled the Kingdom becauſe of that Oath, he knew none ſuch, and if they did, they fled into Scotland, *which might ſufficiently Argue their Intention and Reſolutions: for his part, if they were not willing to give that Teſtimony of their Loyalty to their Prince, although he had known of their Departure, he would have been very loth to have kept them againſt their Wills; but ſhould have been gladly rid of them, and have made them a Bridge to be gone rather than to ſtay.*

Upon *Monday,* Mr. *Whitlock* proceeded to the 20*th.* Article, but ſaid, becauſe the Matter was *conſimilis naturæ,* they would joyn the Five next Articles together, becauſe all of them Tended to one Period, to ſhew what bad Deſign he had to have ſubdued the Kingdoms both of *England* and *Scotland* by Force of Arms, to reduce them to that Arbitrary Government he had lately introduced into *Ireland.*

The Earl entreated they would proceed Article by Article as they had hitherto done; he ſaid, Five Articles were many, the Matter weighty his Memory treacherous, and his Judgment weak.

It was ſharply replied by Mr. *Glyn,* That it doth not become the Priſoner at the Bar to preſcribe them in what way they ſhould give in their Evidence.

The Earl modeſtly anſwered, *That if he ſtood in his place, he would crave the like Favour, unleſs his Abilities did furniſh him with more ſtrength than he could find in himſelf; for his part he was contented they ſhould proceed any way, always provided they would grant him a competent time for Replying.*

Then *Whitlock* went on, and told the Lords, That ſome things in thoſe Articles concerned the *Scottiſh,* ſome things the *Engliſh* Nation; that which concerned the *Scottiſh,* he reduced to Five Heads.

1. That the Deputy had ſaid at the Council-Board, that the *Scots* Demands contained ſufficient Matter to perſwade to an offenſive War.

2. That the ſame Demands did ſtrike at the Root and Life of Monarchical Government, and were only to be anſwered by the Sword.

3. That he had cauſed ſome *Scottiſh* Goods and Ships to be ſeized on in *Ireland.*

4. That he had engaged the *Iriſh* Parliament by their Declaration in that War againſt the *Scots.*

5. That by all poſſible means he put bad thoughts and ſuſpicions into his Majeſty againſt his *Scottiſh* Subjects, and laboured to make a National

1641. tional Quarrel between them and *England*: which if the King's Piety, and the Prudence of better States-men had not prevented, could not have been ſoldred up again without much blood.

Concerning *England*, his Speeches were either before, or after the Parliament.

1. Before his Creature and Boſome Friend Sir *George Ratcliff*, he had ſaid to Sir *Rob. King*, when he was doubting how the King might have Moneys to pay the Armies, that the King had 400000 *l.* in his purſe, 30000 Men in the field, and his ſword by his ſide, and if he wanted Money afterwards, who would pity him.

2. That his Brother Sir *George Wentworth* had ſaid to Sir *Robert Barrington*, upon the diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, That ſeeing the *Engliſh* would not grant Supply to the King, it ſeems they were weary of their Peace, and deſired to be conquered a ſecond time.

3. That he himſelf upon a diſcourſe with the Primate of *Ireland*, had ſaid, That he was much of the mind of thoſe *Engliſh* Divines, who maintained it lawful for a King, having tried the affection and benevolence of his people, and then denied their help, upon an inevitable neceſſity, and to prevent danger of the Kingdom, that he might uſe his Prerogative for his own Supply and the defence of his Subjects.

4. To the Lord *Conwey* in a diſcourſe he had ſaid, That if the Parliament (meaning the laſt Parliament) ſhould not grant a competent Supply, then the King was acquitted before God and Man, and might uſe the Authority put into his hands.

5. He did ſay at the Council-Board, That if the Parliament ſhould deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majeſties Service and Aſſiſtance.

His Expreſſions after the Parliament were two,

1. That the Parliament had forſaken the King, and denied to ſupply him, and that the King ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be over-maſtered by the frowardneſs, obſtinacy, and ſtubbornneſs of his People.

2. That if his Majeſty pleaſed to imploy Forces, he had ſome in *Ireland*, that might ſerve to reduce this Kingdom.

The Proofs of the *Scots* Particulars were theſe:

1. The Earl of *Traquayr*, who told them, That when he gave in the Demands of the *Scots*, he heard him ſay, That it was time for the King to put himſelf into a poſture of War, but that 1. All the Council of *England* ſaid the ſame as well as he. 2. That it was a double Suppoſition, Firſt, That the Demands were truly given in: Secondly, That there was no other Remedy left but Arms to reduce them.

2. The Earl of *Morton's* Teſtimony, being ſick himſelf, was produced, and it was one and the ſame with the Article.

3. Sir *Henry Vane* was examined, who declared that he had heard the Earl adviſe the King to an offenſive War, when his own Judgement was for a defenſive.

4. The Teſtimony of the Earl of *Northumberland* was produced, which was the very ſame with that of Sir *Henry Vane*.

5. The Lord Treaſurer depoſed the ſame with *Traquayr*. 1641.

6. One *Beane* from *Ireland* depoſed, that he had known Ships ſeized on there, but by whoſe procurement or warrant he knew not.

To the Articles about *England*:

1. Sir *Robert King*, and the Lord *Ranelagh*, depoſed the ſame, That they had heard Sir *George Ratcliff* ſpeak thoſe words in the Article.

2. Sir *Robert Barrington* of Sir *George Wentworth*.

3. The Lord Primate of *Ireland*'s Teſtimony, who was ſick, was the ſame with the Article.

4. The Lord *Conwey* depoſed the ſame with the Article.

5. Sir *Henry Vane* depoſed, he did hear thoſe words ſaid at the Council-Table, If the Parliament ſhould deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majeſties Service and Aſſiſtance.

For the Two Expreſſions after the Parliament.

Sir *Thomas Jermayn*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and the Earl of *Holland* were examined to the firſt: but the Teſtimony they gave did not reach to prove the Words.

And to the ſecond, Sir *Henry Vane* was examined, who declared, That he ſaid either thoſe Words, or the like.

At this, ſome of the Lords ſpake.

1. The Lord *Saville*, who deſired of Sir *Henry Vane*, to know whether he ſaid, their, or this, or that Kingdom, and withal ſaid, it was very hard to condemn a Man for ſuch *petit* Circumſtances.

2. The Earl of *Southampton* deſired to know whether Sir *Henry Vane* would ſwear theſe words poſitively, or not? Sir *Henry* ſaid, poſitively either them, or the like: The Earl replied, That under favour, thoſe, or the like, could not be poſitive.

3. The Earl of *Clare* deſired to know, what could be meant by this Kingdom; for his part, he ſaid, He thought it meant of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to which the word (*This*) might very well be relative, that Kingdom being only mentioned in the preceding Diſcourſe: and that he was the more ready to be of that Opinion, becauſe he could not ſee, by what Grammatical conſtruction it could be gathered from his words, That he meant to reduce *England*, which neither then was, neither is now (God be thanked) out of the way of Obedience, nor upon Rebellious Courſes.

The Proſecutors at laſt concluded the Charge, that the words were ſo monſtrous, that to aggravate them was to allay them, and therefore they would ſingly leave them to the Judgment of the Lords.

The Earl's Reply was;

That though the heaping up of theſe Articles had put him to a great confuſion, yet he would endeavour to bring his Anſwer to the beſt method he could; and firſt he would reply to the Proof, then add ſomething in general for himſelf, in what a hard taking and lamentable condition he was, to have his private Diſcourſes, his intimate and boſom Friends ſearcht and ſifted to the leaſt circumſtance, that he might ſeem Guilty of that, which by God's Aſſiſtance he ſhould never be. The Earl's Reply to the Twentieth, and Five following Articles.

To

1641. *To the Lord* Traquayr's *Depositions, he thought their proofs did not much ſtick upon him; for upon the Suppoſitions, Firſt, That the demands were true; Secondly, That they were not juſtifiable: Thirdly, That no other courſe could prevail: He could not ſee what other advice he could poſſibly give the King, than to put himſelf into a poſture of War, eſpecially ſeeing that there was frequent Report of the* Scots *invading or entring into* England, *neither was he of any other mind, than all the reſt of the Council-board.*

For that of Morton's, *he doth not poſitively remember the words; but if the Demands were read, perhaps they would imply nothing leſs, and if ſo, how otherwiſe to be anſwered but by the Sword? All other means being firſt aſſayed, which is ever to be ſuppoſed.*

For Sir Henry Vane, *and* Northumberland's *Teſtimony, about perſwading of an offenſive War, He ſaid, he remembred it very well, and thought it as free for him to give his Opinion for an offenſive, as they for a defenſive War: Opinions (ſaid he) if they be attended with obſtinacy or pertinacy, may make a Heretick, but that they make a Traytor, I never heard till now, nor (under favour) ſhall I be unwilling to acknowledge my weakneſs, and correct my Errors, whereof no man hath more, nor is more ſenſible of them, than my ſelf; yet if that Opinion of mine had been followed, it might perhaps have ſpared us ſome money, and ſome reputation too, of which we have been prodigal enough.*

For the laſt about the Ships, it proves nothing, but what he would willingly confeſs, viz. That ſome Ships were there detained, and that by himſelf, and his own direction, as Vice-Admiral of Conaught, *but it was at the Command of the Lord Admiral the Earl of* Northumberland, *and produced his Letter to that purpoſe.*

To the *Engliſh* Proofs, he marvelled much (he ſaid) *how Sir* George Ratcliff's *words could be put upon him; Sir* George (*though alledged to be his boſom Friend*) *yet had thoughts of his own: No man (ſaid he) can commit Treaſon by an Attorney, and ſhould I by my friend Sir* George *as by a Proxy, it would be ſomething ſtrange.*

For his Brother, *He never knew him before ſo raſh, but that was nothing to him, except they could prove a neaver Identity than Nature had inſtituted, and that his Brother's words and his were all one: yet withal be conceived, that his Brothers words might be very well underſtood of the* Scots *conquering* England, *but not at all of the* Iriſh; *and ſo he wiſhed with all his heart he had not ſpoken ſomething which is like Prophecy.*

To the Primate's Teſtimony (*with all reverence to his integrity be it ſpoken*) *he is but one Witneſs, and in Law can prove nothing: add to this (ſaid he) that it was a private diſcourſe between him and me, and perhaps ſpoken by me* tentandi gratia, *and how far this ſhould be laid to a man's charge, let your Lordſhips judge.*

Yea, this ſeems to me againſt humanity it ſelf, and will make the Society of Men ſo dangerous and loathſome to us, that our dwelling Houſes will be turned to Cells, and our Towns to Deſarts: That which God and Nature have beſtowed upon us, our Tongues (for the greater comfort of venting our own conceptions, or craving the advice of wiſe and learned Men) ſhall become to be ſnares and bundens to us, by a curious and needleſs fear; yet if my words be taken (ſaid he) with all that went before and followed after, I ſee no danger in them. 1641.

To the Lord *Conway, I may reply the ſame, with this addition, that it is a very natural motion for a Man to preſerve himſelf, every Creature hath this Priviledge, and ſhall we deny it to Man, provided this be done in a lawful, though in a extraordinary way; this grain of Salt muſt be added to all my Diſcourſe.*

To that of Sir *Henry Vane, of offering my Service to the King, I thank him for the Teſtimony, and think he hath done me much Honour thereby; but if he or any body elſe do ſuſpect that his Majeſty will imploy me in any unlawful Enterprizes, I ſhall think them more liable to the Charge of Treaſon than my ſelf.*

And then he went on, ſaying;

To the firſt of the ſubſequent Teſtimonies, concerning that Expreſſion, That the Parliament had forſaken the King, and denied to ſupply him, *&c. (pretended in the Charge againſt me, to be ſaid the ſame day of the diſſolution of the Parliament, and urged as a conſequence of Malice in me, for having firſt adviſed the diſſolution, and then endeavoured to incenſe his Majeſty againſt his People) though no teſtimony hath yet proved the words, nor is it I hope, believed that I was the principal cauſe of the diſſolution of the Parliament, yet I ſhall crave leave to relate the Matters that occurred previous thereunto.*

Before I came to the Council Table, it was Voted by the Lords to demand twelve Subſidies, and Sir Henry Vane *was ordered to demand no leſs; but coming in the interim, I perſwaded the Lords to Vote it again, and reſume the Debate; whereupon it was agreed, That if the Parliament would not grant twelve Subſidies, Sir* Henry *ſhould deſcend to eight, and rather than fail to ſix; but he not obſerving his Inſtructions, demanded twelve only without abatement or going lower; ſo that the height of this Demand, urged the Parliament to deny, and their denial moved his Majeſty to diſſolve the Parliament, whereof Sir* Henry Vane, *as I humbly conceive, was the chief occaſion.*

To that part of the Teſtimony proved by Sir *Henry Vane,* That if his Majeſty pleaſed to imploy Forces, he had ſome in *Ireland* which would ſerve to reduce the Kingdom: He ſaid to this purpoſe;

This lies ſore upon me, but to that which the Earl of Clare *hath ſaid already, give me leave to add this; That the Teſtimony of one man is not a ſufficient Witneſs, nor can a man be accuſed, much leſs condemned of Treaſon upon this: and for that, read the Statutes of* H. 7. 12. *and of* Ed. 6. 5. *But to give you further ſatisfaction, I ſhall deſire all the Lords of the Council which were then preſent, may be examined, whether they heard thoſe words or not, there were but eight preſent, with the Archbiſhop, and Sir* Francis Windebank; *Sir* Henry

1641. Henry Vane *gives the Teſtimony, I deny it, four only remain.*

Upon this, the Teſtimony of the Lords was taken.

1. The Earl of *Northumberland*'s Teſtimony was read, wherein was declared expreſly, that he had never heard thoſe words, nor any like them, but that he ſpake with great honour and regard of *England* and the King.

2. The Marquis *Hamilton* declared that he never heard ſuch words, but that he had often heard the Earl ſay, that the King was to uſe his Royal Power *candide & caſte*, that it would never be well for this Kingdom till the Prerogative of the Crown and the Priviledge of the Subjects went in one pace together, and that Parliaments were the happieſt means to keep a correſpondence betwixt the King and People.

The very ſame was deliyered by the Lord Treaſurer and the Lord *Cottington*; *Now, my Lords, ſaid he, you may marvel how theſe words reſted only on the Ears of Sir* Henry Vane: *but my Lords, (ſaid he) that I may remove all Scruples from you, I will make it evident, that there was not the leaſt intention that the* Iriſh *Army ſhould ſet a foot in* England, *and then I hope you will conceive that I had no meaning to reduce this Kingdom.*

This he made clear by the Teſtimony of the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Oaths of Marquis *Hamilton*, Lord *Cottington*, Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, who only were private to that Matter.

For other of my words, my Lords, (ſaid he) I deſire you would not take them by halves, if ſo, who ſhould be free from Treaſon? Certainly if ſuch a Preſident take footing, Weſtminſter-Hall *ſhall be more troubled with Treaſon than with Common-Law: Look therefore to the Antecedents and Conſequents of my Speeches, and you ſhall find the ſtate of the Queſtion clearly altered: The Antecedents were upon an abſolute or inevitable neceſſity upon a preſent Invaſion, when the remedy of Parliament cannot be expected; the Conſequents to the Kingdom with Accompt afterwards to the Parliament: The Qualification too in a lawful, convenient and ordinary way, ſo far as the preſent neceſſity can permit. Add but theſe, and which of you are not of my mind? Is the King endowed with no power from the Law? Is he not* Publicus inſpector Regni? *ſtands it not him in hand to do ſomething on preſent neceſſities?*

And that theſe were his words, he then proved again, by the Marquis, the Lord Treaſurer, Lord *Cottington*, Sir *Tho. Jermine.*

My Lords, What I have kept to the laſt (ſaid he) is this, and I would entreat you ſeriouſly to think of it: If a man's Table, his Bed, his Houſe, his Brother, his Friend, (and that too after they have given an Oath of Secrecy) are to be rack'd to find out Treaſon againſt him; Let my misfortune, my Lords, be your advertiſement, your wiſe Anceſtors were glad to put bands and limits to this Lion Treaſon, if you give it large ſcope of words to range into, he will at laſt pull you or yours all to pieces.

But, my Lords, I never did think till now, that matter of Opinion ſhould be objected as matter of Treaſon. 1641.

For firſt, Opinions are free, and men may argue both Pro *and* Con *in all Faculties, without any ſtain of Reputation, otherwiſe all Conſultations were vain.*

2. I may be of another Judgment, than I declare my ſelf to be of Opinion, perhaps to gain better Arguments for the maintenance of my own Grounds.

3. Many, and my ſelf oftentimes have propounded an Opinion, yet upon hearing better Judgments, have preſently changed it.

4. We uſe to ſtrain our Opinions too high ſometimes, that we may meet in a juſt moderation with thoſe whom we conceive in the other extremity to be too low.

5. It is expreſly commanded by that Stat. Hen. 6. 9. *that though a man ſhould ſay the King is not lawful Heir to the Crown, and may be depoſed, yet he is not to be charged with Treaſon, but only with Felony, and I hope, my Lords, thoſe words are of a more tranſcendent and ſuperlative nature than any alledged by me to be ſpoken; But, my Lords, ſaid he, Lay it to your hearts: it muſt come to you, you and yours, your Poſterity are they whom God and Nature, Birth and Education, have fitted to beautifie the Royal Throne, and to ſuſtain the weighty affairs of the Kingdom. If to give your Opinions in Political agitation ſhall be accounted Treaſon, who will be willing to ſerve the King, or what a* Dilemma *are you in? if being ſworn Counſellors you ſpeak not your minds freely, you are convict of Perjury, if you do, perhaps of Treaſon; what detriment, what incommodity ſhall fall to the King and Kingdom, if this be permitted? Which of you hereafter will adventure, yea dare adventure ſo much as to help by your advice, unleſs you be weary of your Lives, your Eſtates, your Poſterity, yea your very Honour? Let me never live longer then to ſee this Confuſion, nay I may ſay it, this Inhumanity in* England; *for my part, my Lords, I here confeſs my ſelf, I ever have, and ever ſhall ſpeak my opinion freely in any thing that may concern the Honour and Safety of my Gracious King, or my Dear Country, though the Sword be two-edged, fearing him rather who killeth the Soul, than he whoſe power reacheth only to the Body.*

Nor do I ſee how I am culpable of Treaſon, unleſs it be Treaſon for not being infallible, yet if it be ſo, my Lords, you have this rag of mortality before you loaden with many infirmities, though you pull this into ſhreds, yet there is no great loſs, there may be perhaps a great gain; If I have ſeemed to have dared too far to give teſtimony to the World of an innocent Conſcience towards God, and a reſolute Loyalty towards my Prince (which have ever been my only Pole-ſtars in the whole courſe of my life) and if by ſpilling of mine there be not a way found to trace out the Blood of the Nobility, (which I hope your Lordſhips will look to) there will be no diſadvantage at all ſuffered by the loſs of Me.

Tueſday was a day of Reſt.

Upon *Wedneſday* Mr. *Whitlock* charged thus:

This

1641. That the precedent Articles were of so high a Consequence, and of so transcendent a Nature, that nothing wanted to make up the perfect Measure of the most horrid Treason and monstrous Attempt that ever by a Native was intended against his King and Countrey, but putting these designed Projects into Execution, which had undoubtedly happened to the subversion both of Church and State, had not the Clemency and Goodness of the Prince, and the Piety and Carefulness of the well-affected Peers timely foreseen and prevented the same; that still the Principles of Tyranny and Oppression had lodged within his Bosom, and therefore had burst forth into these Expressions and Advices contained in the following Articles, where first they charged him in the Twenty fifth with three things;

1. That he had advised the King to rigorous and unlawful exaction of Ship-money.

2. That he had given Counsel, that if the Sheriffs should deny their best Endeavours and Assistance to that Effect, they should be sent for and fined by the Star-Chamber and suffer Imprisonment.

3. That when the Aldermen of *London* had in all Humility presented the Causes why the Ship-money could not be collected amongst them, and had given in their Reasons why they refused to give in a list of their Names within their City, who were able to afford the Loan-money; He in a Contemptuous and Tyrannical manner in the Face of the Council-board, had said to the King, Sir, these Men because of their Obstinacy and Frowardness deserved very well to be fined, ransomed, and laid by the Heels: and it will never go well with your Service until some of them be hanged for example to others.

The Proofs were these.

1. The Bishop of *London*, Lord Treasurer, who declared that he remembred the words very well, that the Earl had advised the King to cause the Ship-money to be gathered in, but he remembred withal that both himself and all the Council had done the like, and that it was upon a present necessity and defect of Money for entertaining the Army, which (the condition of the Army considered) they all conceived was by any means to be kept on foot.

2. Alderman *Wiseman* declared, that upon an humble Remonstrance made to the Council-board that the City would take it ill, if a Tax Roll should be delivered of their Estates who were thought able for the Loan-money; the Lord *Strafford* said, They deserved to be fined, ransomed and laid by the heels: But for the Words of hanging them up, he heard not at all.

3. The Earl of *Berkshire* declared, that the Lord *Strafford* had said, that upon the Refusal of such a Service enjoyned by the King's peremptory Command, it was his Opinion they might be fined.

4. Alderman *Gurway* attested the preceding words, and withal added, that the Earl to his best remembrance, had said, It were well for the King's Service if some of them were hanged up.

They closed up the Charge, saying, That by such undutiful Expressions he had invaded the propriety of the Subject, and had put such discontent upon the City, that they were the less willing upon occasion to concur for advantage of the King's Service. 1641.

The Earl's Reply to Mr. *Whitlock*'s new Charge in the 25th Article.

The Earl replied, *That though all the Charge were, in the most strict and rigid way verified against him, yet he could not conceive by what Interpretation of Law it could be reached home to High Treason*; And to that common Objection (that the Treason was not individual, but accumulative) he replied, *That, under favour, he thought that were as much as to say, No Treason at all; Because,*

1. *That neither in Statute Law, Common Law, nor Practice, there was ever till this time heard of such a matter as accumulative Treason, or a Treason by way of consequence, but that it is a word newly coined to attend a Charge newly invented, such a one as never was before.*

2. *That Treason was a thing of a Simple and Specificative Nature, and therefore could not be so by Accumulation, but either must be so in some or either of the Articles, or else could not be so at all.*

3. *That a Heap or Accumulation should be, and not be of* Homo-Geneous *things, and therefore that which in its first being is not Treasonable, can never confer to make up an accumulative Treason.* Cumulus, *an Heap of Grain, so called, because every, or at least some of the individuals are Grain; if otherwise, an Heap it may be, but not an Heap of Grain: Just so perhaps these Articles may make up an Heap of Felonies, Oppressions, Errors, Misdemeanours, and such like (and to the things themselves I shall give an Answer, when under that Name they shall be charged against me) but they can no ways confer to the making up of Treason unless some, at the least, be Treason in the Individual.*

4. *That the Testimonies brought against him were all of them single, not two one way, and therefore could not make Faith in Matter of Debt, much less in Matter of Life and Death: That it was against the Statute expresly, to impeach a Man of High Treason under the Evidence of two famous Witnesses, much less to adjudge and convince him upon attestation of One.*

5. *To the Lord Treasurer's Testimony, he did with all his heart condescend unto it: but upon these Grounds only, that there was a present Necessity of Money, that all the Council-board had so voiced with him, yea before himself, and he always thought it Presumption in a Man not to follow the wiser and more Judicious: And that then there was a Sentence of the Star-Chamber for the right of Paying Ship-money: For his part he would never be more prudent than his Teachers, nor give judgment against the Judges: And therefore he thought it not far amiss to advise the King for collecting of that which by Law was his own, in such a present and urgent Necessity, and although his Opinion (and it was no more) had been amiss, he hoped, that though in case of Religion being attended with Stubbornness and Pertinacy, it might come home to Heresie, yet could it not reach so far as Treason, unless*

1641. *it be Treason for a man to speak his Judgment freely, when he is upon his Oath to do the same.*

6. *For the Words about Fining, he had already acknowledged them in his General Answer to be true, but with these Qualifications, that it was his Opinion only, that it was upon the refusal (as he conceived) of a just Service, that he had spoken them by no means to prejudice the Citizens, but to make them the more quick and active in the King's Service: That no ill consequence at all happened upon them: that they were words might have been spared indeed, but innocently, though suddenly spoken, which he hoped might proceed from a Man of such a hasty and incircumspect humour as himself (made so both by Nature and his much infirmity of Body) without any mind at all to Treason: And that if all Cholerick Expressions of that nature should be accounted Treasonable, there would be more Suits of that kind fly up and down* Westminster-Hall, *than Common Law.*

7. *To these Words attested by Alderman* Garway, *he positively denied them, and hoped they should never rise up against him in Judgment, because the Testimony was single, and not positive, but only to his best remembrance; and that it was exceeding strange, that not any one Man neither of the Council or the other Aldermen, were so quick to observe them, but only Alderman* Garway, *which he thought sufficient to nullifie that single Testimony, except he could demonstrate himself to have some rare singular faculty of hearing. In the close, he desired the Lords from his Misfortunes to provide for their own Safety, and seriously to consider what a way was chalked out to ruine them, both in their Lives and their Estates, if for every Opinion given in Council, or words suddenly or hastily spoken, they (who are born to weild the great Affairs of the Kingdom) should be arraigned and sentenced as Traytors.*

Then they went to the 26*th.* Article, and charged thus:

That the Lord *Strafford* having by his wicked Advices exhausted the King's Treasury, did also counsel him,

1. To embase the Coin by allay of Copper Money.

2. To seize upon all the Bullion in the Mint.

3. That in discourse with some of the Aldermen, about the business, he had said, The City was more ready to Countenance and Relieve the Rebels than the King: And that the King of *France* did manage such businesses not by Treaties or Request, but by sending forth his Commissaries to take account of Mens Estates, accompanied with Troops of Horse.

The Proofs were,

First, Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, who declared, That in his discourse with the Lord *Strafford*, having remonstrated unto him, that Merchants Goods were seized on beyond Seas, because of the Money taken out of the Mine, he told him, That if the *Londoners* suffered it, it was deservedly, because they had refused the King a small Loan of Money upon Security, and that he thought them more ready to help the Rebels than the King.

Secondly, Mr. *Palmer* declared, That he spake something about the King of *France*, but whether with relation to *England* or no, he did not remember. 1641.

Thirdly, Sir *William Parkise*, attested in the same words, and withal, That the Lord *Cottington* was then present, and could declare the whole business.

Fourthly, Sir *Ralph Freeman* declared, That in a discourse with the Lord *Strafford*, he had said, That the servants in the Mint-house would refuse to work in Copper-money: And he replyed, *That then it were well to send those Servants to the House of Correction.*

They closed the Charge, That by such undutiful Counsel and Words, he had given more than sufficient Proof of his design and purpose to subdue this Kingdom, and subvert the Fundamental Laws and Priviledges of the same.

The Earl Replied,

The Earl's Answer to the 26*th.* Article.

That he expected some Proofs to evidence the two first Particulars, but heard of none: for the following Words he confessed, probably they might proceed from the door of his Lips: nor did he think it much amiss, considering the present posture, to call that Faction, Rebels: As for the last words objected against him in that Article, he said, that being in Conference with some of the Londoners, *there came to his Hands at that instant a Letter from the Earl of* Leicester, *then at* Paris, *wherein were the Gazettes inclosed, relating that the Cardinal had given Order to levy Money by Soldiers: This he only told the Lord* Cottington *standing by, but made not the least application thereof to the* English *Affairs: he said moreover, there was no great likelyhood that he had committed real Acts of Treason, when his adverse party was content to trifle away so much time about words, neither was there any Treason in them, though they had been fully verified, and therefore in that (as in all other Articles) he reserved a power for his Counsel to dispute in matter of Law.*

They then went to the 27*th.* Article, and charged thus, That immediately after his appointment to be Lieutenant General to the Army here in *England*, he shewed what Principles of Arbitrary Government lurked within his Bosom, for by his own immediate Authority, without and against Law, he had laid Imposts upon many of the King's Subjects; whereof they mentioned Three Particulars:

1. That he imposed 8 *d. per diem* for a Soldier upon the County of *York*, for entertaining the Trained Bands there one whole Month.

2. That he sent out Warrants for collecting the same, and threatned to imprison such as refused to pay.

3. That he said it was a Crime nigh to the Crime of High Treason, not to pay the same.

4. They added in his general Replies, he had brought Two things for his Defence. 1. That the Money was freely and voluntarily offered by those in *Yorkshire*. 2. That the great Council of the Peers had notice of the same: but to both they had the following Answers to make, *viz.*

To the first, That a Petition was indeed preferred by the *Yorkshire* Men to the King, and a Months pay offered, but that the Lord *Strafford* had refused to present the same, upon this Exception only, because in the same they had petitioned for a Parliament, whereby he evidently declared

1641. red what little inclination he had to that way.

To the Second, they appealed to all the Lords whether any such order did pass before the Council of the Peers at *York*.

The Proofs were:

1. A Warant issued by Colonel *Pennyman*, for this Money, and another by Sir *Edward Osbourn*.

2. Mr. *John Burrows*, who declared, That he was Clerk to the Great Council, but did remember of no Order, and withal added, that it might have passed at that time when he was at *Rippon*.

3. Mr. *Dunstan*, who declared, That he had known that Money to be Levied by some Musketeers.

4. By Sir *William Ingram*, who declared, That he heard the Earl say, that to refuse the same, came nigh to the Crime of High Treason.

They concluded the Charge, that by these Particulars, it was more than evident what unhappy purposes, and traiterous designs he had to subdue this Kingdom, and subvert the Fundamental Laws and Priviledges.

The Earl replied:

The Earl's Answer to the 11th. Article.

1. To the Petition, *That it was true, a Petition was drawn up by the* York-shire *Gentlemen, and as true, that he had refused to present the same, because of that Clause about the Parliament; but the Matter was thus: At his Majesties coming to* York, *it was thought necessary for the Defence of that County to keep the Trained Bands on foot, because the Enemy was upon the Borders; and therefore the King directed him to write to all the Free-holders in* York-shire *to see what they would do for their own defence. The time and place were designed by the King, but the night before the Meeting a small number convented, and in a private and factious way did draw up that Petition: upon the morrow at their appointed Diet, in presence of the whole number, the Petition was presented to him, where he did Advise them to leave out that Clause, and that because he knew the King out of his own gracious disposition had intended to call a Parliament, which he desired should rather be freely done, than upon the constraint and importunity of Petitions: Moreover, it would seem a mercenary thing in them at one and the same time to offer a Benevolence, and withal to Petition for his Favour. Upon this Remonstrance they were all willing to recall the Petition, and directed him by word of Mouth to offer unto the King the Months pay in their Names, which he did accordingly, in the presence of them, to their no small advantage.*

This he proved by Sir *William Pennyman*, Sir *Paul Neal*, Sir *George Wentworth*, Sir *William Savil*, Sir *Thomas Danby*, who all of them declared as much in ample Terms, and withal added, *That nothing was done upon better grounds of Necessity and Obedience, than the offer of that Money, and that they never had heard any Man grudge against it to this time.*

For the Second, about the Council of Peers, he alledged, *That he never made mention of any Order of theirs; but he remembred very well it was twice propounded before them, that the King had approved it at that time as a Just and Necessary Act, and none of the Council contradicted it, which he conceived as a tacite approbation, and an Order in equivalence.*

But though that had not been, there was nothing done in the business but at the special desires of the Gentlemen themselves, and for their necessary Defence and Protection: And though he had so much power by his Commission, causing the Commission to that effect to be read: That albeit he should mistake his Commission and do some inferiour act beyond it (because Military Proceedings are not always warranted by the Common Law) yet it should not be imputed as an Act of Treason to him. And to this effect read a Statute of 7 *Hen.* 2. 1641.

To the Proof:

1. *Colonel* Pennyman's *Warrant, or Sir* Robert Osborne's *nothing concerned him, and he doubted not but those worthy Gentlemen could justifie their own Acts, and that he had enough to do to Answer his own Misdemeanors.*

2. *Sir* John Burrows, *he was at* Rippon, *when that Proposition was made.*

3. *That as to the Warrant, so neither the Execution troubled him at all.*

4. *For Sir* William Ingram, *he was but a single Testimony, and that such an one as he could produce an Evidence to Testifie, he had mistaken himself in his Testimony upon Oath, if it were not to disadvantage the Gentleman.*

He concluded, *That he had done nothing in that business, but upon the Petition of that County, the King's especial Command, the connivance at least of the great Council, and upon a present necessity, for the Defence and Safety of the County.* And so much for *Wednesday*.

Upon *Thursday*, the Committee for the Charge declared, That they had done with all the Articles, and were content to waive the last for Reasons best known to themselves; only Sir *Walter Earl* added, That he had some Observations to bring forth upon the 22*d.* Article, which he conceived might do much to prove the Lord *Strafford*'s design for Landing the *Irish* Forces in *England*.

And they were:

1. That in his Commission he had power to land them in *Wales*, or in any part of *England* or *Scotland*; which were altogether superfluous, unless there had been some purpose for the same.

2. That within Two days before the date of the Commission, Letters were sent to the Lords *Bridgewater*, and *Pembrook*, from Sir *Francis Windebank* to assist the Earl of *Worcester*, in Levying Forces for the King's Service, and these might be supposed to have intended a joyning with the *Irish*.

3. That the Lord *Ranelaugh* at the Raising of the *Irish* Army did fear such a Design as this.

4. That the Town of *Ayre* in *Scotland*, where the Lord *Strafford* pretended he would Land those Forces, was fortify'd with a Bulwark, a Garrison, and Block-house, which would prohibit landing there: that the Earl of *Argyle*'s Bounds were divided thence by the Sea, and that the Bar or Entry into the Town was very dangerous and shallow.

The Proofs were only the reading of the Commission granted to the Lord *Strafford*.

1641. The Earl's Reply.

The Earl's Reply to Sir *Walter Earl*'s Observations on the 22*d*. Article.

1. *That his Commiſſion was the ſame* Verbatim *with* Northumberland's *for* England, *and that it was drawn up by the Council-Board here, and ſent over unto him: ſo no more deſign in him than in the Gentlemen of the* Engliſh *Army, nor no larger than that was put upon him.*

2. *That this was the Firſt time that he heard of any ſuch Letters, neither did they concern him more than any of the Houſe.*

3. *That he was not bound to purge the Lord* Ranelaugh *from all his fears; and that he had his own feears too, which God forbid ſhould be Evidence of of Treaſon againſt any Man whatſoever.*

4. *That it ſeemed the Gentlemen had better Information from that Kingdom than himſelf, yet he would be confident to ſay, as* Ayre *there was never ſuch a thing as Block-houſe or Garriſon.* But to remove all ſcruples (for indeed the Road or Landing-place is not there ſafe) he declared, *That it was his intention to have landed ſome Miles above* Ayre, *and made only his Magazine at that Town.*

To the Earl of Argyle's *bounds, he hoped the Gentleman knew they came not on foot out of* Ireland, *but had Ships to Waft and Tranſport themſelves, and that one of his prime Houſes* (Roſneth) *was within ſome few Miles of the ſame.*

The Lord *Digby* finding Sir *Walter Earl* a little puzzel'd, endeavouring to bring him off, and told the Lords in ſuch a buſineſs as the Plotting of Treaſon, they muſt be content ſometimes with dark probabilities.

The Earl having thus anſwered the Charge againſt him, it was moved by one of the Proſecutors, That if he have any thing to ſay further in his Defence, he ſhould do it preſently; but he deſired time till the next Morning, which was (not without difficulty) granted.

The next Morning the Lords met, but the Lieutenant of the Tower appeared without his Priſoner, certifying that the Earl was taken with a great fit of the ſtone that Night, and continued ſo ill as he could not go abroad without danger of his Life. The Commons thought this an Excuſe to gain time, but the Lords believed the Relation: Mr. *Glyn* moved, That if he did not appear upon *Saturday* Morning, he ſhould loſe the Privilege to ſpeak in his own Defence afterwards, and they permitted to proceed: But the Lord Steward ſaid, That the Lords had appointed ſome of their number to go to the Tower, and learn the juſt Cauſe of his ſtay, and if by any means he were able, he ſhould be obliged to come; but if not, Humanity and common Equity would excuſe him. Theſe Lords that went to the Tower found the Earl much eaſed of his Pain by the application of ſome Remedies, which the Phyſicians had Adminiſtred unto him: ſo that the next day he appeared before them, and one of the Proſecutors proffered new Proofs concerning the Two and Twentieth Article, upon which the Earl craved the Freedom for himſelf concerning ſome Teſtimonies not yet exhibited on his behalf, whence enſued a hot Conteſt betwixt the Two Houſes, which took up Two days Debate, but at laſt the Reaſons of the Lords prevailed, who declared, That in the common diſpenſation of Equity, the accuſed ſhould have equal allowance to Superinduct, new Proofs, as well as the Accuſers, and it was agreed that all further Teſtimony ſhould be waved on both ſides. 1641.

Upon *Tueſday* the Earl appeared, and the Lord Steward told him, That the Lords had ordered, that both their Teſtimonies ſhould be waved, and if he had any thing to ſay further in his own defence, he ſhould proceed, ſo that that day might put an end to what concerned the matter of Fact. The Earl replied, That in all Humility and Obedience he would ſubmit himſelf to that or any other their Decrees whatſoever, though it ſhould reach as far home unto him as his own life; but withal humbly begged, That if hereafter he ſhould be troubled (for they were to ſpeak laſt) with new Matter, or with ſupplemental Proof, he might have leave to ſpeak ſomething in his Defence.

The Lord Steward anſwered, It is all the Reaſon in the World.

Whereupon the Earl made a ſummary repetition of the ſeveral Particulars of the former Defence, which ended, he continued his Speech thus;

My Lords,

The Earl of Straſford's Speech.

There remains another kind of Treaſon, that I ſhould be Guilty of, for endeavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land; That this ſhould be Treaſon together, that is not Treaſon in one part; a Treaſon accumulative, that when it will not do it alone, being weaved up with others, it ſhould do it, ſeems very ſtrange. Under favour, My Lords, I conceive there is neither Statute nor Common Law which doth declare this endeavouring to Subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land to be High Treaſon, for I have been diligent in the inquiry, as you know it deeply concerns me, and could never diſcover it: It is hard to be queſtioned for Life and Honour upon a Law that cannot be ſhewn: for it is a Rule in Sir Edward Coke: De non apparentibus & non exiſtentibus eadem eſt ratio. *Jeſu! Where hath this fire laid ſo many Hundred of years without ſmoke to diſcover it, till it thus burſt forth to conſume Me and my Children? That puniſhment ſhould proceed promulgation of the Law; To be puniſhed by a Law ſubſequent to the Fact is extream hard: What can be ſafe, if this be admitted? My Lords, it is hard in another reſpect, that there ſhould be no Token ſet, by which we ſhould know this Offence; no Admonition by which we ſhould avoid it: If a Man paſs the Thames in a Boat, and ſplit himſelf upon an Anchor, and no Buoy be floating to diſcover it, he who oweth the Anchor ſhall make ſatisfaction; but if a Buoy be ſet there, every Man paſſeth upon his own Peril. Now where is this Mark, where the Token upon this Crime to declare it to be High Treaſon? My Lords, be pleaſed to give that regard to the Peerage of England, as never to expoſe your ſelves to ſuch Moot-points, ſuch Conſtructive Interpretations of Law. If there muſt be a Tryal of Wits, let the Subject-Matter be of ſome-*

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1641. *what else than the Lives and Honours of Peers. It will be wisdom for your selves, for your Posterity, and for the whole Kingdom, to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious Volumes of constructive and arbitrary Treason, as the Primitive Christians did their Books of curious Arts, and betake your selves to the plain Letter of the Law and Statute, that telleth us what is, and what is not Treason, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the Art of killing than our Fore-Fathers: it is now full 240 years since any man was touched for this alledged Crime to the height before my self; Let us not awaken these sleeping Lyons to our destructions, by raking up a few musty Records that have lain by the walls so many Ages, forgotten or neglected. May your Lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes; for my sins beslave me, not for Treason; let not a President be desired from me, so disadvantageous as this will be in the consequence to the whole Kingdom; Do not through me wound the interest of the Commonwealth: And howsoever these Gentlemen say, they speak for the Commonwealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and shew the inconveniences and mischiefs which will fall upon it; for as it is said in the Statute of the First of Hen. 4. No man will know what to do or say for fear of such Penalties: Do not, my Lords, put such difficulties upon Ministers of State, that Men of Wisdom, of Honour, of Fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be imployed for the Publick; if you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the publick Affairs of the Kingdom will lye waste; no man will meddle with them who hath any thing to lose. My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not an interest of those dear pledges a Saint in Heaven hath left me.* [At this he stop'd a while, offering up some tears to her ashes.] *What I forfeit my self is nothing, but that my destruction should extend to my Posterity, it wounds me to the very Soul: you will pardon my infirmity, something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it rest: And now, my Lords, for my self, I have been, by the Blessing of Almighty God, taught, that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to the Eternal weight of Glory which shall be revealed hereafter: And so, my Lords, even so, with all tranquility of mind, I freely submit my self to your Judgment; and whether that Judgment be of Life or Death,*

—TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

As soon as the Earl had ended, Mr. *Glyn* and Mr. *Pym* spent some time in repetition of the Charge, wherein they proceeded Article by Article, endeavouring by Rhetorical Declamations to render his Offences as odious as they could.

The Earl allowed to plead by his Counsel.

Matters of Fact being thus transacted, the Earl moved that he might be allowed to plead by his Counsel as to matter of Law: to which the Lords agreed, but the Commons would not, till after three days Conference, assent thereunto; and on *Wednesday* when they met in their House, they considered and debated much in what manner to proceed further against the Earl of *Strafford*.

By the modesty of his Behaviour he had much insinuated into the good opinion of the Lords, and many of the Commons, and by the clearness of his Answers to the several parts of his Charge, his Crimes appeared, not to be specifically comprehended under the Letter of any Statute Declaratory of Treason: but the Prosecutors perceiving hereby that the Judgment of the Lords upon the whole matter might not answer their Expectation, urged, that tho' he were not guilty of Treason, or any of those Offences enumerated in the Statute of 25 *Ed.* 3. yet so great were his Crimes, that according to a branch of that Statute, they ought to be declared Treason. For it is therein mentioned, that if any other case supposed to be Treason, which is not in that Statute specified, should happen, *no Judgment should be given till the cause be shewed, and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treason, or other Felony.* This Branch (they said) gave the Parliament power to declare Treason, and in the enumeration of his offences, they argued, That his intentions to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, was Treason at Common-Law before the making of the fore-named Statute: and such Treasons were not thereby taken away, but by the words before recited, might be declared as often as occasion should require; but because many doubts arose concerning such Treasons, the Wisdom of those times thought it not fit to submit the Judgment thereof to any less Authority than the Parliament: These Debates produced a Resolution in the House to declare him guilty of Treason: but because they had no President since the first of *Hen.* the 4th. of any Fact declared Treason in Parliament, that was not expressed in the Letter of some Statute, they doubted a little of the way of declaring Treason, but at last concluded to do it by Bill of Attainder.

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This was much oppos'd by *Selden*, *Bridgeman*, and *Holburne*, three Eminent Lawyers, at that time Members of the Commons-House, who made it manifest, that the *Salvo* of the Statute of the 15th *Edw.* 3. was repeal'd, and that no man could be convict of Treason but by the Letter of that Statute; nevertheless, being put to a Question, the Majority of Voices carried it for a Bill, and a Committee was appointed to prepare it.

The Commons pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*.

The Arguments by those and others then us'd against it, shall not be here inserted, because most of them were alledged by the Counsel for the Earl, and when those come to be mentioned, they will be related. There had been three Conferences betwixt the two Houses of these Matters.

The Lords resolve to hear the Earl's Counsel in matter of Law.

The Lords, at the first, of the two last of the three Conferences, (for the first was not a free Conference) told the Commons that they had resolv'd to give full audience to the Earl of *Strafford*'s Counsel in matter of Law, and that they, as competent Judges, would by themselves give Judgment in the Cause, as that which was most suitable to the Practice, Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, the safety of the Nobility, and to Common Justice; to which those of the Commons reply'd, That their House was resolv'd to go on with the

1641. the Bill of Attainder, and if the ſame ſhould be rejected by the Lords, they fear'd a rupture and diviſion might enſue to the ruine and deſolation of the Kingdom, for no content would be given to the Subject, unleſs the man who had ſo much intruded upon their right, might be puniſh'd as a Traitor: and for the practice and Laws of the Kingdom, they ſaid no man had ever found ſuch a favourable hearing; and that the Proceſs againſt the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, were all of them cloſed on one day.

On the next day they met at another Conference, where the Lords told thoſe of the Commons, that they ſhould expect nothing from their Houſe but what ſhould tend to the Peace and Preſervation of the Kingdom, nor was there a more forceable Argument for that, than to preſerve the Laws and Cuſtoms thereof, leſt innovation ſo much complained of by them, might unhappily be found among themſelves, that the Subjects ſhould have all that Juſtice could afford, but that an Act of Injuſtice would never give ſatisfaction to the world nor ſafety to themſelves, the eyes of all foreign States being fixed upon the buſineſs in agitation, and the wiſdom of our Nation either to be much advanced or depreſſed by their Judgments in this caſe; That the Proceſs againſt *Norfolk*, and *Eſſex*, (for *Somerſet* was convict only of Felony, and had not ſo much animadverſion to ſave himſelf by his Book) were for direct and formal Treaſon compriſed in one or two individual Acts, but this againſt the Lord *Strafford* only Arbitrary and accumulative, to be pick'd out of the Articles. And therefore that it was impoſſible to have a full examination of them all, to give Sentence againſt him: And thoſe Noble-men were charg'd with ſome breach of Statutes formerly made, but here a new Statute was to be made, or elſe he to be found guiltleſs: They concluded, that they had given Order for his appearance on *Saturday*, and that in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, where the Houſe of Commons might if they pleaſed, be preſent.

The Commons Conferrers refuſe to be there.

After ſome deliberation with their Houſe, the Commoners Conferrers anſwered, that ſince the Lords had ſo reſolved, they ſhould deny to be there, and to hear what his Counſel could ſay for him, for to reply any more in publick, they neither could nor would, becauſe of the Bill already read, only if their Lordſhips ſhould take any ſcruple in the matter of Law, they would be ready to give them ſatisfaction in a private Conference, and to give publick ſatisfaction alſo therein.

The next day the Lords and Commons convened in the great Hall, but they that were of the Committee for the Proſecution did not ſtand at the Barr as before, but ſate promiſcuouſly with the reſt of their Fellows; ſo that a mouth was not opened for the Houſe of Commons all that day: After they were ſet, the Lord Steward told the Earl, *That the Lords had reſolved to give him a fair hearing in the matter of Law, and therefore deſired that the Counſel in urging thereof might keep that diſtance, moderation, and reſpect to the Judicatury, that was fitting, and not at all to meddle with the matter of fact.*

The Earl replyed, *That in all humility he acknowledged that favour from the Lords, and that it was ſuch an one too, as he could not but expect from ſuch honourable Peers, and juſt Perſons, in whoſe integrity and goodneſs (under that which he had placed above) he had repoſed his cheifeſt confidence: for his Counſel they knew much better than himſelf, what concerned the point of Diſcretion and Reverence, and that he doubted not but that they would give all ſatisfaction and ſhew* therein.

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Then his Counſel were called to the Bar, which were Mr. *Lane* the Prince's Attorney, Mr. *Gardiner* the Recorder of *London*, and two others.

The Earl's Counſel called to the Bar.

Mr. *Lane* ſpake firſt to this purpoſe.

Mr. *Lane's* Speech to the Lords in his behalf.

My Lords, I ſhall not at all touch the matter of Law farther than to clear your Judgments in one Statute only, viz. 25 Edw. 3. *becauſe when the ſame was alledged by the Lord* Strafford, *in his own defence, that not being convict of the Letter thereof, he could not be convict of Treaſon: I remember the* Salvo *of the Statute was much inſiſted upon by thoſe from the Houſe of Commons, as much conducing to their ends. My Lords, I will firſt ſpeak of the Statute it ſelf, and then of its* Salvo *or Proviſion: The Statute is*, That if any man ſhall intend the death of the King, his Queen, their Children; Kill the Chancellor, or Judge upon the Bench, imbaſe the Kings Coin, or counterfeit the Broad Seal, *&c.* he ſhall be convict and puniſhed as a Traytor. *That the Lord* Strafford *comes not within the Letter of this Statute, is not ſo much as once alledged, nor indeed it cannot be with any reaſon; all that can be ſaid is, that by relation or by argument*, a minore ad majus, *he may be drawn into it, yet that this cannot be; I humbly offer theſe Conſiderations.*

1. *This is a declarative Law, and ſuch are not to be taken by way of conſequence, equity or conſtruction, but by the Letter only, otherwiſe they ſhould imply a contradiction to themſelves, and be no more declarative Laws, but Laws of Conſtruction or Conſtitutive.*

2. *This is a penal Law, and ſuch (if our grounds hitherto unqueſtioned hold good) can admit of no conſtructions or inferences, for penalties are to perſwade the keeping of known Laws, not of Laws conjectural, ambiguous, and by conſequence, which perhaps the moſt learned may not in their diſputes queſtion, much leſs the Subject (who is not obliged to interpret the Statute) doubt of, in the point of obedience, yea, rather without any doubt, be is rather to obey the Letter of the Statute, and conceive (and that truly) that he is not liable to the penalty.*

3. *We have a notable Law*, 13 Eliz. cap. 2. *whereby it is declared, that the bringing in of Bulls from* Rome, *to ſtir up the Subject to Mutiny and Rebellion, ſhall be puniſhed as Treaſon: Now if by interpretation or by conſequence this ſence might have been thruſt upon the preceding Statute, the making of this had been ſuperfluous; yea, the perſons then charged with that Crime, might have been impeached of Treaſon, even before the making of this Act.*

Anno 21 Edw. 3. *We have a Statute, declaring*

1641. claring, that for a Servant to kill his Master is an Act of Treason; and in the 23. year of the same King, a Process of Treason was framed against a Man for killing his Father, grounded upon the same Argument à minori ad majus: But it was found (and the sentence is yet in the Records) that although in the 21 year of Edw. 3. that Argument might have been admitted, yet in the 27 it could not, by reason of the declarative Law intervening in the 25 year; and this Case comes very home to the point in Law. 1641.

My Lords, I will not dispute what kind of Offence it may be for a Man to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, the Crime doubtless is unnatural and monstrous, and the punishment must keep the same proportion, only I presume to offer these few things to your Lordships Consideration:

1. That one or more Acts of Injustice, whether maliciously or ignorantly done, can in no sense of Law be called the Subversion of the Fundamental Laws; if so, as many Judges (perhaps) so many Traytors; it is very incident to Man's Nature to err, nor doth the Lord Strafford plead his Innocency in oversights, but in Treason.

2. I do remember the Case of John de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, this Man in the 28 of Hen. 6. was charged by the House of Commons with Articles of Treason, and those too very like to these against my Lord Strafford.

1. That he had given the King bad Advices.
2. That he had embased his Coyn.
3. That he had sessed Men of War.
4. That he had given out summary Decrees.
5. That he had imposed Taxes.
6. That he had corrupted the Fountains of Justice.
7. That he had perswaded the King to unnecessary War, and the giving over of Anjou in France.

And for all these, though he was charged with High Treason for wronging the Right of the Subject, and subverting the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, yet after a long agitation, the matter was found by the Lords of Parliament not to imply Treason, but only Felony. Add to this another, who in the 23 of Hen. 8. was charged for subverting the English Laws, and yet no Treason charg'd upon him. Add to both, the Charge of Richard Larks pleaded at the Common Pleas, who was charged with Treason for subverting the Law, but convicted only of Felony, by which you may see, my Lords, what to this time hath been subverting the Laws.

3. It is very considerable, That the Lord Strafford is not charged to have subverted, but only to have intended to subvert the Fundamental Laws, and this I conceive, if there were no more, might keep him free from that Statute of the 25 of Edw. 3. For although as touching the King, his Queen and Children, Intention is Treasonable; yet in all other things there mentioned, there must be Action beside Intention: for it is not said, if a Man do intend to kill a Chancellour, it shall be Treason, but if he doth kill him; and if he doth actually counterfeit the Broad Seal: And although a Man should prepare a Furnace, make ready his Stamp, melt his Bullion, yet if he gives not the King's Impression upon the Coin, all his Intentions, yea, his Preparations will not serve to make up a Treason.

Ye see therefore, my Lords, that the Body of the Statute cannot stick against the Lord Strafford, neither in Letter nor Consequence, this is not, that must not be; all that can be said is, that the Act may be Treason by the Common Law. For my part, I profess my ignorance, who ever thought the Common Law might declare, but never make a Treason; it might be presupposed that there is a Statute whereupon to build a Declaration; and therefore to say there is no Statute for it, it is to say, it is no Treason at all, the Statute ever makes the Treason: and to be declared Treason either by Common Law, or by Parliament, are but two different ways of proceedings, and must both resolve into one Principle, nay, and which comes home to the Point, in the 21 of Edw. 3. To kill a Man imployed in the King's War was Treason, and the 23. to kill the King's Messenger was Treason by declaration of the Common Law, but always by reason of the Statute; yet none of these are Treasons, but Felonies only, because of the intervening Statute of the 25 of Edw. 3. such hath ever been thought the force of its Letter and Declaration: and so I will leave it, and a word or two of the Salvo, which is this, that because all Particulars could not be enumerated, therefore what the Parliament should declare to be Treasonable in time to come, should be punished as a Treason.

And according to this reservative, in the 8th. year of King Richard 2. one charged before the King's Bench, was afterward referred to the Parliament, and there though the Fact was not contained in the body of the Statute, yet because of the Proviso aforementioned, it was adjudged Treason.

In the 11th. year of the same King, the Duke of Ireland, and Nevil Archbishop of York, were impeached of High Treason by Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, and notwithstanding the Statute, were Convicted thereof by the Salvo; but in the 21 of the same Rich. 2. the Tyde turned, and the King had such a hand with the Parliament, that the Sentence was recalled, and those Three Noblemen themselves were adjudged Traytors. Again, in 1 Hen. 4. his Successour, that Revocation of the 21 Rich. 2. was repealed, and the Sentence of the 11th. of his Reign established: such were the tossings to and fro of Treason, and all because of that uncertain Proviso.

Therefore it was that in the same Parliament 1 Hen. 4. a Petition was preferred by the Nobility, to have Treason limited within some Statute.

Because they knew not what to speak or what to do for fear thereof: And in Cap. 10. an Act was made upon this Petition, that the Salvo should be holden repealed in all times to come, and nothing esteemed Treason but what was literally contained in the 25 Edw. 3. and therefore it is said in the Records, That there was great joy at the making of this Act, in that the drawn Sword hanging over every Man's head by this slender thred of a Consequence or Illation, was removed by that

Act.

1641. Act. *Add to this, that in the* 1. *of Qu.* Mary Cap. 1. *the ſame is repeated,* That no man ſhall be puniſhed in Life or Eſtate as a Traytor, but for the Crime contained in the Statute of the 25 *Edw.* 3. without the leaſt mention of the pretended *Salvo.*

The Earl of Northumberland's *Caſe comes nigh to the Point, he was charged with Treaſon, the* 5 *of* Hen. 4. *and if the Statute of the* 1 *of* H. 4 Chap. 10. *whereby this* Proviſo *is repealed, had not intervened, no doubt he had been condemned of Treaſon, but he was only convict of Felony, and that becauſe he could not be drawn within the Letter of the Statute of the* 25 *of* Edward 3. *And I dare confidently ſay it, that ſince that Act was made the* 1 *of* Henry 4. Chap. 10. *whereby the* Proviſo *is repealed, no Man hath ever been declared a Traytor either by King or Parliament, exceptt it were upon that, or ſome other Statute literally and declaratively taken. Theſe two things I do offer to your Lordſhips Conſiderations: That the Lord* Strafford *cannot be impeached of Treaſon by the Statute of the* 25 Edw. 3. *and that the* Salvo *contained in the ſame, ſtands repealed almoſt two hundred years ago. And this is all I conceive to be neceſſary for that Statute which was alledged by the Lord* Strafford *in his Defence for Matter of Law.*

The Recorder ſaid, he could add nothing to what the former Counſel had ſpoken for matter of Law; *but if their Lordſhips would ſtate unto him any further Queſtions, he was ready to give his Reſolution according to his beſt ability.*

No Anſwer was made to this Motion, but the Lords and Commons adjourned to their reſpective Houſes, without appointing any time for the next meeting.

The Commons were reſolved to proceed upon the Bill of Attainder, which was ſo extraordinary a thing, that it did not paſs without great debate. The Lord *Digby*, then a Member of the Commons Houſe, and one of the moſt active Proſecutors of him, was ſo ſatisfied with his Anſwers at his Tryal, that he could not but ſhew a diſlike to the paſſage of it, upon every Occaſion that occurr'd in the reading or debating thereof, which made *Pym* and ſome others, that were reſolved on the buſineſs, to do what they could to blaſt his Credit in the Houſe, but yet when the laſt reading of the Bill was in the Commons Houſe, he gave ſo generous a Teſtimony againſt it, That it may not be unfit to record what he then ſaid, in this Hiſtory:

The Lord *Digby's* Speech againſt the Bill of Attainder.

Mr. Speaker,

We are now upon the point of giving (as much as in us lies) the final Sentence unto Death or Life, on a great Miniſter of State, and Peer of this Kingdom, Thomas *Earl of* Strafford, *a name of horror in the preſent Age by his Practices, and fit to be made a Terrour to future ages by his puniſhment.*

I have had the Honour to be employed by the Houſe in this great Buſineſs, from the firſt hour that it was taken into Conſideration: It was a Matter of great truſt, (and I will ſay it with Confidence) that I have not only ſerved the Houſe in it with Induſtry according to my Ability, but with moſt exact Faithfulneſs and Secrecy.

And as I have hitherto diſcharged my Duty to this Houſe, and to my Country, in the progreſs of this great Cauſe, ſo truſt I ſhall do now in the laſt Period of it to God, and to a good Conſcience. 1641.

I do wiſh the peace of that unto my ſelf, and the Bleſſing of Almighty God to me and my Poſterity, according as my Judgment on the Life of this Man ſhall be conſonant with my Heart, and the beſt of my underſtanding in all Integrity.

I know well, Maſter Speaker, that by ſome things I have ſaid of late, whilſt this Bill was in agitation, I have raiſed ſome Prejudices upon me in this Cauſe.

Yea, ſome (I thank them for their plain-dealing) have been ſo free as to tell me, that I ſuffered much by the backwardneſs I have ſhewn in this Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Strafford, *againſt whom I have been formerly ſo keen, ſo active.*

Mr. Speaker, I deſire of you, and the reſt of this Houſe, a Suſpenſion of Judgment concerning me, till I have opened my heart unto you freely and clearly in this Buſineſs.

Truly, Sir, I am ſtill the ſame in my Opinions and Affections as unto the Earl of Strafford, *I confidently believe him the moſt dangerous Miniſter, the moſt inſupportable to free Subjects, that can be characterred.*

I believe his Practices in themſelves as high, as tyrannical as any Subject ever ventured on; and the Malignity of them hugely aggravated, by thoſe rare Abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the Uſe, but the Devil the Application. In a word, I believe him ſtill that grand Apoſtate to the Commonwealth, who muſt not expect to be pardoned in this World, till he be diſpatched to the other. And yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand muſt not be to that Diſpatch; I proteſt, as my Conſcience ſtands informed, I had rather it were off.

Let me unfold unto you the Myſtery, Mr. Speaker:

I will not dwell much upon juſtifying unto you my ſeeming Variance at this time from what I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the Difference between Proſecutors and Judges.

How misbecoming that Fervour would be in a Judge, which perhaps was commendable in a Proſecutor. Judges we are now, and muſt put on another Perſonage.

It is Honeſt and Noble to be earneſt, in order to the Diſcovery of Truth, but when that hath been brought as far as it can to light, our Judgment thereupon ought to be calm and cautious.

In proſecution upon probable grounds, we are accountable only for our Induſtry or Remiſneſs; but in Judgement we are deeply reſponſible to God Almighty, for its Rectitude or Obliquity. In Caſes of Life, the Judge is God's Steward of the Party's Blood, and muſt give a ſtrict Account for every Drop.

But, as I told you, Mr. Speaker, I will not inſiſt long upon this ground of Difference in me now, from what I was formerly.

The Truth on't is, Sir, the ſame Ground whereupon I wiſh the reſt of the five to whom you firſt

1641. *firſt committed the conſideration of my Lord of* Strafford *) brought down our Opinion that it was fit he ſhould be accuſed of Treaſon, upon the ſame ground I was engaged with earneſtneſs in his proſecution; and had the ſame ground remained in that force of belief with me, which till very lately it did, I ſhould not have been tender in his Condemnation. But truly Sir, to deal plainly with you, that ground of our Accuſation, that ſpur to our Proſecution, and that which ſhould be in the baſis of my judgment of the Earl of* Strafford *as unto Treaſon, is to my underſtanding quite vaniſht away.*

This it was, Mr. Speaker.

His adviſing the King to employ the Army of Ireland *to reduce* England.

This I was aſſured would be proved, before I gave my conſent to his Accuſation. I was confirmed in the ſame belief during the Proſecution, and fortified in it moſt of all, ſince Sir Henry Vane's *preparatory Examinations, by the aſſurances which that worthy Member Maſter* Pym *gave me, that his Teſtimony would be made convincing, by ſome Notes of what paſſed at the Junto concurrent with it, which I ever underſtanding to be of ſome other Counſellor, you ſee now prove but a Copy of the ſame Secretaries Notes, diſcover'd and produced in the manner you have heard, and thoſes diſjointed fragments of the venemous part of Diſcourſes, no Reſults, no Concluſions of Counſels, which are the only things that Secretaries ſhould regiſter; there being no uſe at all of the other, but to accuſe and to bring man into danger.*

But, Sir, this is not that which overthrows the evidence with me, concerning the Army of Ireland, *nor yet that all the Junto upon their Oaths remember nothing of it.*

But this, Sir, which I ſhall tell you, is that which works with me, under favour, to an utter overthrow of this Evidence, as unto that of the Army of Ireland: *Before whilſt I was a Proſecutor, and under tye of Secreſie, I might not diſcover any weakneſs of the Cauſe, which now as a Judge I muſt. Maſter Secretary was examined thrice upon Oath at the preparatory Committee.*

The firſt time he was queſtioned to all the Interrogatories, and to that part of the ſeventh which concerns the Army of Ireland; *he ſaid poſitively, in theſe words,* I cannot charge him with that. *But for the reſt, he deſired time to recollect himſelf, which was granted him.*

Some days after, he was examined a ſecond time, and then depoſed theſe words, concerning the King's being abſolved from Rules of Government, and ſo forth, very clearly; but being preſt to that part, concerning the Iriſh *Army, again, ſaid, he could ſay nothing to that*

Here we thought we had done with him, till divers weeks after, my Lord of Northumberland, *and all others of the Junto, denying to have heard any thing concerning theſe words of reducing* England *by the* Iriſh *Army, it was thought fit to examine the Secretary once more, and then he depoſes theſe words to have been ſaid by the Earl of* Strafford *to His Majeſty:* You have an Army which you may imploy here to reduce (*or ſome word to that ſenſe*) this Kingdom. 1641.

Mr. Speaker, *Theſe are the Circumſtances, which I confeſs with my Conſcience, thruſt quite out of doors that grand Article of our Charge, concerning his deſperate Advice to the King, of imploying the* Iriſh *Army here.*

Let not this, I beſeech you, be driven to an Aſperſion upon Mr. Secretary, *as if he ſhould have ſworn otherwiſe than he knew or believ'd, he is too worthy to do that; only let thus much be inferred from it; That he who twice upon Oath with time of Recollection; could not remember any thing of ſuch a buſineſs, might well a third time miſremember ſomewhat: and in this buſineſs the difference of one Letter,* here *for* there, *or* that *for* this, *quite alters the Caſe, the latter alſo being the more probable, ſince it is confeſt of all hands, that the debate then was concerning a War with* Scotland, *and you may remember at the Bar he once ſaid to imploy* there. *And this* Mr. Speaker, *I have faithfully given you an Account what it is that hath blunted the edge of the Hatchet or Bill with me towards my Lord of* Strafford.

This was that whereupon I accuſed him with a free heart, proſecuted him with earneſtneſs, and had it to my underſtanding been proved, ſhould have condemned him with Innocence; Whereas now I cannot ſatisfie my Conſcience to do it.

I profeſs I can have no Notion of any bodies Intents to ſubvert the Laws treaſonably, or by force, and this deſign of force not appearing, all his other wicked practices cannot amount ſo high with me.

I can find a more eaſie and more natural ſpring, from whence to derive all his other Crimes, than from an intent to bring in Tyranny, and to make his own Poſterity, as well as us, Slaves; as from Revenge, from Pride, from Avarice, from Paſſion, and Inſolence of Nature.

But had this of the Iriſh *Army been proved, it would have diffuſed a complexion of Treaſon over all, it would have been a Withe indeed, to bind all theſe other ſcattered and leſſer Branches, as it were into a Faggot of Treaſon.*

I do not ſay but the reſt may repreſent him a man as worthy to dye, and perhaps worthier than many a Traytor; I do not ſay, but they may juſtly direct us to Enact that they ſhall be Treaſon for the future.

But God keep me from giving Judgment of death on any Man, and of ruine to his innocent Poſterity, upon a Law made à poſteriori.

Let the Mark be ſet on the door where the Plague is, and then let him that will enter, dye.

I know, Mr. Speaker, *there is in Parliament a double power of Life and Death by Bill, a Judicial power, and a Legiſlative; the meaſure of the one is what's legally juſt, and the other, what is prudentially and politickly fit for the good and preſervation of the whole. But theſe two, under favour, are not to be confoun-*

1641. ded in Judgment. We must not piece up want of Legality with matter of Convenience, nor the defailance of prudential fitneſs, with a preſence of legal Juſtice.

To condemn my Lord of Strafford Judicially as for Treaſon, my Conſcience is not aſſured that the matter will bear it.

And to do it by the Legiſlative Power, my Reaſon conſultively cannot agree to that, ſince I am perſwaded neither the Lords nor the King will paſs the Bill, and conſequently, that our paſſing it will be a cauſe of great diviſions and combuſtions in the State.

And therefore my humble Advice is, That laying aſide this Bill of Attainder, we may think of another, ſaving only Life, ſuch as may ſecure the State from my Lord of Strafford, without endangering it as much by diviſion concerning his puniſhment, as he hath endangered it by his practices.

If this may not be hearkned unto, let me conclude in ſaying that unto you all, which I have throughly inculcated to mine own Conſcience upon this occaſion. Let every man lay his hand upon his heart, and ſadly conſider what we are going to do, with a breath, either Juſtice or Murther; Juſtice on the one ſide, or Murther heightned and aggravated to its ſupremeſt extent: For, as the Caſuiſts ſay, That he who lies with his Siſter, commits Inceſt; but he that marries his Siſter, ſins higher, by applying Gods Ordinance to his Crime: So doubtleſs, he that commits Murther with the Sword of Juſtice, heightens that Crime to the utmoſt.

The Danger being ſo great, and the Caſe ſo doubtful, that I ſee the beſt Lawyers in diametrical oppoſition concerning it. Let every man wipe his heart, as he does his eyes, when he would judge of a nice and ſubtil Object. The eye if it be prelimited with any colour, is vitiated in its diſcerning. Let us take heed of a blood-ſhotten eye of Judgment.

Let every man purge his heart clear of all paſſions (I know this great and wiſe Body Politick can have none, but I ſpeak to individuals, from the weakneſs which I find in my ſelf.) Away with perſonal Animoſities, away with all Flatteries to the People, in being the ſharper againſt him, becauſe he is odious to them; away with all Fears, leſt by the ſparing of his blood they may be incenſed; away with all ſuch conſiderations, as that it is not fit for a Parliament, that one accuſed by it of Treaſon ſhould eſcape with Life.

Let not former vehemence of any againſt him, nor fear from thence, that he cannot be ſafe while that man lives, be an Ingredient in the Sentence of any one of us.

Of all theſe corruptives of Judgment, Mr. Speaker, I do before God diſcharge my ſelf to the uttermoſt of my power.

And do with a clear Conſcience waſh my hands of this mans Blood, by this ſolemn Proteſtation, That my Vote goes not to the taking off the Earl of Strafford's life.

The Earl's Enemies greatly offended at this Speech.

At this Speech thoſe were much offended who deſigned the death of this Earl, and they were ſo factious in the purſuit of it, that they took the Names of all the Diſſenters upon a diviſion of the Houſe when the Bill paſs'd, and caus'd them to be diſperſed among their party in the City, who came in great tumults to *Weſtminſter* to clamour for Juſtice, and in the Old Palace-Yard in *Weſtminſter* thoſe Diſſenters were poſted up, to be expoſed to the Fury of the ungoverned multitude, made at this time ſo mad and violent, that ſome of them were heard to ſay, if they could not have the Earl of *Strafford*'s Life, they would have the King's; and in their Paper they called the moderate part of the Houſe of Commons, *Straffordians*. The Names of whom were theſe; Lord *Digby*, Lord *Compton*, Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Robert Hatton*, Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*, Sir *Edward Alford*, Sir *Nicho. Slaning*; Sir *Thomas Danby*, Sir *George Wentworth*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *William Carnaby*, Sir *Richard Winn*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, Sir *William Withrington*, Sir *William Penniman*, Sir *Patrick Curwent*, Sir *Richard Lee*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Sir *William Portman*, Mr. *Gervaſe Hollis*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Coventry*, Mr. *Benj. Weſton*, Mr. *Will. Weſton*, Mr *Selden*, Mr. *Alford*, Mr. *Floyd*, Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Digby*, Sergeant *Hide*, Mr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Griffith*, Mr. *Scowen*, Mr. *Bridgeman*, Mr. *Fettiplace*, Dr. *Turner*, Captain *Charles Price*, Dr. *Parry* Civilian, Mr. *Arundel*, Mr. *Newport*, Mr. *Holburn*, Mr. *Noel*, Mr. *Kirton*, Mr. *Pollard*, Mr. *Price*, Mr. *Travannian*, Mr. *Jane*, Mr. *Edgecombe*, Mr. *Chilchly*, Mr. *Mallery*, Mr. *Porter*, Mr. *White* Secretary to the Earl of *Dorſet*, and Mr. *Warwick*.

1641.

Obſ. of the Hiſtory of K. *Charles* pag. 238.

The names of thoſe that refuſed to paſs the Bill of Attainder.

The ſame afternoon this Bill of Attainder was carried up to the Lords Houſe, where it reſted many days, and had probably never paſſed, had not many of the Peers been terrified from coming to the Houſe by the tumultuous multitude, in whom ſuch fears and jealouſies were infuſed by the artifices of ſome of the Members of both Houſes, that when any debate was like to be carried againſt them in either Houſe, they would ſend for great numbers of them with Swords and Clubs, who would menace, reproach, and aſſault ſuch Members as diſliked them: But notwithſtanding all this violence of proſecution, the Lords were much unſatisfied, and ſo many Scruples were ſtarted by them, that a Conference was deſired with the Commons to reſolve them, and it was agreed that *Oliver St. John*, the King's Sollicitor, ſhould on the 29*th*. of this Month, give their Lordſhips an account in publick in *Weſtminſter*-Hall of the Reaſons impelling the Houſe of Commons to proceed by Bill, ordering alſo that the Earl of *Strafford* ſhould then be preſent. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, many Conſultations were had about raiſing money for the paying and diſbanding the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Armies in the North, and other matters relating thereunto.

Artifices uſed to make the Bill paſs in the Lords Houſe.

The Commons had Voted to give three hundred thouſand pounds to the *Scots* as a fit proportion for recompence of their loſſes and neceſſities occaſion'd by this War, notwithſtanding the great Levies made by them for their ſubſiſtance in the Northern Counties: but thoſe that invited them hither, ſo their own purpoſes were effected, cared not into what extremity the Kingdom was brought,

The Commons Vote 300000. *l.* to the *Scots*.

1641. brought, and therefore they gave many delays to the *Scotch* Treaty, and to the disbanding the Armies, and the raising Money for these ends: and one of them said, *They could not yet spare them, that the sons of* Zerviah *were too strong for them*: but upon a Debate of these Matters in the House of Commons, when many Discourses were made of the necessities of the Northern parts, occasioned by the *Scotch* Army, and one Mr. *Gervase Hollet*, a Burgess for *Newborne* upon *Trent*, said, *That the best way of paying them, was by Arms to expel them forth of the Kingdom*: They took such Offence at his Speech, that they speedily call'd him to the Bar, and being not satisfied with what he said there, they expelled him from the House.

Mr. *Strodes* Exact Collection, page 521.

Mr. *Gervase Hollet* expelled the House for a Speech concerning the *Scotch* Army.

These Transactions were carried on with great heat by a clamorous pretended necessity of Reformation in Church and State, and the people were perswaded to believe their Religion and Liberties had been lost if the *Scots* had not interposed at this time; wherefore that the time of the Armies stay may be prolonged till such Alterations in Church and State were made as they designed, all things were urged that might heighten the jealousies of the people, and at this time many apprehensions were raised of danger by the exercise of Popery, and their access to the Court, as also of the continuance of the Army in *Ireland*: So that a Petition was presented to the King, for Three things touching those Matters:

A Petition presented to the King.

1. *For removing of all Papists from Court.*
2. *For disarming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.*
3. *For disbanding the* Irish *Army.*

To all which the King the 28*th.* delivered Answer contractly thus:

The Kings Answer to the Petition.

For the First, they all knew what legal Trust the Crown hath in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing to give them assurance that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just cause of scandal.

For the Second, He is content it shall be done according to Law.

For the Last, He had entred into consultation about it, and found many difficulties therein, and he doth so wish the disbanding of all Armies, as he doth conjure them speedily, and heartily to joyn with him in disbanding those Two in England.

The day after the King had given his Answer, the Earl of *Strafford* in pursuance of what was before resolved, was brought into *Westminster-Hall* before a Committee of both Houses of Parliament, where Mr. *St. John* did endeavour to satisfie the Lords in the reasonableness of the Bill of Attainder to induce them to pass it; for though their Proofs at the Trial were insufficient, and nothing but legal Evidence could prevail in Judicature, by this way both Lords and Commons might proceed by the light of their own Consciences without any further Proof whatsoever: And so it was expressly affirmed by Mr. *St. John* in the Speech he then made, wherein he said:

Mr. *St. John's* Reasons to the Lords for the Bill of Attainder.

That although single Testimony might be sufficient to satisfie private Consciences, yet how far it would have been satisfactory in a judicial way where Forms of Law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas in this way of Bill, private satisfaction to each Man's Conscience is sufficient, although no Evidence had been given at all.

And towards the conclusion of what he said, after many Aggravations of the Earl's Offences, tending (as he said) to subvert our Laws; he told them, *He that would not have had others to have Law, should not have any himself. It is true* (said he) *we give Law to Hares and Deer, because they be Beasts of Chase. It was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock Foxes and Wolves on the Head, as they can be found, because these be Beasts of prey: the Warrener sets Traps for Pole-cats and other Vermine, for preservation of the Warren.* 1641.

Upon the Close of this Speech, the Lords and Commons rose, nor was there a word spoken but by Mr. *St. John*, only the Earl by a kind of dumb Eloquence, often holding up his hands towards Heaven, all along the Speech made his reply with a deep silence; and the next day, he Petitioned the Lords to be heard again, alledging, That his Lawyers had not fully spoken at their last Meeting; but this was denied him, and many of the Lords shewed greater propensity towards the Earl's Condemnation than before; whereof the King being inform'd, he came the next day to the House of Peers, and having sent for the House of Commons, he spoke to them to this purpose:

The Earl's Petition for a Second hearing denied.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech concerning the Earl of *Strafford.*

I had no Intention to have spoken to you of this business to day, which is the great business of the Earl of Strafford, *because I would do nothing which might hinder your Occasions. But Judgment being ready to be past on him, I think it most necessary to declare my Conscience therein.*

I am sure you know I have been present at the hearing of this great Cause, from one end to the other: and I must tell you that in My Conscience I cannot Condemn him of High Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this business, I am sure you will not expect it, a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince, yet must I tell you Three Truths, which I am sure no Man can tell so well as my self.

1. *That I had never any intention of bringing over the* Irish *Army into* England, *nor ever was advised by any body so to do.*

2. *That there was never any Debate before Me, either in publick Council, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them.*

3. *That I was never Counselled by any to Alter the least of any of the Laws of* England, *much less to Alter all the Laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impudent as to move me to it; For if they had, I should have made them such an Example, and put such a Mark upon them, that all Posterity should know my Intentions by it, they being ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.*

I desire rightly to be understood, for though I tell you in my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet cannot I clear him of Misdemeanours, therefore I hope you may find out a way to satisfie Justice, and your own Fears, and not oppress my Conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender Conscience it, and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie my People I would doe great matters, but in this of Conscience, neither Fear, nor any

1641. *other respect whatsoever, shall ever make me go against it.*

Certainly I have not deserved so ill of this Parliament at this time, that they should press me in this tender Point, therefore I cannot suspect you will go about it: Nay, I must confess for Misdemeanours, I am so clear in them, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will shew you that I think my Lord of Strafford *is not fit hereafter to serve Me, or the Common-wealth, in any Place of Trust, no not so much as a Constable. Therefore I leave it to you my Lords, to find out some such way as to bring me out of this strait, and keep your selves and the Kingdom from such Inconveniencies.*

The Solemnization of the Marriage of the Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary*, eldest Daughter to the King. Tumults at *Westminster*.

This coming of the King, and the Speech then made, relisht so ill with the Two Houses, that few of them attended on the Solemnities of the next day, *May* 2. being *Sunday*, on which the King's Eldest Daughter married to the Prince of *Orange*, and the next day, Five or Six thousand of Prentices, and other tumultuous Citizens, came down to *Westminster*, most of them arm'd with Swords, and demanded of the Lords as they went to the House, Justice and Execution against the Earl of *Strafford*, and many of them they likewise affronted in their passage.

The same day intimation was given to the House of Commons of Practices upon the English Army, to bring them up to *London* to awe the Parliament; which was an Artifice used by some leading Men, to add to those Distractions already raised to fill the minds of the People with Fears and Jealousies, when in truth all that appeared in reference thereunto, amounted only to this:

Observation being made of the great Tumults about *Westminster*, which seem'd to threaten the safety of such of the Members of both Houses, as were known not to agree with the Designs of some passionate men, who countenanc'd the delivering of Petitions, attended and subscrib'd by the Hands of many Thousands, against the Laws and establisht Government of the Kingdom, (which yet seem'd to receive some countenance, and to carry some authority, as instances of the affections of so many persons,) it fell into the thoughts of some Officers of the Army, of known and publick affections to their Country, that a Petition of a modest and a dutiful Nature from the whole Army, *For the composing and setling all Grievances in the Church and State by Law*, might for the reason of it prevail with the whole House, and coming from such a Body, might confirm those, who might be shaken with any fears of power, or force by the Tumults: but even this in the Debate of it had so many intervening difficulties, that it was laid aside Two Months before any Discovery; yet nevertheless this Alarm gave occasion to the Commons immediately to frame a Protestation, which the same day it was made, was imposed upon all the Members before they were permitted to go out of the House, and was taken by all of them, except the Lord *Digby*, and an Uncle of his, and shortly after it was sent to the Lords, and by them taken also, and afterwards by an Order of the House of Commons, all the Subjects of *England* were enjoyn'd to take it, under pain of being thought unfit of bearing any Office either in Church or Common-wealth, to which the Lords would not consent. The Protestation was in these words:

A Petition from the Army presented to the Parliament.

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The Protestation taken by both Houses, and the Subjects of *England*.

I A. B. *do in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realm contrary to the same Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my Allegiance to his Majesties Royal Person, Honour and Estate; as also the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and every Person that maketh this Protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by all good ways and means, endeavour to bring to Condign Punishment all such as shall either by Force, Practice, Plots, Counsels and Conspiracies, or otherwise do any thing, to the contrary of any thing in this present Protestation contained. And further, That I shall in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to preserve the Union and Peace between the Three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland: *And neither for fear, nor other respect, shall relinquish this Promise, Vow, and Protestation.*

How this Protestation was observ'd by most of them that took it, will be discovered hereafter.

On the Fifth of *May*, ground was taken from the great apprehensions of the House of Commons, that the Parliament might be dissolv'd before Justice should be done upon Delinquents, publick Grievances redrest, a firm Peace betwixt *England* and *Scotland* concluded, and before Provision should be made for the re-payment of such Moneys as should be taken up upon Credit, to answer the immediate Emergencies that were at that time in the State, to Debate of the necessity of a Bill for the continuance of this Parliament, not to be prorogu'd or adjourn'd but by Act of Parliament, in which there was such haste made, that within Two days after the First mention of it, it was pass'd in the House of Commons, and carried up to the Lords, where it staid not long, for the temptation was too great to let a Bill of this Nature be laid aside, and in a few days after it came before them, (*viz.*) on *Saturday* the Eighth of *May*, both that and the Bill of Attainder were pass'd. The Bill of Attainder had a hard passage, of Forty five present, there were Nineteen against it, there were many of the Earl's Friends that absented themselves for fear of the Tumults, otherwise the Suffrages for him had more than counterpois'd the Votes for his death: the same day they sent to the King, to desire access to him, which was granted, and about Four a Clock they attended in the Banquetting House at *White-hall*, where after some stay, these Two Bills were presented to him, with a signification, that the present danger of the Kingdom could not admit of delay, and therefore they humbly besought him to give his Royal Assent thereunto: The King told them they should expect his Answer on *Monday*, and so they parted from each other.

A Bill for the continuance of the Parliament passed by both Houses.

The Lords also pass the Bill of Attainder.

They present both to the King, requesting his Royal Assent.

On the next day which was *Sunday*, the King sends

1641. sends for the Archbishop of *Armagh*, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*, whom he desired as Casuists to advise him, whether in Justice he ought to pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl? all but the Bishop of *Lincoln*, were very tender in this Affair, the Matters of Fact they say he could himself best judge of, having been present at the Tryal; and for the matter of Law, what was Treason, and what not, he was to rest in the Opinion of the Judges, whose Office it was to declare the Law, and who were Sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his Subjects, that the King might shew Mercy to him, and Pardon his Offence, without any scruple of Conscience, they said no Man doubted, if other Reasons of State did not hinder, of which the Major part desired neither to be Judges nor Advisers; but the Bishop of *Lincoln* went a little farther, he urged the Opinion of the Judges, and the Judgment of the Parliament thereupon, representing the terrible Consequences of an inraged Multitude, and that no other Expedient could be found out to Appease the people. It is not said the King was convinced by any thing said to him at this Conference, but the Motive inferiour to all, was a Letter he received from the Earl, wherein he thus concluded.

The King consults with the Bishops about the Case of the Earl, as to matter of Conscience.

SIR,

(*To set Your Majesties Conscience at liberty*) *I do most humbly beseech You, for the preventing of such Mischiefs as may happen by Your refusal, to Pass the Bill; by this means to remove, praised be God, I cannot say this Accursed, but I confess this Unfortunate thing forth of the way, towards that Blessed agreement which God (I trust) shall for ever establish betwixt You and Your Subjects. Sir, My consent herein shall more acquit You to God, than all the World can do besides: To a willing Man there is no injury done. And as by God's Grace I forgive all the World, with a calmness and meekness of infinite Contentment to my dislodging Soul; So Sir, I can give up the life of this World with all cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgment of Your exceeding Favours, and only beg that in Your Goodness, You would vouchsafe to cast Your Gracious regard upon my poor Son, and his Three Sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than their Unfortunate Father shall appear more or less Guilty of this Death. God preserve Your Majesty.*

The Earl's Letter to the King for the freeing of his Conscience.

Your Majesties Most Humble and
Faithful Subject, and Servant,

STRAFFORD.

On the next day in the Morning he signed a Commission to the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and others, for the passing of the Two Bills, the one for the continuation of the Parliament, the other the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*, than which Concession never any thing passed from him with greater Reluctancy at the present, or which he bewailed afterward with greater remorse of Conscience; for those themselves that framed it, knowing of what dangerous consequence it might be hereafter to the Lives and Fortunes of the Subjects, to let such a Precedent remain in force, a Clause was added to the Bill, that it should not be drawn into example for the time to come: which because it may seem strange to them that know it not, we shall here insert so much of the enacting part thereof, as concerns this point, (for the Preamble is only a recital of the Heads of the Accusation.) 1641.

The King signs a Commission to pass the Two Bills.

Be it therefore Enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, and by the Authority of the same; That the said Earl of Strafford *for the Heinous Crimes and Offences aforesaid, stand and be adjudged and attainted of High Treason, and shall suffer such pain of Death, and incur such Forfeiture of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, of any Estate of Free-hold or Inheritance in the said Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *which the said Earl or any other to his Use, or in Trust for him, have or had the First day of the sitting of this present Parliament, or at any time since. Provided that no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any Act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason; nor in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been made.*

Thus have we Treason and no Treason in the self-same Action; that being judged Treason in this one Man which never was to be judged Treason in any other.

What Inducements the King had to pass this Act, and with what regret he did it, we have heard, but * who drew him to the other may be now inquired, some attribute it to the Lord *Say* then Master of the Wards, and one of his Majesties Privy Council, who, as it is reported, when the King asked him, if a continuance for Seven years might not serve the turn, made Answer, that he hoped they would dispatch all business in so many Months, and that if his Majesty passed the Bill, it should be so far from the making the Parliament perpetual, that he was confident they would desire to be dissolved before Three years end; but most lay the blame on the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who by cutting out so much work for the King in *England*, doubted not to carry on his designs in *Scotland* without interruption; for it is credibly said, that he did brag much of this Service when he was in that Kingdom, affirming frequently, that he had got a perpetual Parliament for the *English*, and would procure the like for the *Scots* before he had done. Although the King signed the Commission for passing of these Acts, yet the Royal Assent was not given to them till the Tenth of *May*, and on the next day, the King wrote to the Lords by the Prince of *Wales*, in these Words.

* The Act for continuance of the Parliament.

The King gives his Royal Assent to the Two Acts

My Lords,

I did yesterday satisfie the Justice of the Kingdom by passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford. *But Mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a King as Justice, I desire in some measure to shew that likewise, by suffering that Unfortunate Man to fulfil the natural course of his Life in some close imprisonment, yet so, that*

The Kings Letter to the Lords in behalf of the Earl of *Strafford*.

if

1641. *if he ever make the least offer to escape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publick business, especially with me, either by Message or Letter, it shall cost him his Life without further process. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of my people, will be an unspeakable contentment to me.*

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, who is of all your House most dear unto me: So I desire that by Conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment; likewise assuring you, that the exercise of Mercy is no more pleasing to me, than to see both Houses of Parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the Law in so important a Case.

I will not say that your complying with me in this my intended Mercy, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more chearful in granting your just grievances. But if no less than his Life can satisfie my People, I must say, Fiat Justitia. *Thus again recommending the consideration of my Intentions to you, I rest,*

Your unalterable and affectionate Friend,
Charles R.

If he must dye, it were Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

The Lords send to satisfie the King about this Matter.

This Letter was twice read in the House of Peers, who, after consideration thereof, sent 12 of their Number to the King, to signifie to him, That neither of the Two Intentions expreſt in the Letter, could with Duty in them, or without danger to his Consort the Queen, be possibly admitted. Which being accomplished, and more Expressions offer'd, the King suffered no more words to come from them, but said, That what he intended by his Letter, was with an *If*, if it may be done without discontentment to his people. If it cannot be, I say again the same that I wrote, *Fiat Justitia.*

My other Intention proceeding out of Charity, for a few days respite, was upon certain information, That his Estate was so distracted, that it necessarily required some few days for the settlement thereof.

Whereunto the Lords answered, their purpose was to be suiters to his Majesty for Favour to be shewed to his innocent Children, and if himself had made any provision for them, that the same might hold. This was well pleasing to his Majesty, who hereupon departed from the Lords. At his Majesty's departure they offered up into his hands the Letter it self which he had sent. But he was pleased to say, What I have written to you, I shall be content it be registred by you in your House. In it you see my mind, I hope you will use it to mine Honour.

Upon *Wednesday* the 12*th.* of *May*, the Earl was summon'd to his period: He was conveyed from the Tower by a Court of Guard, formed of the Trained Bands. Before him went the Marshals Men, next the Sheriffs Officers with Halberts, then the Warders of the Tower, then the Earl's Gentleman-Usher bare-headed, and next him the Earl himself, accompanied with the Primate of *Armagh*, and others. Upon his first coming forth, being to pass near the Archbishop's Lodging (who stood at the Window waiting for his approach) he lifted up his eyes, and espying the Archbishop, bestowed a low Obeysance towards him, saying, *My Lord, Your Prayers, and your Blessing.* The Archbishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both; but overcome with Grief fell to the ground *in animi deliquio.* The Earl proceeding a little farther, he bowed the Second time, saying, *Farewel, my Lord, God protect your Innocency.* 1641.

The Earl of *Strafford's* Speech on the Scaffold, directed to the Lord Primate of *Ireland.*

Being brought to the Scaffold, he addrest his Speech to the Lord Primate to this effect:

My Lord Primate of *Ireland*,

It is my very great comfort that I have your Lordship by me this day, in regard I have been known to you this many years, and I do thank God and your Lordship for it, that you are here. I am come hither by the good will and pleasure of the Almighty to pay that last debt I owe to sin, and to submit to that Judgment which hath passed against me. I do it with a very contented and quiet mind; I thank God, I do freely forgive all the World. I thank God, I can say it, and truly too, my Conscience bearing me witness, that in all my Employment since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual prosperity of King and People, although it hath been my ill Fortune to be misconstrued.

There is one thing I desire to free my self of, and I am confident I shall obtain your Christian Charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think the Parliaments of England, *were the most happy Constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and People happy.*

For my Death I here quit all the World, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purposes of my heart, I am not made guilty of what I die for. And it is a great comfort for me, that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so heavy a punishment as this.

I wish this Kingdom all prosperity and happiness, and desire every one who hears me, to consider seriously, whether the Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of Blood. Let me never be so unhappy as that the least drop of my Blood should rise up in Judgment against any of you, but I fear you are in the wrong way.

I Profess that I dye a true and obedient Son of the Church of England *wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and Prosperity be ever to it.*

This said, he desired all present to assist him in his Prayers, wherein he continued near a quarter of an hour, then rising up, he bade all his Friends Farewell, especially by name his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, by whom he sent his love to his Wife, and blessing to his Children, willing him to charge his Son, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church.

Then he addrest himself to the Block, and having prayed a while, he gave the Executioner the Token of his preparedness, whereat the Headsman doing his Office, severed his Head from his Body, at the first stroke. Thus dyed this unfortunate Earl. A Gentleman he was of excellent endowments, of a happy fluency in Speech, and of a searching and sound Judgment in Counsel, and always faithful to his Master therein. The *Scots* designing some Alterations in that Kingdom pre-

He is beheaded.

His Character.

1641. prejudicial to the King's Government there both in Church and State, were opposed therein by him, which made him formidable to them, and they therefore became his mortal Enemies, so that some said, he suffered not so much a sacrifice to the *Scots* revenge, as to their fear: his Character is expressed by the King his Master, who said, He looked upon the Earl of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman whose great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than ashamed to imploy him in the greatest Affairs of State.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. Chap. 2.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of Undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great Errors and many Enemies: whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a Lustre, must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *Odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity.

The Earls Children restored to their Honour and Estates.

His Children were restored to their Honour and Estates on the Petition of the Lords and Commons; and the Commons were seemingly most favoured therein, to make some recompence to them, or to give proof to the Nobility (lest they should be scared by the Example) that not so much the Estate as the Man was aimed at; but when the Kingdom had need of that head for its service, they could not restore it; for at this time our want of his great abilities makes them better understood than our fruition of them: so dark is our humane understanding in preserving that which is useful and vertuous amongst us.

The King sent Sir *Thom. Roe* to the Diet at *Ratisbonne* to assist his Nephew.

Though we were enter'd into great Distempers at this time, yet the King was mindful of the restitution of his Nephew the Elector Palatine, who was to attend the Emperour at a Diet to be held at *Ratisbonne*, and Sir *Thomas Roe* was appointed Embassadour from hence, to assist him there, and to add to the reputation of the Embassie, the Parliament joyned with the King in a Manifesto on the Elector's behalf; but no success ensued.

The Parliament now in good security and power, began to think themselves concerned to disband both the Armies.

The *Scots* by the first Cessation, were limited but for a Month, but they having resolved not to part with them, till they had procur'd the passage of several Laws in agitation, their stay was from time to time enlarged, till there was almost nothing left for the King to grant, as by several of the Acts hereafter mentioned may appear.

The Triennial Parliament before spoken of, was a great Concession, for thereby the power of calling Parliaments, in case of neglect or refusal, was put into the hands of Sheriffs, and Constables, which every one thought a great foundation of confidence betwixt the King and his People: but because many of the peoples Grievances were conceived to proceed from the great Liberty of the Council-Board, or from some Orders and Directions from them, the King admitted to his Privy-Council, the Earls of *Hartford*, *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Warwick*, the Lord Viscount *Say*, and some others, all of them eminently in esteem with the people for their reputation of Honour and Justice, that no irregularities might be there committed; and divers of the King's most eminent Officers surrendred their Offices to the King, to enable him the better to gratifie most of them.

The Earls of *Hartford*, *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Warwick*, Lord *Say*, with some others, made Privy Counsellors.

1641.

The Bishop of *London*'s Office of Treasurer, was put into the hands of five Commissioners: the Earl of *Hartford* was sworn Governour of the Prince in the room of the Earl of *Newcastle*; and the Earl of *Essex*, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Houshold, in the place of the Earl of *Pembroke*; the Office of Master of the Wards was resign'd by the Lord *Cottington*, and conferr'd on the Lord *Say*; and the Earl of *Leicester* was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*: having thus begun, the King was resolved to proportion Remedies to all the visible known Diseases of the State by the Advice and Counsel of both Houses of Parliament, making hitherto no Rule to his Concession but their asking: Thus they gain'd from him the abolition of the Star-Chamber, a Court formerly erected by Act of Parliament.

The Lord Treasurer, and other great Officers, resign up their Places.

The Star-Chamber abolished.

The High Commission Court had proceeded with too much strictness, having so far out-grown the power of Law, that it would not be limited and guided by it, and therefore that Branch of the Statute by which it was erected, was repealed.

The High Commission Court put down.

The Writs for Ship-mony, and all the proceedings in that business were by the King's consent adjudged void, and the Judgments, Enrolments, and Entries thereupon vacated and cancell'd, though all the Judges had subscrib'd unanimously to the Lawfulness of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared to be the Judge; and moreover, being brought to a publick Tryal, after it had been argued by Counsel on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, there passed a definitive Sentence for it: but this abrogation of Ship-money by a Law was not enough, for *Bramston*, *Trevor*, *Weston*, *Davenport*, and *Crawly*, five of the Judges that gave their Opinions for it, were Impeached of high Misdemeanours for so doing, and *Barkly*, another of the Judges, accused of Treason, but no further prosecution was made therein.

Ship-money relinquisht by the King.

Five of the Judges for Ship-money, Impeached of High Misdemeanour, and *Barkly* Accused of Treason.

Under colour of executing the Forest Laws, many had been vexed by Presentments, Fines, and Imprisonments; for remedy whereof, the King passed a Law, for the certainty of the Metes, Limits and Bounds of all the Forests in *England*, with great provision for the ease of the Subject in that behalf. Likewise he passed a Law against divers incroachments and oppressions in the Stannary Courts; and in an Act for granting the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage to him, in the Preamble thereof, he parted with his Title of Imposing, a power adjudged good, and exercised by former Kings, and though disputed, never resolved against by Judgment in Parliament. And by an Act for regulating the Office for Clerk of the Market, because the undue execution thereof had been grievous to many of the People, he consented that no Clerk of the Market of his House should hereafter execute his Office in any part of the Kingdom, but only within the Verge of the Court, and granted the execution of that Office, to the Mayors and Bailiffs of Towns Corporate, and to the Lords of Liberties and Franchises; and in an Act obtained from him for prevention of vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood, he absolutely parted with, and discharg'd a right and duty as unquestionably due

Several Laws passed by the King for regulating Abuses and disclaiming Priviledges.

1641. due to him by the Law as any ſervice he could challenge: He parted alſo with his propriety in the making of Gun-powder, and conſented to an Act, for diſclaiming of his power in preſſing Soldiers, enjoyed by all his Predeceſſors for defence of his Perſon and the Realm: but that which chiefly protracted the diſbanding of the Armies, was a Bill render'd to the Houſe of Commons, for the aboliſhing of Biſhops root and branch, but that took no effect. And now the Treaty between the two Kingdoms being finiſhed, and an Act paſs'd for confirmation thereof, the Armies were ſuddenly to be diſbanded, and for that purpoſe the Earl of *Holland* was made General of the *Engliſh* Army, and for the payment of them and other debts of the Kingdom, a Pole-Bill was paſſed, wherein the whole Kingdom was aſſeſſed, every Duke at 100 *l.* a Marquis at 80 *l.* Earls 60. *l.* Viſcounts and Barons at 40 *l.* Knights of the *Bath* 30 *l.* Knights Batchelors at 20 *l.* Eſquires 10 *l.* and every Gentleman diſpending 100 *l. per annum*, 15 *l.* and all others of ability, a competent proportion; the meaneſt through the whole Kingdom was not excuſed under ſix-pence: As for the 300 00 *l.* voted to be paid to the *Scots* towards a ſupply of their Loſſes, it was agreed that 100000 *l.* thereof ſhould be paid at *Midſummer* come twelve-month, and the other 200000 *l.* two years after, which was ſecured to them by Act of Parliament.

The Treaty between the two Kingdoms confirmed.

Earl of *Holland* made General of the *Engliſh* Army.

A Pole raiſed for the payment of the Armies.

Both the Armies diſbanded.

And on the ſixth of *Auguſt* both Armies were diſbanded, and four days after, the King began his Journey to *Scotland*, to ſettle the Affairs of that Nation, and on the ſame day both Houſes of Parliament adjourn'd themſelves to the 20th of *October*, and a Committee of the Houſe of Commons conſiſting of fifty Members, was appointed to ſit, during the receſs.

The King takes a Journey into *Scotland*.

The King at his coming into *Scotland*, was received there with great demonſtrations of affection by the people, and to oblige them to him, he confirmed not only the Articles of the Treaty betwixt the two Nations by Act of Parliament, but all his former Conceſſions alſo, and all ſuch things as had been acted by them in their general Aſſemblies: And likewiſe the better to pleaſe them, he conferr'd Titles of Honour and Dignity on ſome, and great Places of power, truſt, and profit on others: amongſt theſe, the Marquis of *Hamilton* was made Duke of *Hamilton*, General *Leſly* was created Earl of *Leven*, who was ſo tranſported with a ſenſe of the King's favour and bounty to him, that he often proteſted, and once at *Perth* upon his knees in the Houſe of the Earl of *Kenoul*, that he would never bear Arms againſt the King.

The King confers honour upon many Perſons during his abode in *Scotland*.

A while after the King being at *Edenburgh*, ſome information was given to the Marquiſſes of *Hamilton* and *Argile*, that there was ſome deſign upon their perſons, which made them for ſome few days withdraw themſelves from the Parliament out of *Edenburgh*, but their perſons were of ſuch quality and eſtimation in *Scotland*, that great care was taken to diſcover the ground thereof, and after full examination by the Parliament, upon the whole, they themſelves, and that great Council were ſatisfied, that the information firſt given to them, could not be made good to the proof of any deſign to the danger of their perſons: but the King who was a little reflected on in the firſt Information, could not conceal his reſentment of this carriage in *Hamilton*, and when he delivered to him his Patent of Duke in Parliament (according to the manner of that Nation,) he told him he had not deſerved to be miſtruſted by him, for he well knew when he was accus'd to him of High Treaſon, he permitted him even then to lye in his Bed-Chamber: This reproof had no great impreſſion on the new Duke, though he ſeem'd outwardly much troubled for having given the King ſo juſt a cauſe of diſpleaſure, yet upon the firſt report of this buſineſs at *London* (without ſtaying to hear the Opinion of the Parliament of *Scotland*, who had fully examin'd it,) ſtrange interpretations were made upon the matter as highly and nearly concerning the peace of *England*, and a ſudden reſolution was taken firſt by the Committee during the receſs, and after by the Parliament, to have a Guard for the defence of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and both Houſes of Parliament, which troubled the minds of the people with the apprehenſion of new danger, when they were ſo lately freed from the fears of two Armies. 1641.

About the end of *October* this year, a Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which was carried ſo cloſe, that no certain notice was given of the Conſpiracy till the very Evening before it was to be put in Execution.

A bloody Rebellion breaks out in *Ireland*.

The innocent Proteſtants were upon a ſudden diſſeized of their Eſtates, and the perſons of above 200000 Men, Women and Children, murdered, within the ſpace of one Month, and many of them with exquiſite and unheard of tortures. That which incereas'd the wonder of moſt men was, the conſideration that the ancient hatred which the *Iriſh*, (a thing incident to conquered Nations) had born to the *Engliſh*, did now ſeem to be forgotten: forty years of peace had compacted thoſe two Nations into one Body, and cemented them together by all conjunctures of Alliance, by Intermarriages, and Conſanguinity, which was in outward appearance ſtrengthned by frequent entertainments, and all kinds of friendly Neighbourhood.

This deſign was to be put in execution on the 23 of *October*, upon which day, not only the Caſtle of *Dublin*, the Kingdom's chief Magazine, a Storehouſe of 10000 Arms at that time, but all other Forts and Magazines in that Kingdom, were to be ſurpriz'd, and all the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants that joyned not with them, to be murdered.

The ſeizure of *Dublin* Caſtle was prevented by timely diſcovery of the Plot to the two Lords Juſtices, by one *Owen O Conally* of *Iriſh* Extract, but a Proteſtant, which diſcovery was but the very night before that fatal day, and the occaſion of it very accidental, by one *Hugh Mac Mahon*, Grandſon to the great *Tyrone*, a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, in the County of *Monagan*, and one that had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the King of *Spain*'s Service, who truſted this *Owen* with ſome Relations concerning it at a Tavern.

O Conally by Diſcovery of the Plot, prevents the ſeizure of *Dublin* Caſtle.

Upon which diſcovery, *Mac Mahon* and the Lord *Mac Guire* were preſently apprehended by the Lords Juſtices, and many Conſpirators of great Note eſcaped that night out of *Dublin*; ſo was *Dublin* ſaved, that all *Ireland* might not be loſt

Mac Mahon and the Lord *Mac Guire* apprehended.

1641. lost in one day. But the horrid Design was past Prevention, as to the general; for the Conspirators were up at the day fix'd in all Counties round about; and poor *English* Protestants arrived at *Dublin* every day, robbed and spoiled of all they had, relating how their Houses were seized, how Towns and Villages in all parts were fired, and cruel Outrages committed.

The Lords Justices, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Burlace* taking those Arms which they found in *Dublin*, and arming whom they could to defend themselves, dispatched Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, then chosen Deputy, but staying in *England*.

The Earl of *Leicester* chosen Deputy for *Ireland*.

The *Irish* Rebellion occasioned by the Insurrection in *Scotland*.

It was generally said, the late Insurrection (we must not call it Rebellion) in *Scotland*, gave the first encouragement to this in *Ireland*, and the pretences were in many of them the same, namely, for Liberty of Conscience, nor to have the *English* Bishops and Liturgy imposed upon them; and these, as those in *Scotland*, being mighty zealous in their Religion, when once they were possessed with a possibility of compassing their Designs, executed whatever the impetuous dictates of Superstition or wicked exhortation of Priests could infuse into them; in this, exceeding the Actions of the *Scots*, whose Religion, founded on more pious Principles, instructed them not to such bloody ways of Propagation of it.

The King receives Intelligence of what happened in *Ireland*, and sends Sir *James Stuart* with Instructions thither.

The Lords Justices sent Sir *Henry Spotswood* to *Scotland* to the King, with Intelligence of all that happened, and thereupon he sent Sir *James Stuart* to the Lords of the Privy-Council in *Ireland*, to acquaint them with his knowledge and Instructions, and to carry all that money that his present Store could supply: He moved also the Parliament of *Scotland* (as being neareſt) to a speedy help, but they excused their Aids, because *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*; but they said, if the State of *England*, would use any of their Men for that Service, they would make Propositions in order to it. At the same time likewise he sends Post to the Parliament of *England*, and a while after *Owen O Conally*, the first Discoverer of the Plot, brought Letters to *London*, to the Earl of *Leicester*, with an Account of it, wherein the Lords Justices desired some Reward might be given to him; upon the receipt of which, the Parliament Voted him a Gift of Five hundred pounds, and an Annuity of 200 *l.* a year, and at a Conference of both Houses they resolved to consider of the Relief of *Ireland*, and passed several Votes to that end; but little was done for their relief, till the King returned to *London*, which was about the end of *November*.

He moves the Parliament of *Scotland* for Aid, which they excuse.

O Conally the discoverer of the Plot rewarded.

The *Irish* pretend the King's Commission for what they did, thereby to dishearten the *English*.

The *Irish*, to dishearten the *English* from any resistance, bragged that the Queen was with their Army; that the King would come amongst them with Auxiliary Forces; that they did but maintain his Cause against the Puritans; that they had the King's Commission for what they did (shewing indeed a Patent that themselves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an old Broad Seal that had been taken from an obsolete Patent out of *Fernham* Abby by one *Plunket*, in the presence of many of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many.) That the *Scots* were in Confederacy with them, to beget a faith of which, they abstained for some time, from the Lives and Fortunes of those of that Nation among them.

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On the other side, to encourage the Natives of their own Party, they produced Fictitious Letters, wherein they were informed from *England*, That the Parliament had passed an Act, that all the *Irish* should be compelled to the Protestant Worship; and the Refusers for the first Offence should forfeit all their Goods, for the second, their Estates, and for the third their Lives. Besides, they presented them with the hopes of Liberty; that the *English* Yoke should be shaken off; that they would have a King of their own Nation, and that the Goods and Estates of the *English* should be divided among the Natives.

And feigned Letters that the Parliament would compel them to Protestancy.

With these hopes of Spoil and Liberty in the *Irish*, the Rebellion increased. The Rebels in *Ulster*, under the conduct of Sir *Phelem Oneal*, assisted by *Turbuck Oneal*, his Brother, *Rory Mac-Guire* Brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, *Mulvere O Rely*, Sir *Cormo Mac-Cormel* called *Mac-Rurian*, and others, had possest themselves of all the strong places in *Ulster*, (*London-Derry*, *Colrein*, and the Town and Castle of *Enniskellen* excepted,) many places which the *English* defended, and they could not either surprize by treachery, or take by plain force, they had surrendred to them upon Composition and Articles, which they afterwards most perfidiously broke, butchering and massacring the poor *English* without pity or compassion to Age or Sex, though they still spared the *Scottish* Plantations in *Ulster*, because of their numbers; and likewise for fear of the *Scottish* Army so easily to be transported into the North parts of *Ireland*, till such time as their General Sir *Phelem Oneal*, (one of the Race of the late bloody Earl of *Tyrone*, of *English* Education, a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inn*, and a professed Protestant till some time before) having gathered together a numerous Rabble of the Natives, who daily flocked in to him, fell upon their Quarters; where though he exercised not that cruelty upon their persons which he did upon the *English*, yet he deprived them both of their Goods and Livings, enforcing many of them to fly away naked to the *Scottish* shore; from thence he marched into the *English* Pale, and in the beginning of *November* he took *Dundalk*, and soon after he encamped at *Ardo* within seven miles of *Tredagh*.

The Rebels possess themselves of all strong places in *Ulster*.

They, contrary to Articles of surrender, massacre the poor *English*, but spare the *Scots*.

The King finding his stay in *Scotland* to be somewhat longer than he expected, that the business of *Ireland* might not suffer thereby, referred the whole business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, who had undertaken the Charge and management of the War; wherewith the Earl of *Leicester* acquainted the Lords Justices, letting them know further, That they had declared a speedy and vigorous assistance, and had designed for their present Supply the summ of 50000 *lib.* which would be raised with all convenient speed.

The Parliament designs money for *Ireland*.

By this time the Lords of the Council of *Ireland* had armed as many as they were able, and given Commissions for raising of several Regiments, which were put into the hands (for the most part) of Gallant men, as their Actions afterwards testified to the World; Sir *Charles Coote* an active, and valiant man (who was also

1641. made Governour of *Dublin*) with great speed made up his Regiment out of the poor robbed and stripped *English* which had fled to *Dublin*; Sir *Henry Tichbourne*, a worthy Commander, was dispatched away with a Regiment of Foot, to keep *Tredagh* from the approaching Rebels; the Lord *Lambert*, and Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Captain *Armstrong*, Captain *Tuner*, with others, raised many Companies of Souldiers there.

Forces raised to go against the Rebels.

The Earl of *Ormond* made Lieutenant General of the Forces there.

This was done about the middle of *November*; at which time also the Earl of *Ormond* with his well armed Troop of Horse came to *Dublin*; wherewith in few dayes after, he was by a Commission sent from the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* (as likewise by the Kings approbation from *Scotland* signified in a Letter) made Lieutenant General of all the Forces there, who being a person of great Estate, Credit and Reputation in that Kingdom, and a Protestant, did very eminent Service against the Rebels.

The Parliament in Prosecution of their great Promises, sent over Twenty thousand pounds in money, which arrived seasonably at this time, their treasure being much exhausted, by paying the new Companies they had raised, but with this small relief they were much encouraged, and very successfull Service was performed in divers places against the *Irish*, but no Levies of men were made in *England*, till the King had disclaimed his power of pressing Soldiers, and thereby laid himself open to those Arms that were afterward raised against him: the first Soldiers they sent, was a Regiment under Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who arrived in *Ireland* on the last of *December*.

A Regiment sent to *Ireland* under Sir *Simon Harcourt*.

Whilst that Kingdom was thus distressed, the King returned out of *Scotland* into *England* about the end of *November*, and was by the City of *London* entertained, feasted, and conducted to his Palace at *Whitehall*, with as pompous Solemnity, and costly Expressions of Love and Duty as ever any King of *England* was, and the chief of them afterward were feasted by him at *Hampton-Court*, where several of the Aldermen had the Honour of Knighthood conferred upon them: but this little prospect of Happiness was quickly clouded by a Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, presented to him at *Hampton-Court* a few days after his arrival there, from the House of Commons; which they prepared for him against his coming to *London*, wherein all the mistakes and misfortunes which had happened from the King's first coming to the Crown and before, to that very hour were with great asperity recited.

The King returns out of *Scotland*.

The Parliament present a Remonstrance to him at *Hampton-Court*.

Most moderate men wondred at this carriage towards the King, since he had from the first sitting of the Parliament, denied nothing to them they reasonably asked, and when he went to *Scotland* it was voiced to all, that he parted a gracious King, from a contented people: and in *Scotland* he gave so much satisfaction to that people (though afterwards as appeared by their unfaithfulness they were perverted) that they caused an Act (then in force) to be published and revived, *That it should be thought and deemed Treason in the highest degree that could be, for any of the Scots Nation, covertly or openly to levy Arms, or lay Military Forces upon any pretence whatsoever, without the King's Commission.*

An Act published in *Scotland* against levying Arms without the King's Commission.

Those in the Parliament of *England* that were ill disposed to the King's Person and Government (as too many were) were much displeased at these Methods of his, to gain the affections of his people, and therefore they used all the endeavours they could, to blast him; and this Remonstrance as an Engine for that work, was prepared and brought into the House, where the greatest industry and skill imaginable was used by private solicitations, threats and promises to procure it to pass: the Debate lasted from ten in the morning till three of the Clock the next morning, so that at last they carried it by eleven Voices, when many of the more Aged, and Persons of best fortunes not accustomed to such watchings, were wearied out, and many others not daring to provoke the prevailing Faction, left the House: the consent of the Lords was not asked, for of that they despaired, though some of them were too apt to be seduced: this they presented to the King at *Hampton Court*, with a Petition before it, as sharp as the Remonstrance it self, wherein they desired him,

1641.

A Petition presented with the Remonstrance.

1. *To concur with the People for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament*, (for which there was yet no Bill passed.)

2. *To employ such people about him as the Parliament might confide*: and,

3. *Not to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated Lands in* Ireland, *which should accrue to the Crown by reason of the Rebellion, and thereupon they promised to undergo the hazard and expences of the War, and to apply themselves to such Counsels and Courses, as may support the Royal Estate with honour and plenty at home, and with Power and Reputation abroad.*

This Petition and strange Remonstrance, was graciously received by the King, from the hands of the Presenters, who were Members of the Commons House; and he promised to answer to them, but in the mean time desired, that the Remonstrance might not be printed and published to the People: the thing it self, and the printing any thing of the like nature, being never heard of by the direction of the House of Commons till this Parliament, it being the first appeal to the people and of fatal consequence, both to the King, and many of the base Actors in this Transaction.

The King receives the Petition.

And desires them not to publish the Remonstrance.

But without giving the King leisure to answer, special Direction was given for printing the Remonstrance, and equal care taken for the publishing it in all Places and Parts of the Kingdom: but this did not hinder the King from performing his Promise, to answer their Petition, and vindicate himself from those Aspersions that were published in the Remonstrance, to lessen or blemish his Reputation with the people.

They contrariwise order it to be published in all parts of the Kingdom.

The King answers the Petition, and vindicates himself from the aspersions of the Remonstrance.

That part of the Petition, that he would not alienate the forfeited and escheated Lands in *Ireland*, he did not dislike; he said, it might be a Resolution very fit for him to take (though he doubted whether it were seasonable to take Resolutions of that nature, before the events of the War were seen) and to all the other parts, he gave such modest and gracious Reply, (but yet not without some resentment of their dealing towards him) that many of the prime Actors were much discontented, to find their Practices so fully discovered, so that they had recourse to their former pernicious Remedy, the tumults of the multitude to bring about their next design.

For

1641.

The Commons pass a Bill for disabling all persons in Holy Orders to exercise Temporal Jurisdiction.

For the Commons having passed a Bill for disabling all Persons in holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority (wherein the Votes of the Bishops in the House of Peers were taken away) when it came to the Lords House, it met with a very cold Reception; but the tumultuous Rabble were so insolent, that they assaulted and evil entreated some of the Peers, even at the doors of their House, crying out against Bishops, and bending most of their Malice against them, whereby they were deterred from doing their duty; and afterwards they went to *White-Hall*, and made a stand before the Gate in a great body, saying, They would have no more Porters-Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased: and when the Lords at a Conference with the House of Commons, desired they would joyn with them in a Declaration for the suppressing such Tumults, several Speeches were made in Justification of them, Mr. *Pym* saying, God forbid that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten People to obtain their just desires in such a way.

The Tumult upon the Lords slighting the Bill, comes to their House, and clamour against the Bishops.

The Commons justifie those Tumults.

The Lords direct a Writ to the Sheriffs and Justices to suppress those Tumults.

Whereupon the Constables and Justices are sent for by the Commons.

The Lords having in vain tryed this way, appointed, by Advice of the Judges, a Writ to be directed to the Sheriffs and Justices upon divers Statutes to suppress all tumultuous Resort, in Obedience to which, the Justices appointed the Constables and others, to attend about *Westminster*, to hinder that unlawful conflux of People; which was no sooner done, but the Constables and Justices of the Peace were sent for by the House of Commons, and the setting forth a Watch was Voted to be a breach of Priviledge, and before any Conference with the Lords, by whose direction that Legal Writ issued out, the Watch were discharged, and one of the Justices for doing his Duty, according to that Writ, was sent to the Tower.

These licentious and unpunished Tumults, gave occasion to the Bishops (who could not repair to the House without danger of their Lives) to frame their Petition and Protestation to the King and Peers, which was to this purpose:

The Bishops Protestation against the Actions of the Parliament.

They protested themselves to abominate all Actions or Opinions tending to Popery, or any malignity against the State; but were willing and ready to perform their Duties in Parliament: but whereas coming to perform that Duty and Service, they have been rudely menaced, affronted, and put in fear of their Lives by multitudes of People, and can find no Redress or Protection upon Complaint made; They therefore humbly protest before his Majesty and the Noble Peers, that saving to themselves all their Rights and Interests of Sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not Sit and Vote in the House of Peers, until his Majesty shall further secure them. And because their fears are not in vain, but upon true grounds and objects, they do in all Duty and Humility therefore protest before His Majesty, and the Peers, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves, null and of none effect, which in their absence since the 27th. of this instant December, 1641. *have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass, during this their enforced absence from the said House.* Which Protestation they desired the King to command the Clerk of that House to Record.

The Lords were so much displeased at this Protestation, that immediately at a Conference with the Commons, they declared, it was of dangerous consequence, and deeply intrenching upon the fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliament; at which the Commons took so great a heat, that after a little Debate, they passed a Resolution by Vote to accuse them of High Treason, and sent Mr. *Glyn* to the Lords House to Impeach them thereof, which caused their Commitment to the Tower, where they continued about four Months.

1641.

They are charged with Treason, and committed to the Tower.

The King thinking himself at this time unsafe at *White-Hall* without a Guard, accepted of the Offer of some Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to be a Guard to him, by which means the Insolency of the Rabble was in some degree checkt, but they instructed by their Heads, laboured to make it more unsafe to the King, by seeking on this occasion to raise the rage and jealousie of the whole City against him. For at midnight there were cries made in the Streets of *London*, that all people should arise to their defence, for the King with his Papists were coming to fire the City, and cut their Throats in their beds; than which though nothing were more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the people by such Alarms being terrified from sleep, the impressions of those nightly fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almost with madness.

The King upon this, sent a Message to the Common-Council of *London*, complaining of tumultuous Assemblies of the people from the City daily resorting to *Westminster*, to the disturbance of that Place and his Palace at *White-Hall*: but the House of Commons to obviate this, petitioned him for a Guard of security of their Persons, alledging, That there was a malignant Party bitterly envenomed against them, who did daily gather strength and confidence, and were now come to that height of boldness, as to give out insolent and menacing Speeches against the Parliament it self. It was therefore their humble desires, that they might have a Guard out of the City, Commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Houshold, of whose Fidelity to the King and Common-Wealth no question was ever made.

The Parliament Petition the King for a Guard.

This Petition was denied by the King: but with a solemn Engagement of himself by the word of a King, that the security of all, and every one of them from Violence, was, and ever should be as much his care, as the Preservation of himself and his Children; and if this general Assurance would not suffice to remove those Apprehensions, he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for, to Almighty God.

The King denies the Petition.

The King at such time as he was in *Scotland*, had expostulated with some of the Chiefs among them, touching their coming into *England* in a Hostile manner, and found, that some who were now leading Men in the Houses of Parliament, had invited them to it. And having furnish'd himself with sufficient Proofs thereof, he Commanded his Attorney General to draw up an Impeachment of High Treason against some of them; That is to say, the Lord *Kimbolton* a Member of the House of Peers, *Denzill Hollis* Esq; Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Strode*,

1641. *Kimbolton* with five Members of the House of Commons charged with High Treason by the King.

all Members of the House of Commons, appointing him likewise to inform the House of Peers therewith, and with the general matters of the Charge; and at the same time he sent a Serjeant of Arms to the House of Commons, to acquaint them that he did accuse, and intend to prosecute the five Members of that House for High Treason, and did require that their Persons might be secured in Custody.

The Articles of their Accusation were to this purpose.

1. *That they had endeavoured to subvert the Government, to deprive the King of his legal Power, and to place on Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power.*

2. *That they had endeavoured by foul aspersions upon his Majesties Government, to alienate the Affections of his People from him.*

3. *That they endeavoured to draw his late Army from his Obedience, to side with them in traiterous Designs.*

4. *That they traiterously invited and incouraged a foreign Power to Invade his Majesties Kingdom of* England.

5. *That they traiterously endeavoured to subvert the very Rights and Being of Parliament.*

6. *That they have endeavoured by force and terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their traiterous Designs, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament.*

7. *That they have traiterously Conspired to levy, and actually have levied War against the King.*

The House of Commons did nothing herein, to comply with the King's Intimation to them concerning the accused Members, but when a Serjeant at Arms was sent to arrest their Persons, there came a Countermand from them by which the Serjeant was deterr'd from doing his Office, for they had Voted, if any person came to attach them without order from that House they might stand upon their Defence, and make Resistance.

The King seeing this Obstruction of Justice, and that opposition was like to be made, if he proceeded in the ordinary way of Justice, resolved to go himself to the House of Commons, and by a clear discovery of his Intentions, prevent all seeming Inconveniences, and in this he was so secret (as he thought) that he discovered it not till the very minute of his going.

The Commons justifie the accused Members.

The King comes to the House of Commons, to demand the delivery of the five Members.

He therefore took with him the Palsegrave, (his Nephew) and about 100 Lords and Gentlemen, and their Followers, and went to the House of Commons, where commanding his Attendance to move no further than the Stairs, to offer no Violence, nor return any uncivil Language to any, although provok'd; he himself, with the Palsegrave only, entred the House, and demanded that the accused Persons may be delivered into his hands, with whom he promises to deal no otherwise than according to Law; but they whom he sought being before informed, as it is reported, of the King's coming, by the secret intelligence of the Countess of *Carlisle*, had forsook the place, and withdrawn themselves into the City, wherefore the King having renewed his Charge, without injury to any, immediately departed.

This Act of the King's was Voted by the Commons, a breach of Priviledge; and strange Reports and Scandals were raised against him in the City of *London*, by the Friends of the accused Members, as that he had offered violence to the House of Commons, and came thither with force to murther several Members, and used threatning speeches against the Parliament, with which the City was so possess'd, that unusual Watches were set, and Guards placed in several places thereof, as if some desperate attempt or assault were to be made upon it; and as if all men were now absolved from the Rules of Obedience, publick direction is given, for drawing down the Train-bands of the City, to *Westminster* on a day appointed, to guard and bring in Triumph the Persons accused of High Treason, as such worthy Patriots, that the Commonwealth it self could not subsist, but with reference to them.

1641. The Commons vote this a breach of Priviledge

This coming to the knowledge of the King, although many gallant and faithful Servants proffered their Service, to curb any Insolencies that should be attempted on him, yet was he resolved to withdraw himself, with the Queen and their Children to *Hampton-Court*, to give time for their jealousies and rumours to waste and perish. And though the King was not conscious to himself of any Error in his first Proceeding against these Members, remembring that in a Petition from both Houses of Parliament in the beginning of his Reign, in the Case of the Earl of *Arundel*, it was asserted, That in case of Treason, Felony, and breach of Peace, Priviledge of Parliament doth not extend; yet neither his desisting from the Prosecution of that Impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction.

The King removes to *Hampton-Court*.

But that nothing might be omitted in him to manifest the clearness of his Intentions, he sent a Message to the Parliament of the Twentieth of *January*, wherein in gracious Expressions he proposed; *That since particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too tedious to be presented by themselves, that they would comprise and digest them into one entire Body, that so both he and themselves might be able to make the more clear Judgment of them; And that it should then appear, by what he would do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things which the too great fears and jealousies of some Persons seemed to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest Examples of most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.*

The King's Message to the Parliament.

This Message was received by the Parliament with thanks, and most people expected very good effects of it, but the accused Members and their Faction, fearing this good disposition of the King might put an end to their Empire, cast about all ways how they might obstruct the settlement of Affairs, and in a Petition to the King on pretence the better to enable them to discharge their duties in those matters, they desired him to raise up to them a sure ground of confidence by putting the Tower of *London* into their hands, together with the Command of the *Royal Navy*, as also all the Forts, Castles, and Train-bands of the Kingdom, all which they comprehended under the Name of the Militia. This Petition was ill reliſh'd

The Commons Petition the King to have the Militia put into their hands.

1641. reliſh'd by him, but he conceal'd his reſentment for ſome time, and about the midſt of *February* he and the Queen went to *Canterbury* with the Princeſs *Mary*, and from thence to *Dover*, and there ſhe imbarqued her ſelf with her Daughter, and accompanied her to *Holland*: The King's ſtay at *Canterbury* and *Dover* was not long, nor the place ſo remote, but that ſome buſineſs paſſed, of which the greateſt was, The Bill for taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament; from *Canterbury* the King came to *Greenwich*, and from thence he ſent for the Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York*, to come to him, to accompany him to *York*, whither he forthwith went, as to a place of ſafety, where he might better find a way to compoſe thoſe Differences which now began to imbroil the Kingdom.

The Queen accompanies the Princeſs *Mary* into *Holland*.

The King removes to *York*.

The Parliament ſent after him in his Journey to *York* two Petitions for the Militia, one came to him at *Theobalds*, and the other at *Huntington*, to both of which he gave a denyal; but ſince they could not have it by his conſent, they took it without it, and both Houſes paſſed it by an Ordinance, and ſettled it in divers Counties in the hands of ſuch as they repoſed Confidence.

The King looked upon this as the beginning of a War againſt him, and therefore that he might not be ſurprized, he iſſued out ſeveral Commiſſions of Array to Perſons of the moſt Eminent Quality to Muſter, Train and Array the Subjects for defence of himſelf and the Kingdom; and becauſe of the Indiſpoſition of the Earl of *Northumberland* to command the Fleet, the King appointed Sir *John Pennington* in his place; but the Parliament by a Meſſage of the 28*th* of *March*, diſliked of that choice, and recommended the Earl of *Warwick* to the King; but this the King would not admit of; nevertheleſs they authorized him to command the Fleet without the King's conſent, and within a few Months they uſed ſuch Arts, that he became poſſeſſed of the whole Navy: At *Hull* the King had a Magazine of Arms, and Ammunition provided for the late intended War againſt the *Scots*, which was laid up there, when the occaſion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to poſſeſs himſelf, and to make uſe of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own Preſervation; but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was denyed Entrance by Sir *John Hotham*, who by the Appointment of the Houſe of Commons, had newly taken Charge of that place.

The King iſſues out Commiſſions of Array.

1642. The King and Parliament differ about who ſhall be Chief Commander at Sea.

Sir *John Hotham* denies the King entrance into *Hull*.

The King thereupon proclamed him Traitor, and by Letters to the Parliament, complained to them of the Indignity, and required Satisfaction, but they juſtified him therein, and ſent a Committee of the Lords and Commons to reſide there, for the better ſecuring of the Garriſon to them, and they gave the Governour power to raiſe the Train-bands for his defence. The King was forced, for the time, to endure this Indignity, but being very intent on ſubduing the Rebellion of *Ireland*, he ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament to declare his Intention to go thither in Perſon, and acquainted them with his purpoſe in order thereunto, to raiſe Two thouſand Foot, and Two hundred Horſe in the Counties near *Cheſter*, for a Guard to his Perſon, which was ſo grateful News to the Lords Juſtices and Council of *Ireland*, that they very much rejoyced thereat; but the Parliament were ſo jealous of any thing that tended to the King's ſecurity, that they reſolved to oppoſe it, but in regard it was a popular Action, they were forced to uſe Art in it; they ſhewed many Inconveniences in the undertaking ſuch a Journey, both in the hazard of the King's Perſon, and interruption of the Proceedings of Parliament; but the chief matter was an Apprehenſion, that hereby the King might have a good occaſion of raiſing Soldiers for his defence againſt the Deſigns and Contrivances againſt him; wherefore in the Concluſion of their Anſwer to the King's Meſſage, they declare, That they cannot conſent to any Levies, but ſuch as they ſhall adviſe and direct, and if any be otherwiſe raiſed, they muſt declare againſt them.

He thereupon is proclaimed Traytor.

The Parliament juſtifie Sir *John Hotham*.

1642. The Parliament oppoſe the King's intention to go in perſon into *Ireland*.

The King did hereupon decline the levying of Guards and his Journey to *Ireland*, but reflecting now upon the Affront of Sir *John Hotham* to him, and hearing that the Parliament againſt his Conſent had raiſed Guards to themſelves, He ſummoned the Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to a Meeting, and acquainted them, *That his Magazine at* Hull *was going to be taken from him againſt his Will, the Militia againſt the Laws, and his Conſent, put in Execution, and Sir* John Hotham's *Treaſon countenanced, ſo that upon theſe Conſiderations, he was reſolved to have a Guard to ſecure his Perſon, in which he deſired them Aſſiſtance, that he might be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true Proteſtant Religion from Violation, or Injury.*

The King ſummons the Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to his aſſiſtance.

The King's deſires herein were with great Affection complyed with; but the Parliament, upon notice thereof, declared, *That it is againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that any of the Subjects thereof, ſhould be commanded by the King to attend him at his pleaſure, and that whoſoever upon pretence of his Majeſties Command, ſhall take up Arms in a Warlike manner, ſhall be eſteemed Diſturbers of the Peace, and to be proceeded againſt accordingly*; but this did not terrifie the people of *Yorkſhire* from doing their Duty to the King.

The Parliament's Declaration.

The Breach now began to grow very wide, and many Members of both Houſes repaired to the King to *York*, inſomuch that in a very ſhort ſpace there were more of the Peers at *York*, than ſitting with the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

Many Members of both Houſes repair to the King to *York*.

The Commons, that they might not ſeem dejected at this time, ſent up an Impeachment to the Houſe of Lords, againſt Nine of thoſe Peers that deſerted, that is to ſay, The Earl of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Dover*, the Earl of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Howard* of *Charleton*, and the Lord *Rich*, for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; the ſubſtance whereof was, *For that contrary to their Duty, they had deſerted their attendance in the Houſe, abſenting themſelves after a Vote paſſed in both Houſes, That the King ſeduced by wicked Counſel, intended to make War againſt the Parliament, and that whoſoever ſerved or aſſiſted him in that War, was adjudged a Traytor.*

The Commons impeach 9 of the Peers.

Upon

1642. Upon the impeachment, the Houſe of Peers entred into debate thereof, and the nine Lords were cenſured,

The nine Lords cenſured.

1. *Never to ſit more as Members of that Houſe.*

2. *That they ſhould be utterly uncapable of any Benefits or Priviledges of Parliament, and that they ſhould ſuffer impriſonment during their pleaſure.*

The Lord *Littleton* flies to *York* with the Great Seal.

Not long after this, the Lord Keeper *Littleton* ſent away the Great Seal to the King, by one Mr. *Eliot*, who was ſent to him for it, and the next day he himſelf followed it, and came ſafe to the King at *York*; but this departure of the Seal, put the Parliament to a great plunge, and they ſent (in vain) to intercept it in its paſſage.

The King found himſelf in very good eſteem in the Northern parts, but he was rather willing to prevent the effuſion of Blood, by any reaſonable Accommodation, than ingage the Nation in a Civil War; and during his abode at *York*, many Meſſages and Replies to that purpoſe paſſed between him and the Parliament, and at laſt, that they might not ſeem altogether averſe from Peace, about the beginning of *June* they ſent a Petition to the King with Nineteen Propoſitions.

The Propoſitions were,

The Parliament's Propoſitions to the King.

1. *That all the King's Privy Council, Great Officers, and Miniſters of State, may be put out, excepting ſuch as the Parliament ſhall approve, and to aſſign them an Oath.*

2. *That all Affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except ſuch matters as are transferred by them to the Privy Council, and to be concluded by the Major part of the Nobility under their hands: the full number not to exceed 15, nor under 15; and if any place fall void in the Interval of Parliament, then the Major part of the Council to chooſe one to be confirmed at the next Seſſion of Parliament.*

3. *That all the Great Officers of the Kingdom ſhall be choſen with approbation of Parliament,* &c. *as before ſaid.*

4. *The Government and Education of the King's Children by Parliament,* &c. ut ſupra.

5. *Their Marriages to be Treated and Concluded by Parliament,* &c.

6. *The Laws againſt Papiſts, Prieſts, and others, be executed without Toleration or Diſpenſation, except by Parliament.*

7. *No Popiſh Lord or Peer to have Vote in Parliament, and their Children to be Educated in the Proteſtant Faith.*

8. *To Reform Church-Government as the Parliament ſhall adviſe.*

9. *To ſettle the Militia as the Parliament have Ordered, and for the King to recal all his Declarations publiſhed againſt their Ordinances therein.*

10. *All Privy Counſellors and Judges to take Oath for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes which ſhall be made this Parliament.*

11. *All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their Places* quam diu bene ſe geſſerint.

12. *All Members of Parliament put out during this time, to be reſtored again.* 1642.

13. *The Juſtice of Parliament to paſs upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their Cenſure.*

14. *The General Pardon to paſs with Exceptions, as the Parliament ſhall adviſe.*

15. *All Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom to be diſpoſed of by Parliament,* ut ſupra.

16. *The King to diſcharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not to raiſe any other, but in caſe of actual Rebellion.*

17. *The King to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with all Reformed States, for their Aſſiſtance to recover the Rights of his Royal Siſter and her Princely Iſſue, to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them.*

18. *To clear the Lord* Kimbolton *and the five Members, by Act of Parliament.*

19. *No Peer hereafter to be made, ſhall ſit in Parliament without their Conſent.*

And theſe Articles being confirmed, the Parliament engage to make him a happy Prince.

The King rejects the Propoſitions.

The King ſhewed great diſlike at theſe Propoſitions, for indeed they ſeemed rather calculated to gratifie the Ambition of ſome of thoſe that framed them, than for any other purpoſe, and the Anſwer he gave was more ſmart than uſually his Anſwers were.

Amongſt other things, he told them, *That they had, contrary to Law, preſſed their Ordinances on the People, wreſted from him the Command of the Militia, countenanced the Treaſon of* Hotham, *and had Directed to the People Invectives againſt his Government, aſperſt him with the Favouring of Papiſts; and with an utter diſlike of the Propoſitions, he proteſted, that if he were vanquiſht and a Priſoner, in worſe condition than any the moſt unfortunate of his Predeceſſors had ever been reduced unto, he would never ſtoop ſo low, as to grant thoſe demands, and to make himſelf of a King of* England, *a Duke of* Venice.

Both ſides make preparation for War.

And now both ſides prepared for War, and on the 10*th.* of *June* an Order was made by both Houſes of Parliament, for bringing in of Money and Plate to *Guild-Hall* for their Service, wherein it was expreſt, that whoſoever ſhould bring any Money or Plate, or furniſh any with Horſe and Arms, ſhould have their moneys repaid with Intereſt, according to eight in the hundred, for which both Houſes of Parliament did ingage the Publick Faith.

The King was not wanting to his own Preſervation in the mean time, and to do whatſoever might give encouragement to the buſineſs he had in hand; and firſt he aſſembled all the Peers then at *York* to attend him, and made to them a ſhort Declaration, wherein he expreſſed himſelf to them in theſe words:

The King's Declaration to the Peers at *York*.

We do declare, that we will require no Obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known Laws, as We expect that you ſhall not yield to any Commands not legally grounded, or impoſed by any other. We will defend you all, and all ſuch as ſhall refuſe any ſuch Commands, whether they proceed from any Votes and Orders of both Houſes, or any other way, from all danger whatſoever. We will

1642. will defend the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by the Laws, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, and the juſt Priviledges of all the three Eſtates of Parliament; and ſhall require no further Obedience from you, than as we according-ly ſhall perform the ſame. And we will not (as is falſely pretended,) engage you in any War againſt the Parliament, except it be for our neceſſary defence againſt ſuch as do inſolently invade, or attempt a-gainſt us and our Adherents.

Upon this Declaration of the King, thoſe Lords and others of his Council made a Promiſe to him, and ſubſcribed it with their hands as followeth.

The Peers Engage-ment to the King.

We do engage our ſelves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatſoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land. We engage our ſelves to Defend your Majeſties Perſon, Crown, and Dig-nity, with your juſt and legal Prerogative, againſt all Perſons and Powers whatſoever. We will De-fend the true Proteſtant Religion Eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, *and the juſt Priviledges of your Majeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament. Laſtly, We engage our ſelves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatſoever, concerning the Militia, that hath not the Royal Aſſent.*

Subſcribed by

Lord Keeper, D. of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hertford*, E. of *Lindſey*, E. of *Cumberland*, E. of *Huntington*, E. of *Bath*, E. of *Southampton*, E. of *Dorſet*, E. of *Salisbury*, E. of *Northampton*, E. of *Devonſhire*, E. of *Briſtol*, E. of *Weſtmerland*, E. of *Berkſhire*, E. of *Monmouth*, E. of *Rivers*, E. of *Newcaſtle*, E. of *Dover*, E. of *Carnarvan*, E. of *Newport*, L. *Mowbray* and *Matravers*, L. *Willoughby* of *Eraſby*, L. *Rich*, L. *Charles Howard* of *Charleton*, L. *Newark*, L. *Paget*, L. *Chandoys*, L. *Falconbridge*, L. *Paulet*, L. *Lovelace*, L. *Coventry*, L. *Savile*, L. *Mohun*, L. *Dunſmore*, L. *Seymor*, L. *Grey* of *Ruthen*, L. *Faulkland*, the Controller, Secretary *Nicholas*, Sir *John Culpep-per*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*.

The King forbids the Lord Mayor of *London* to raiſe Arms or money.

The King immediately wrote a Letter to the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs, forbidding by expreſs Command any Contribution of Money or Plate towards the raiſing of any Arms whatſoever for the Parlia-ment; and invited all his loving Subjects (to prevent their own danger and the danger of the Kingdom from a Malignant party,) to contribute Money or Plate to him, and they ſhall be repay-ed with conſiderations of 8 in the Hundred, and immediately upon it, he made a Profeſſion before thoſe forementioned Lords and Counſellors about him, diſavowing any preparations, or intenti-ons to levy War againſt the Parliament; upon which the Lords and others then preſent at *York*, made this further Declaration and Profeſſion, ſubſcribed under their hands.

The Lords and others at *York* in a Declara-tion ac-quit the King from any De-ſigns of making War a-gainſt the Parlia-ment.

We whoſe Names are under-written, in Obedi-ence to his Majeſties deſire, and out of the Duty which we owe to his Majeſties Honour, and to truth, being here upon the place, and Witneſſes of his Majeſties frequent and earneſt Declarations, and Profeſſions of his abhorring all Deſigns of making War upon the Parliament, and not ſeeing any ap-pear of Preparations or Counſels that might reaſo-nably beget the belief of any ſuch Deſign, do ap-peſs before God, and teſtifie to all the World, that we are fully perſwaded that his Majeſty hath no ſuch Intention; but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, and the juſt Priviledges of Parlia-ment, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Law, Peace and Proſperity of this Kingdom.

The King was ſtrengthned with ſome Arms and Ammunition from *Holland*, from the endea-vours of the Queen, but more ſtrengthned by this Proteſtation in his behalf, concerning his Intenti-on of not making War againſt the Parliament, proceeded in his buſineſs with great circumſpecti-on and indefatigable induſtry; and from *York* he went to *Newark*, where he made a Speech to the Gentry of *Nottinghamſhire* in a loving and win-ning way, commending their Affections towards him: another Speech he made at *Lincoln* to the Gentry of that County, full of Proteſtations con-cerning his good Intentions, not only to them, but to the whole Kingdom, and the Laws and Liber-ties of it; ſo that within three weeks both in his own Perſon, and by his Meſſengers, with Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, he advanced his buſineſs in a wonderful manner. From *Lincoln* he removed to *York*, and from thence to *Beverley*, from whence he ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, and a Proclamation concerning his going to *Hull*, to take it in, requiring before his Journey that it might be delivered to him: Which they anſwer-ed with a Petition, praying him to diſband all his Forces about *Hull*, to recal his Commiſſion of Array, diſmiſs his Guard, and come to his Par-liament; at which the King was much diſpleaſed, and the Parliament Voted, that an Army ſhould be raiſed, whereof by the Vote of both Houſes the Earl of *Eſſex* was choſen General, with whom they proteſted to live and dye in that cauſe; the King had about 3000 Foot, moſt of them Train-band-men, and 1000 Horſe before *Hull*.

The King takes a journey into *Not-tinghamſhire* and *Lincolnſhire*, to win thoſe Places to his party.

The King reſolves to reduce *Hull*.

The Par-liament raiſe an Army un-der the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

Hotham upon the King's advance, having the advantage of a Spring-tyde, drew up the ſluces and drowned all the Countrey about the Town.

The Parliament took all care imaginable to ſupply the Town, which they re-inforced with 500 Soldiers, under the Command of Sir *John Meldrum*. The King finding ſo great a ſtrength to oppoſe him, and conſidering the preciouſneſs of that time which he conſumed there without hope of ſucceſs, reſolved to march away: ſome about him, laid the fault of his not prevailing, upon the unſkilfulneſs of the Countrey Captains, and the unexperienced rawneſs of the Soldiers: It was ſaid the King might have ſped better, if Sir *John Penington* could have brought part of the Navy to his aſſiſtance, to have ſtraitned them by Sea, but that was ſeized by the Earl of *Warwick*.

The King leaves *Hull*.

The Earl of *War-wick* gets the Com-mand of the Navy.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was very buſie in raiſing his Army, the Earl of *Bedford* was made General of the Horſe, Sir *John Merrick* Major-General of the

1642. the Army; the Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Grewby*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, M. *Hambden*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and Mr. *Grantham*, all Member of Parliament, had Commiſſions for Regiments.

The King in the mean time was not idle, he went to *Leiceſter*, where he ſummoned the Gentry and Freeholders, and by his great affability won many of them to an Opinion of his Cauſe, and from thence by the firſt of *Auguſt* he returns to *York*, where he ſummoned the County, and acquainted them with the Parliament's Preparations for War, and deſired their advice and aſſiſtance, for the Parliament had now publiſhed a Declaration for the raiſing of all Power and Force by Train-bands, or otherwiſe, to lead againſt all Traytors and their Adherents that oppoſe the Parliament, and them to kill and ſlay as Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and in it they named moſt of the King's Lord Lieutenants and Commiſſioners of Array in the ſeveral Counties. The King then recommended to them the compleating of a Regiment for the Prince, and that he might not be behind-hand with the Parliament, he publiſhes a Proclamation, wherein the Earl of *Eſſex* was proclaimed a Rebel and Traytor to the King and Crown, and all Colonels and Officers Authorized by the Parliament that ſhould not inſtantly lay down their Arms, were declared guilty of High Treaſon.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, and the reſt of the Parliament Commanders, Proclaimed Rebels by the King.

To obviate this, the Parliament had declared, That whoſoever ſhall return from the King to the Parliaments Army within ten days after publication, ſhould have reception and pardon, excepting Perſons impeach'd of Delinquency or Treaſon, or ſuch as have been eminent Actors againſt them, and except the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Briſtol*, *Cumberland*, *Newcaſtle*, *Rivers*, and *Carnarvon*, the Viſcounts *Newark* and *Falkland*, Secretary *Nicholas*, *Endymion Porter*, and Mr. *Edward Hyde*.

The King hearing the Parliament intended to ſend an Army Weſtward, gave Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Marquis of *Hartford*, to be his Lieutenant General within the Counties of *Devon*, *Cornwal*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, *Southampton*, *Berks*, *Oxford*, *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, *Radnor*, *Brecknock*, *Glamorgan*, *Carnarvon*, *Pembroke* and *Cardigan*; and ſent to encourage Colonel *Goring*, who kept *Portſmouth* at that time for him.

The Preparations were very great on both ſides, and on the 20th. of *Auguſt* the King ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, from whence he ſent up a Meſſage to both the Houſes by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Culpepper* for a Treaty of Peace.

The King ſets up his Standard at *Nottingham*, He ſends to treat with the Parliament.

When they came to *Weſtminſter* they were not permitted to ſit in Parliament, whereof they were Members, nor could the Earl of *Southampton* (againſt whom there was leaſt exception) be admitted to deliver it, but it was ſent into the Houſe of Peers by the Uſher of the Black-Rod.

In the Meſſage the King ſignified,

That obſerving that many miſtakes had ariſen by the Meſſages, Petitions, and Anſwers, betwixt him and the two Houſes of Parliament, which might be prevented by ſome other way of Treaty, wherein the Matters in Difference might be more clearly underſtood, and more freely tranſacted, he propoſed that a certain number of Perſons might be ſent, and enabled by the Parliament to a Treaty in ſome indifferent Place, with the like number Authorized by him. 1642.

The Parliament anſwered to this effect, *That until he take down his Standard, and recal thoſe Proclamations and Declarations, whereby he declared the Actions of both Houſes to be treaſonable, and their Perſons Traytors, and whereby he had put them and the whole Kingdom out of his Protection, they cannot admit of any ſuch Treaty.*

The Parliament anſwer to the King's Meſſage.

The King replyed to this, *That he never did declare both Houſes of Parliament Traitors, or ſet up his Standard againſt them, much leſs to put them and the Kingdom out of his Protection; and to remove all ſcruples which might hinder a Treaty, he promiſed ſo that a day be appointed by them for the revoking their Declarations againſt all Perſons as Traitors, or otherwiſe for aſſiſting him, he will upon the ſame day recal his Proclamations and Declarations, and take down his Standard.*

The King's Reply.

To this the Parliament anſwered by Petition, inſiſting upon their former Requeſt, *To recal his Proclamations, concluding, That they can never allow themſelves to be ballanced with thoſe perſons about the King, whom they ſtiled Perſons of deſperate Diſpoſitions and Counſels.*

Thus did they contend for ſome time by Declarations and Proclamations, which proved all fruitleſs; for the Parliament having in their power all the King's Revenue and his Navy, together with the Strength and Riches of the City of *London*, and great Contributions from them and others of Money and Plate, thought the King's Forces ſo inconſiderable in reſpect of theirs, that they deſpiſed all the Overtures he made for Peace, or put ſuch Expreſſions into the Anſwers they made to them, that he could not with Honour and ſafety approve of them.

About the beginning of *September*, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, the Second and Third Sons of the late King of *Bohemia*, came to offer their Service to the King their Unkle, whom preſently he put into Command; Prince *Rupert* within a fortnight after his arrival commanded a ſmall Party of thoſe Forces which the King had at that time gathered together, with which he marched into divers parts of *Warwickſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Cheſhire*, his Forces ſtill encreaſing as he marched.

Prince *Rupert* and Pr. *Maurice* put into Command by the King.

And whilſt the Prince was thus active with his Party, the King moved on ſlowly with thoſe Forces which he had, through *Derbyſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, and *Nottinghamſhire*, and ſo on to *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to Quarter for a time, as a fit Rendezvous for thoſe Troops and Companies he expected from *Wales* and other Adjacent parts; for thoſe of *Denbigh* and *Flintſhire*,

The King takes up his Quarters at *Shrewsbury*.

1642. *shire*, and generally all *Wales* were very cordial to him and his Cauſe.

To *Shrewsbury* the King cauſed a Mint to be brought, and there coined all the Plate which he then had, or was then and ſoon after preſented to him; for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, about that time had ſent their Plate to him, and many others had furniſhed him both with Men, Horſes, and Arms; and within few days after his coming thither, his Strength by his diligence and Addreſs was wonderfully encreaſed, even beyond his own Hope, for he had ſummoned the Gentry and Freeholders, and made to them a Speech ſo full of affectionate Expreſſions, as rendred him to their Thoughts an injured Prince, and moved compaſſionate Affections towards him: the Speech it ſelf was in theſe words;

Gentlemen,

His Speech to the Gentry.

It is ſome benefit to Me, from the Inſolencies and Misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to ſo good a part of my Kingdom, and to ſo faithful a part of my People: I hope neither you nor I ſhall repent my coming hither; I will do my part that you may not; and of you I was confident before I came. The reſidence of an Army is not uſually pleaſant to any place; and mine may carry more fear with it, ſince it may be thought (being robb'd and ſpoiled of all mine own, and ſuch terror uſed to fright and keep all Men from ſupplying me) I muſt only live upon the Aid and Relief of my People. But be not afraid; I would to God my poor Subjects ſuffered no more by the Inſolence and Violence of that Army raiſed againſt me, (though they have made themſelves wanton even with Plenty) than you ſhall do by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all diſorders; I will do my beſt: and this I promiſe you, no Man ſhall be a loſer by me, if I can help it.

I have ſent hither for a Mint, I will melt down all my own Plate, and expoſe all my Land to Sale, or Mortgage, that if it be poſſible, I may not bring the leaſt preſſure upon you; in the mean time, I have ſummoned you hither to do that for me and your ſelves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other Men do againſt us. Do not ſuffer ſo good a Cauſe to be loſt, for want of ſupplying me with that, which will be taken from you by thoſe who purſue me with this violence. And whilſt theſe ill Men ſacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmoſt Induſtry to deſtroy the Common-Wealth, be you no leſs liberal to preſerve it. Aſſure your ſelves, if it pleaſe God to bleſs me with Succeſs, I ſhall remember the aſſiſtance that every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiouſly ſoever the minds of men are now poſſeſſed) be honour and comfort to you, that with ſome charge and trouble to your ſelves, you did your part to ſupport your King, and preſerve the Kingdom.

God had ſo bleſſed the juſt endeavours of the King, that before the middle of *October*, which was about three Weeks after his firſt coming to *Shrewsbury*, with a ſmall body of an Army, he was grown to a ſtrength conſiſting of 600 Foot, three Thouſand brave Horſe, and two Thouſand Dragoons in one Body, beſides what he had in other Parts, of which he gave the chief Command, under himſelf, to the Earl of *Lindſey*, and the next to General *Ruthen*, a Scotch Gentleman of great experience, and Prince *Rupert* was made General of the Horſe, and the next in command to him was Commiſſary *Wilmot*.

1642. The Earl of *Lindſey* chief Commander of the King's Army.

Whilſt the King and the Parliament were gathering their Forces together, ſeveral Parties were imployed in divers parts of the Kingdom; Colonel *Goring* was beſieg'd in *Portſmouth* by Sir *John Meincles*'s Regiment of Foot, and the County Trained-Bands, with one Troop of Horſe, to which place a Squadron of the Fleet was alſo ſent to ſtraiten it the more, and the Garriſon Souldiers were ſo practiſed on, the Governour had no confidence in them; ſo that though the Marquis of *Hartford* haſtned to his relief with ſome Forces he had newly raiſed, yet he was neceſſitated to ſurrender the Town before he could help him, and had Conditions to be Tranſported in one of the King's Ships to the *Brill* in *Holland*, whither he was conveyed accordingly; but the Marquis of *Hartford*, though he could not ſecure *Portſmouth*, yet he ſeized on *Sherborne* Caſtle in *Dorſetſhire*, and paſſed by the Earl of *Bedford*, (who commanded in thoſe parts a Party of the Parliaments Troops) and marched over *Severn* into *Wales*, to raiſe more Forces for the King, giving the Earl a little bruſh in his paſſage.

Portſmouth ſurrendred up to the Parliament.

Sherborne Caſtle ſeized on by the Marquis of *Hartford* for the King.

The Parliament Army raiſed under the Earl of *Eſſex*, was now grown to a conſiderable Bulk, conſiſting of about 16000 Horſe and Foot united in one Army, beſides Parties abroad; their general Rendezvous was at *Northampton*, where the Lord *Brook*, Lord *Roberts*, Colonel *Hambden*, and many others of the chief Commanders ſtaid with them, expecting the Preſence of the General, and on the 9th. of *September*, he ſet out of *London* with great ſolemnity; the Parliament ſent a Petition to him at *Northampton*, to be by him preſented to the King; the effect of which was, *To entreat his Majeſty to withdraw his Preſence from thoſe wicked Perſons about him, (for ſo all the King's Party were called by them) and not to mix his danger with theirs, but that he would return to his Parliament without his Forces, and by their Advice compoſe the preſent Diſtempers.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* marches out of *London* to his Army.

The Parliaments Petition to be preſented to the King by the Earl of *Eſſex*.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, after he had been at *Northampton* a while, had encreaſed his Army to the number of 20000, from whence he marched to *Coventry*, and from thence to *Warwick*, and having left ſome Companies in both thoſe Towns for their ſecurity, he march'd away towards *Worceſter*, upon intelligence that the King himſelf intended to come thither with his Forces.

Sir *John Byron* had firſt entred *Worceſter* for the King, whom Captain *Fiennes* had endeavoured to diſlodge, with ſome Troops of the Parliament and Country Volunteers which he had gotten together, with whom he aſſaulted the Town on the Weſt ſide of *Severn*, ſuppoſing ſome of *Eſſex* his Troops were marching towards the Town on the other ſide, (as he was informed by a Spy,) but thoſe proved to be a Party of the King's Horſe under Prince *Rupert*, who march'd into the Town with 500 Horſe, and made *Fiennes* draw off to a diſtance. The Prince had notice that Colonel *Sandys* with a Regiment of Parliament Horſe,

Sir *John Byron* takes *Worceſter* for the King.

1642. together with Captain *Hales*, Captain *Wingate*, Captain *Fiennes*, and Captain *Austin*, were drawn together to attack him, and thereupon he marched out of the City into a green Meadow near adjoyning, and drew up his Men into Battalia; the Paſſage to the Meadow was through a Lane, where not above four could march a Breaſt, of which the Prince took the Advantage, and charged them firſt there, where the Rear could not come up to aſſiſt the Van; nor the Van retreat without great diſorder, ſo that the Prince prevailed: *Douglas*, Colonel *Sandys*'s Major, was ſlain, and the Colonel's own Cornet; the Colonel himſelf was deſperately wounded, and many of his Soldiers killed, and ſome ſlaughter was alſo made of the Prince's Men.

Colonel *Sandys* routed at *Worceſter* by Prince *Rupert*.

The Prince after the Fight drew into *Worceſter*, but hearing *Eſſex* was marching thither with his whole Army, he went away to *Ludlow*, twenty Miles from thence; nor was his Intelligence ill, for immediately after the Fight, *Eſſex* came to *Worceſter* with his Army, where he lay a Month, and from thence he ſent the Earl of *Stamford* with a Party to *Hereford* to impede the King's Levies in *South Wales*, and ſent other Forces to poſſeſs *Glouceſter* and *Briſtol*. The Parliament began now to apprehend the King's Strength; for many began to appear for him in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; in *Yorkſhire* and the Northern Parts, the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Francis Wortly*, and many others, had raiſed many Soldiers, and were ſo powerful, that the Lord *Fairfax* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Son, Sir *John Hotham*, and his Son Captain *Hotham*, who had gathered ſome Men together for the Parliament, were not able to appear againſt them: In *Cornwal* a body was framing under Sir *Bevil Greenvil* and Sir *Nicholas Slaning*; and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, a Perſon of good Conduct and Courage was haſtning to them to aſſiſt in their Levies, and many others in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom were Arming on both ſides.

Prince *Rupert* quits *Worceſter* upon the approach of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

Glouceſter and *Briſtol* Garriſons for the Parliament.

The King's Party powerful in the *North*. And in *Cornwal*.

Whilſt the Affairs of *England* were in this Military poſture, *Ireland* was neglected; ſome few Regiments were ſent over from *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Regiment under Colonel *Monk* from *England*, but in no proportion to the Neceſſities of that Kingdom; nevertheleſs they made many impreſſions upon their Enemies into *Lemſter* and *Ulſter*, but *Munſter* was but meanly ſupplied.

The King had conſented to an Act of Parliament before he left *London*, *For the ſpeedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in his Majeſties Kingdom of* Ireland *to their due Obedience*; wherein ſeveral Perſons were invited as Adventurers to advance Money for that Service, who were to be repaid in Land for the ſame, when the Rebels ſhould be ſubdued, according to the proportions following, For each Adventure of 200 *lib.* one thouſand Acres in *Ulſter*: for three hundred Pounds, one thouſand Acres in *Conaght*; for 450 *lib* one thouſand Acres in *Munſter*; for ſix hundred Pounds, one thouſand Acres in *Lemſter*; all according to the *Engliſh* Meaſure, and conſiſting of Meadow, Arable and Profitable Paſture, the Bogs, Woods, and barren Mountains being to be caſt in, over and above, and to be holden in free and common Socage of the King, as of his Caſtle of *Dublin*, and ſo for greater or leſſer Summs; and it is particularly enacted, That no part of that Mony which ſhould be paid in according to the Act, ſhall be imployed to any other purpoſe, than the reducing of thoſe Rebels, until they ſhall be declared to be ſubdued. The Parliament nevertheleſs to enable them the better to ſet out their Army, had diverted 100000 *l.* of this Mony, whereat the King was very much offended and reſented it very ſharply in one of his Meſſages to them; but they anſwered, That they did intend ſpeedily to repay it, and to recapitulate, did charge the King with intercepting 9000 Suits of Cloaths, with a Chirurgeons Cheſt, and ſome draught Horſes going into *Ireland* for the Train of Artillery there; but the Parliament made yet bolder, and made uſe of the greateſt part of a Brigade raiſed under my Lord *Wharton* and one Colonel *Horton*, deſigned for *Munſter*, againſt the King in a Battle, which was this Year fought, of which hereafter; but by this proceeding on both ſides, it was evident they both thought the ſecurity of *England* more conſiderable to them than that of *Ireland*, which could not well ſubſiſt without this.

The Title of the Act.

The Parliament divert ſome of the Money deſigned for the relief of *Ireland*, for ſetting out their own Army.

It was now about the middle of *October* when the King came from *Shrewſbury*, he marched along by *Coventry*, and ſummoned the Town, but by the Example of *Hull*, he was denied entrance.

The King denied entrance into *Coventry*.

Marching on, he came and lay at *Southam*, being but a ſmall diſtance from *Eſſex*'s Army, from whence he ſtruck a terror into the City of *London* it ſelf, for he was then nearer to *London* than *Eſſex* was, inſomuch that both Houſes began to apprehend his approach, and Ordered that the Train-Bands ſhould be ſpeedily raiſed for a Guard, and ſome Works for planting of Ordnance in ſpecial places about the City of *London* and Suburbs, and the Parliament ſent twelve Companies to poſſeſs and guard *Windſor* Caſtle.

The Earl thought it his chief Work to march as near to the King as he could, and on the 22d. of *October* he lodged at *Keinton* within ſix Miles of the King, who then lay at one Sir *William Chauſe*'s Houſe near thereunto, and his Forces lodged at *Cropredy* and *Edgecot*.

The King the next Morning drew his Army to *Edgehill*, and *Eſſex* intended to reſt all *Sunday* in *Keinton*, to expect two Regiments of Foot, eleven Troops of Horſe, and ſeven Pieces of Cannon who were a days march behind him, but when he heard the King's Army was in the Field, he drew his Army into Battalia, conſiſting of 12000 Foot in twelve Regiments, and 40 Troops of Horſe and Dragooners; the King's Army was eſteemed about ten thouſand Foot, and about 4000 Horſe and Dragooners, but moſt of the Foot were very ill Armed; at the bottom of *Edgehill*, there was a large Plain, called the *Vale of the Red Horſe*, where *Eſſex* drew his Army into Battalia, about half a Mile diſtant from the foot of *Edgehill*; the main Battle of the King's Army was led on by the Earl of *Lindſey* on foot, with a Pike in his Hand, Prince *Rupert* commanded the King's Right-Wing, wherein was the greateſt ſtrength of Horſe, and General *Ruthen*, and Commiſſary *Wilmot* in the left; the Right-Wing of the

The Battle at *Edge-hill*.

1642. the Parliament's Horſe was commanded by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and the Left, which had the greateſt Force, by Sir *James Ramſey*, then Commiſſary-General; the General himſelf was in the Main Body, and Sir *John Meldrum* had the Van: the King perceiving the Hedges near the Hill lined by ſome Musketeers of *Eſſex* his Army, ſent Major *Boſtock* and Captain *Hampond* of Sir *Lewis Diver* his Regiment, down the Hill to remove them; but in the mean time my Lord of *Eſſex* cauſed three pieces of Cannon to be fired upon the King's Army, which was anſwered from the King with the like number, and then the Battel began, and was continued with ſuch fury, that near ſix thouſand were ſlain upon the place; and the Parliament's Army was in great danger to have been totally ruined that day, with ſo abſolute a Victory on the King's ſide, that in all probability this blow might have put a concluſion to the War, if it had not been for a Brigade of freſh Men, which was ſeaſonably brought in under the Command of *Hambden* to their Relief. This Succour gave *Eſſex* his broken Troops time to rally, and put them in a Condition of maintaining the diſpute, which they did with ſo much reſolution, that it was a long while doubtful what might be the event of the Battel; till in the end, Prince *Rupert* having wholly routed *Eſſex* his left Wing, fell in to the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Regiments that were over-power'd, and ſecured the Victory to the King's Party, which was before dubious. Thoſe of Quality that were loſt of the King's ſide, were the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Lord *Aubigny*, and Sir *Edward Verney*: of the Parliament's ſide many were ſlain, but there being but few of equal Note in that Service to thoſe of the King's, they are not remembred, only mention is made of the Lord *St. John*, Col. *Charles Eſſex*, and Lieutenant Col. *Ramſey*; the Lord *Willoughby* of *Ereſby*, Colonel *Vavaſor*, and Sir *Edward Stradling* of the King's Party, were taken Priſoners; the King's Standard was taken, but regained by Captain *Smith*, who for that Service was in the Field Knighted Banneret; each Part pretended to the Victory, but it went clearly on the King's ſide, who though he loſt his General, yet he kept the Field, and poſſeſs'd the dead Bodies, and rifled all the Waggons and Carriages of the Enemy; and not ſo only, but he made his way open to *London*, which the Earl before endeavoured to hinder, and in his way, in the very fight, as it were of the Earl of *Eſſex*, he took *Banbury* Caſtle, where he had fifteen hundred Arms, and finally entred Triumphantly into *Oxford*, with no fewer than an hundred and fifty Colours. Amongſt the Papers of the Earl of *Eſſex*, a Letter was found from one *Blake* that attended the King, and held correſpondence with the Enemy, for which he was Tried by a Court Martial, and condemned and executed betwixt *Abington* and *Oxford*.

Banbury Caſtle taken by the King.

The Earl after the Battel, marched to *Warwick*, and left the Country clear to *London* to the King, and he after a very ſhort ſtay at *Oxford*, Marched through *Abington* to *Henly*, where his Army was Two or Three days refreſhed, and from thence he made a nearer approach towards *London*, and came to *Colebrook*; in the mean time, the Earl of *Eſſex* had alſo marched with his Army nearer to *London*, and on the Seventh of *November* came himſelf to *Weſtminſter*, where he was welcomed by both Houſes of Parliament, and had a Preſent of 5000 *li.* given to him.

1642. The Earl of *Eſſex* comes to *Weſtminſter*, and is received with great honour.

Whilſt the King was at *Colebrook*, the Parliament ſent a Petition to him by two Peers, and three Commoners, wherein in very humble Terms, they deſired his Majeſty to ſtay at ſome convenient Place not far from *London*, till ſuch time as Committees of Parliament might attend him, with ſome Propoſitions for the removal of the preſent Diſtempers. The King liked well of this Petition, and ſent back the Meſſengers with a very complying Anſwer, ſignifying, That he would reſide at his Caſtle at *Windſor*, or any other Place, if that ſhould not be liked, till ſuch time as Committees might be ſent to him: but the ſame night that he had diſpatched theſe Meſſengers, News was brought that *Eſſex* had advanced with his Army, and the Artillery towards him; and that having poſſeſt himſelf of *Windſor*, *Kingſton*, and *Acton*, if *Brentford* were likewiſe poſſeſt, the King's Army, would be ſo ſtraitned, that it could neither well move nor ſubſiſt: whereupon a Council of War being called, it was reſolved that part of the Army ſhould advance, and diſpoſſeſs the Enemy from *Brentford*, which was accordingly done, and there was for ſome time a very ſharp fight, betwixt the King's Forces and thoſe of the Parliament that were there lodged; but the King's Party prevailed, killed the Commander in chief then preſent, and ſeveral others, and took 500 Priſoners, and as many Arms, with 15 pieces of Ordnance, 13 Colours, and ſtore of Ammunition; and the King was reſolved the next day to have marched to *London*, had not Advice come, that both the remainder of that Army under *Eſſex*, and the Auxiliaries of *London*, under the Earl of *Warwick* were drawn up on *Turnham-Green* to oppoſe his marching further; whereupon he paſſed his Troops over *Kingſton-Bridge* to *Oatlands*, and from thence to *Redding*, where he left a good Garriſon, and marched with his Forces to *Oxford*.

The fight at *Brentford*, in which the King's party prevailed.

The King marched to *Oxford*.

The City of *London* were very much inſtigated by ſome Incendiaries upon this Action of the King's, and were wrought on to Petition the Parliament to proceed no further in the buſineſs of Accommodation, for which they had the thanks of both Houſes; though the Parliament in a Meſſage to the King, did confeſs, that they gave Direction to the Earl of *Eſſex* to draw the Army out of *London*, and that part of it was quartered at *Brentford*, whilſt the Committee was with the King; but they endeavoured to excuſe it, by ſaying, That they ſent a Meſſenger with a Letter to know whether his Majeſty intended forbearance of Hoſtility, who found the Parties in fight, and could not paſs.

The King's Forces in the North became very conſiderable; the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and the Earl of *Cumberland* being joyned, made up 8000 Horſe and Foot, and their Power daily increaſed, ſo that the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, Captain *Herbam*, Sir *Hugh Chalmley*, Sir *Edward Laſius*, Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *Henry Anderſon* and others, who commanded for the Parliament in thoſe parts, were ill able to

1642. withstanding them, and the King's side received a good addition of strength in those parts, by the landing of Colonel *Goring* at *Newcastle* with Two hundred Commanders from *Holland*, and other provisions of War; which made the Lord *Fairfax* and those with him implore aid from the Parliament, and they therefore form'd an Association of the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Cambridge*, the *Isle* of *Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*, whereof the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* was, by Commission of the Earl of *Essex*, made Commander in chief, with Authority to raise Forces.

Goring lands with Men and Ammunition.

Several Counties associate for the Parliament.

In *February*, General *King*, a Scotch Commander of great Experience in Military Affairs, came out of *Holland*, landed at *Newcastle*, joyned himself with the Earl of *Newcastle*, and passed to *York* with 6000 Arms. In the same Month also, the Queen landed from *Holland* at *Burlington-Bay*, with great Provision of Arms and Ammunition, and many Commanders of Note in her Retinue, and was conveyed by the Earl of *Newcastle* to the City of *York*, to which Place, the Earl of *Montrose*, and the Lord *Ogilby* came to her, out of *Scotland* with 120 Horse; and Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, who had the Government of *Scarborough* for the Parliament, declar'd for the King, and presented himself at *York* with 300 men to the Queen for his Service: Sir *John Hotham* also and his Son were at the same time inclin'd to desert the Parliament's Cause, but their Intentions were discovered, and they were both seized upon at *Hull*, and sent up to *London*, where they long remained Prisoners in the *Tower*, before the time of their Tryal and Execution.

General *King* lands with 6000 Arms.

The Queen lands with Arms and Ammunition.

Sir *John Hotham* & his Son sent up Prisoners to the Parliament.

The Parliament having fortified *Gloucester* with a good Garrison, thought of inlarging their Quarters towards *Oxford*, and had in order thereunto, drawn a great strength into *Cirencester*: the King was not well pleased with this neighbourhood, but ordered Prince *Rupert* with 4000 Horse and Foot, to take the Town, who marching by, as if he intended to attempt *Sudeley Castle*, (which had been lately before taken by * *Massay*,) when they expected him not, turn'd his whole Force upon them, and after about an hours resistance made himself Master of the Place, where he took Eleven hundred Prisoners, and Three thousand Arms.

* Governor of *Gloucester*, *Cirencester* taken for the King by Prince *Rupert*.

The King was not so exalted by these Successes to be well pleased with a War, that brought so much Calamity to his People, and therefore he proposed a Treaty to the Parliament, to which, after many delays, they consented, and about the beginning of *March*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Piercpoint*, Sir *William Ermine*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Bulstrode Whitlock* attended him at *Oxford*, with Propositions of Peace; but they were such as rather did beseem a Conquering than a Losing side, yet the King was resolved to treat upon them; howsoever, he found the Commissioners so straitned in time, and so tyed to such particular Instructions as the Houses had given them, that nothing could be yielded to, which might conduce to the Composing of the present Distempers, so that after many Messages betwixt *London* and *Oxford*, the Parliament sent to their Commissioners to return to *London* upon the 17th. of *April*, upon which the Earl of *Essex* immediately advanc'd with his Army to besiege *Redding*, then a Garrison for the King.

The Treaty at *Oxford* proves ineffectual.

1643. The King, upon the first notice sent a supply of 700 Musketeers to the Town, and some store of Ammunition, but all could not avail to the holding out of the Town against so great an Army, continually supply'd from *London* with fresh Men, Provisions and Ammunition.

The King therefore, after a while, sent a good Body of Horse and Foot to relieve the Town, who assaulted a Quarter of the Parliament's Army at *Causum Bridge* within a mile of it, where many of the King's Forces were slain, and forced to retreat; but those in the Garrison were thought to have failed in performance of their Duty, in not drawing out a sufficient Party to have made a Diversion at the same time; but the Failure herein was imputed to Colonel *Fielding*, then Lieutenant-Governour for Sir *Arthur Aston* the Governor, who was disabled from Service by a bruise or wound he had received in the Siege: so that within 16 days of *Essex* his first sitting down before the Town, it was render'd to him upon Terms, but Honourable enough, *viz.* All the Forces to march out in Warlike manner with 50 Carts for Carriage, free Passage to *Oxford*, the Town to be sav'd from plunder, and that whosoever would, might have liberty to leave it within six Weeks after.

Redding surrendered to *Essex* by Colonel *Fielding* Deputy Governor.

The Town of *Redding* was infected with a Pestilential Fever when *Essex* enter'd it, which caused a great Sickness and Mortality amongst his Soldiers, besides which, they were much discontented for want of Pay, so that when he removed to *Causum* House to avoid the Infection, many of his Soldiers unanimously disbanded and went away; but tho' he gain'd nothing by this Town, the murmur at *Oxford* was great for the losing of it, and Colonel *Fielding* was accused of Treachery therein, and being found guilty by a Court Martial, was Sentenced to be shot to death, but by the King's Clemency he was pardoned.

About this time, scarce any County of *England* was free from the War, and in most places the King's Parties was Victorious; in *Warwickshire*, *Northamptonshire*, and *Staffordshire*, many Encounters passed betwixt the King's Forces under Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Northampton* of the King's side, and the Lord *Brook*, Sir *John Gell*, and Sir *William Brereton* for the Parliament, by one of which the Earl of *Northampton* lost his life, and the Lord *Brooke* was slain before the Town of *Litchfield*, which was afterward taken by his Soldiers, and again re-taken by Prince *Rupert*.

The Earl of *Northampton*, routing the Parliaments Forces, is himself slain.

Litchfield taken by Prince *Rupert*.

In *Yorkshire* and those more Northern parts, the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son did take some Towns, and do more than could be expected from so little Force; but after a while, the whole Country was subdued by the King's Arms, and they were forced into *Hull*.

Yorkshire subdued by the King's Arms.

The greatest part of *Wales* was for the King; but to prevent the increase of his good Fortune, the Earl of *Stamford* was sent with an Army into the West, where Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with some Forces of the King's, lay before *Plymouth*, then a Garrison for the Parliament; but upon the Earl's Advance, he drew from thence, and fought, and defeated a great part of the Earl's Forces; after this, a Truce was made betwixt the Earl and Sir *Ralph*

The Earl of *Stamford*'s Forces defeated by Sir *Ralph Hopton*.

1643. *Ralph Hopton* for twenty days, and in the mean time Sir *George Chudleigh*, who had been very active and successful for the Parliament in *Devonshire*, began to reflect upon his past Actions, and by considering the Pretences of both Parties, resolved with himself, not to hazard his Life and Reputation, but upon what he thought a most just Cause, and hereupon he quitted his side, and joined with the King's Forces; but to satisfie his Friends with the Reason of his so doing, he publish'd a short Declaration to this effect.

Sir *George Chudleigh's* Declaration, shewing the Reason of his deserting the Parliament.

That Petitions of Right are commendable, and Remonstrances may be lawful, but Arms, though defensive are very doubtful. My Lot (said he) *fell to be cast on the Parliament side, by a strong Opinion of the goodness of their Cause, which to my Judgment then appeared to be so; Religion and the Subjects Liberty seemed to me to be in danger, but the Destructions of Kingdoms cannot be the way to save it, nor can the loss of Christian Subjects, nor the Subjects loss of their Estates by Plunder or Assessment concur with Piety, nor yet with Propriety: as for Religion, which is the chief, his Majesty* (whom God long preserve) *hath given us unquestionable Security; I have cast my self at my Sovereign's feet, and implored his gracious Pardon. I will contend no more in word or deed. And this my Resolution, with the indisputable Grounds thereof, I thought good to declare unto my Friends and Countrymen, that they may understand my Change to proceed from no Compulsion.*

The Earl of *Stamford* overthrown at *Stratton* in *Cornwal*.

This addition of Strength was very advantagious to the King; for shortly after in a Battel fought at *Stratton* in *Cornwal*, the Earl of *Stamford* was overthrown, and inforced to betake himself to the City of *Exeter*, whither Sir *Ralph* and Sir *George Chudleigh* with the *Devonshire* and *Cornish* Forces followed him, and with part of their Troops so straitned it, that they had opportunity to imploy the main body of their Army in other Service, which with the conjunction of the Marquis of *Hartford*, who had raised many Regiments, the greatest parts of the West was reduced to the King's Obedience. *Bristol* was designed to be seized on for the King, about the beginning of *May*, by one Mr. *Robert Yeomans*, late Sheriff of the City, and *William Yeomans* his Brother, with Mr. *George Bourchier*, and Mr. *Edward Dacres*, and some others of their Friends, who had Commission from the King to list Forces, and possess themselves of the Town; and for the better enabling them thereunto, Prince *Rupert* hover'd thereabouts with a Party of 5000 men: but the raising and listing of Soldiers made the matter so communicative, that it was discovered to the Governor, who caused the Four above-mentioned to be seized on, and tryed by a Court-Martial, who condemn'd them all, and *Robert Yeomans* and *Bourchier* were on the 30th. of *May* executed: and the like fate hapned to some worthy Gentlemen, and other eminent Citizens of *London*, who intended to have contrived a mean to have put a period to the present War, by stopping the issues of it in the Fountain, by securing the City of *London*, and seizing several Members of Parliament. It was detected by one *Rea* a Servant to Mr. *Tomkins*, on the last day of *May*; the chief Actors were, Mr. *Edmond Waller* a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Chaloner*, Mr. *Hasell*, Mr. *White*, and Mr. *Blinkerne*, who were to be strengthened in their endeavours by the King's Commission of Array brought to *London* privately by the Lady *Aubigny*; but upon this Detection, all was blasted, and the Persons before-named, were all tryed by a Court-Martial at *Guild-Hall*, and condemned, whereof Mr. *Tomkins* and Mr. *Chaloner* were on the 5th. of *July* executed; Mr. *Waller* after a years Imprisonment in the Tower, paid a Fine of ten thousand pounds, and was for ten years banished into *France*.

Yeomans and *Bourchier* executed at *Bristol*, for endeavouring to seize the Town for the King. The like happened to several Gentlemen and Citizens of *London*, for a Design laid to seize it.

Sir *William Waller* about the time of *Edge-Hill* Fight, had receive a Commission to be Colonel of a Regiment of Horse; and had gained a great Reputation with the Parliament and the City of *London*, for some Service he did that Winter with Colonel *Urrey*, Colonel *Brown*, and some others in the taking of *Chicester*, and hindring Levies for the King in *Sussex*, so that he was furnished with an Army this Spring, with which he did many acceptable Services to his Party in *Wiltshire*, *Glocestershire*, *Monmouth*, and *Herefordshire*, wherein he took many Towns possessed by the King's Soldiers, and was very successful; but whilst he was active in those parts, the Parliament pressed the Earl of *Essex* to march towards *Oxford* to straiten that Garrison, and take some order by the conjunction of the Forces of the Associates, to hinder Prince *Rupert* joyning with the Queen: In prosecution whereof, he march'd with his Army to those parts of *Buckinghamshire*, which were neerest to *Oxford*, and setled his head Quarters at *Thame*; upon his coming thither, the Weather was very unseasonable and great Rains fell, so that his Soldiers became very weak and sickly, and much Mortality ensued; but to put a good face upon his Condition, he frequently sent out Parties upon several occasions, tho' little or no Service was at any time perform'd by them; but about the Sixteenth of *June*, Intelligence came to *Oxford*, that a great Party of Parliamenteers was then quartered at *Postcombe* and *Chimer* in *Oxfordshire* towards *Thame*, and Prince *Rupert* drew out a good Party to attack them in their Quarters, which he did, and took many Prisoners: but upon the Alarm, Colonel *Hambden*, with *Sheffield* and other of *Essex* his Army, drew into *Chalgrove Field*, with design to fight the Prince, where he drew towards them, and after a brisk Charge or two, he routed them, and took many Prisoners, and Horses and Arms, and kill'd many; Major *Gunter* was shot dead upon the place, and Colonel *Sheffield* and Mr. *Hambden* were both very much wounded, of which the last died three or four days after, it being observed, That he received his wounds in that field where he first executed the Parliaments Commission for the *Militia*, against the King's Authority. Upon this Affront, *Essex* draws his Army off to *Bristol*, with a purpose to recruit his Regiments with some Forces from the neighbouring Counties, but they were too much busied to spare any Assistance. About this time (or a little before) the Parliament resolved upon a very extraordinary Action, which was the making of a new Great Seal; it had some opposition in the Debate, but by a Majority of Voices in both Houses,

Essex marches towards *Oxford*.

Hambden & *Sheffield* routed by Prince *Rupert*.

A new great Seal voted by the Parliament.

1642. Houſes it was Voted to be done; yet to put ſome colour on the Enterprize, they paſſed an Order, That if the Lord Keeper *Littleton* upon ſummons did not return with the Great Seal within fourteen days, he ſhould loſe his Place, and whatever ſhould be ſealed therewith by him after that time, ſhould be null and void in Law. But this menacing Vote did not bring the Great Seal from *Oxford*, ſo that their new Great Seal was made, and ſome few Months after, the uſe of it authorized by Ordinance of both Houſes.

The Queen marcheth with her Forces towards the King.

The Queen was now marching with ſix or ſeven thouſand Horſe and Foot, towards the King, but in the way ſhe was ſo careful of *Lincolnſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*, that ſhe left twenty Troops of Horſe and two thouſand Foot, with Arms for five hundred more, under the Command of Colonel *Charles Cavendiſh*, who did Eminent Service before and after, in thoſe Counties. About the 13th. of *June* ſhe came to *Newark*, and was there welcomed with a Victory obtained three days before, over ſome of the Parliament's Forces, by the ſame Colonel *Cavendiſh* at *Dunnington* in *Lincolnſhire*: after ſome ſtay at *Newark*, her Army marched to *Burton* upon *Trent*, which was taken by the Lord *Fermine*, Commander in chief of her Army, and from thence ſhe went by eaſie Marches to *Stratford* upon *Avon*, where Prince *Rupert* came to her, with many Troops from *Oxford*; ſhe had with her when he met her, three thouſand good Foot, and thirty Troops of Horſe and Dragoons, with ſix pieces of Ordinance, two Mortar-pieces, and a hundred and fifty Waggons, which with thoſe of the Prince, made up a better Army than *Eſſex* could make to oppoſe them; for his men were waſted by ſickneſs to a very inconſiderable number, and he drew them to *Kingſton* and other places near *London*, to lie there till he could recruit. In the mean time, the rent betwixt the King and Parliament became wider than ever, for now they proceeded to that height to draw up Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Queen; ſome of them were.

The Parliamentarians beaten at Dunnington in Lincolnſhire by Colonel Cavendiſh.

Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Queen.

1. *That ſhe had pawned the Crown Jewels in* Holland.

2. *That ſhe had favoured the Rebellion in* Ireland.

3. *That ſhe had endeavoured to raiſe a Party in* Scotland *againſt the Parliament; and that ſhe had gone in the Head of a Popiſh Army in* England, for ſo they termed the Forces with her: (though few or none of that Religion were amongſt them.) Divers other Articles were framed againſt her; upon which, Mr. *Pym* carried up an Impeachment to the Lords: they were (or ſeemed to be) at firſt ſurprized at ſo extraordinary a matter, but after ſome time, they agreed to the Charge.

The Succeſſes of Sir *William Waller* gave ſo great Reputation to his Army, that the King ſent for his Weſtern Forces towards *Oxford*, to hinder the Progreſs of his Fortune; for it was feared at *Oxford*, if he had not ſome Check, he might make himſelf Maſter of *Ludlow* and *Worceſter*, and ſo bring a great Tract of Land, and many conſiderable Garriſons into the power of the Parliament: Sir *Ralph Hopton* in purſuance of his Orders was marched into *Somerſetſhire*, and Prince *Maurice* with the Earl of *Carnarvan* and a good ſtrength of Horſe, were ſent from *Oxford* to joyn with him. Sir *William Waller* was come to *Bath* with his Army, with whom Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *John Horner*, and Mr. *Strode* were joyned, and they marched towards Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and came ſo near him, that on the third and fourth of *July*, ſome Skirmiſhes had paſſed betwixt ſome Parties on each ſide, and Priſoners were taken of both Parties: but on *Wedneſday* the 5th. of *July* the two Armies engaged, at a Place called *Landſdown*, about eight Miles from *Briſtol*, and the Fight was maintained betwixt them, from two in the afternoon till one the next morning, at which time the Parliamentarians left the Field, and the King's Party had gained a great Victory, if by Accident, their Ammunition had not blown up, whereby two Captains were ſlain, and above twenty wounded, whereof Sir *Ralph Hopton* himſelf was one; & in the Battel Sir *Bevil Greenvile* a Perſon of great renown and Integrity to the King's Cauſe was ſlain, together with M. *Leak*, a hopeful young Gentleman, Son to the Earl of *Scarſdale*, who was found dead in the Field, with the Colours of the Enemy about his Arm, as alſo one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, and two Captains; what Officers fell on the Parliament's ſide was not known, becauſe the Publiſhers of ſuch Actions were unwilling to be very particular in their Relations, that they might not too much diſcourage their Party.

Landſdown Fight.

Waller being advertiſed of what had happened, having got ſome freſh Men from *Briſtol*, marched after *Hopton*, hoping to engage him before he could get Ammunition to defend himſelf, ſo that he was forced to retire to the *Devizes* a Town in *Wiltſhire*, and there he was by *Waller* block'd up, and after a while he became ſo diſtreſſed, that he began to Treat about the Surrender of it, (for Prince *Maurice* was with the Horſe retired towards *Oxford*) but immediately the Fortune of War changed; for the King having notice of *Hopton's* Condition, ſent Commiſſary *Wilmot* with the Earl of *Carnarvan*, and *Crawford's* Regiment of Horſe, and others, to the number of Fifteen hundred, to relieve him; upon whoſe approach near to Sir *William Waller*, he drew off to a place called *Roundway-down*, where the Horſe began the Fight, but after a while both Horſe and Foot encountred each other, and *Waller's* Army was totally vanquiſhed; and four Braſs Guns, and all the Ammunition and Bagage were taken, with nine Cornets of Horſe, and eight and twenty Colours of Foot; Sir *Arthur Haſſerig* was wounded, and many other Officers, and a great number of Soldiers killed; and this Victory was obtained on the 13th. of *July*, on the ſame day whereon the King and the Queen met at the foot of *Edgehill*, where the firſt Battel betwixt him and the Earl of *Eſſex* had been fought, as was before mentioned; their Meeting after ſo long abſence, and on ſo ſad an Occaſion, was very joyful to each other: They went that night to Sir *Thomas Pope's* Houſe at *Wroxton*, where they lay all night, and the next morning they came with the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and their Army, with the Carriages and Ammunition to *Woodſtock*, and from thence to *Oxford*, where her coming was rather to a Triumph than a War.

1643.

Waller defeated at *Roundway-down*.

The King and Queen meet at *Edgehill*

May's Abridgment Fol. 100.

The

1643. The King being willing to profit himself of this good Success to his Forces, ordered Prince *Rupert* to joyn himself with his Brother and the whole body of his strength in those Parts, and to march immediately to *Bristol*. Before which place he came on the four and twentieth of *July*, and summoned it to be surrendred to him; Col. *Nathanael Fiennes* Son to the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, was then Governour of the City, who made a shew of great resistance, but yet after three Days, it was surrendred upon the ensuing Articles:

Bristol delivered up to Prince *Rupert*.

1. *That none of the Citizens should be molested in their Persons or Goods.*
2. *That every Officer should march forth with his Arms.*
3. *That every Trooper should ride out with his Horse and his Sword.*
4. *That every Soldier should march away with his Sword, Bag, and Baggage.*
5. *That a safe Convoy should be allowed for twenty Miles.*

A few days after the taking of this City, the King marched thither to see it and settle the Affairs of those Parts, where presently after his arrival he received News of the surrender of *Dorchester* to the Earl of *Carnarvon*, and a day or two after, *Portland*, *Weymouth*, and *Melcombe* submitted to his Forces, so that about this time the King was possessed of all the Western Counties, from the fartherst part of *Cornwal*, except some few Garrisons that were blocked up; and now or a little time after the Lord *Fairfax* and all his Forces were defeated at *Adderton Moor*, and he and they driven into *Hull* by the Earl of *Newcastle*: and from thence Northward even to the Borders of *Scotland*, there was no Army in the Field to hinder the King and his Forces from marching whither they pleased: *London* was then altogether unsatisfied, and many in it favoured the King's Cause, and most of the chief Gentry of the associated Counties were ready upon any appearance for the King, to have secured those Counties to him; wherefore it was expected that in this conjuncture of Affairs, the King would have marched with his Army to *London*, and the Earl of *Newcastle* with his into the associated Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, whereby a sudden end would undoubtedly have been put to this Civil War; which was not only the Opinion of those in the King's Quarters, but many at *London* and in the Parliament, were of the same Mind, and some of them deserted the Party, and submitted to the King, and others were on the point of quitting the Kingdom. But in the midst of these Hopes, the King against his own Judgment was at a Council of War over-ruled to go to besiege *Gloucester*; and a few days after the Earl of *Newcastle* sate down before *Hull*. To this fatal City of *Gloucester* the King in Person with his Army marched in the beginning of *August*, and about the 10th. he sate down before it, and by two Heraulds summoned the City to be surrendred to him; to which Summons within two Hours an Answer was drawn and consented unto, both by the Citizens and Soldiers, which was presented to the King by Major *Pudley*, and one *Toby Jordan*, a Citizen of the place, in these Words:

Several places in the West submit to the King.

The Lord *Fairfax* defeated at *Adderton Moor* by the E. of *Newcastle*.

Hull besieged by the Earl of *Newcastle*, and *Gloucester* besieged by the King.

1643.

We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Soldiers within this Garrison of Gloucester, *unto his Majesties gracious Message return this humble Answer, That we do keep this City according to Our Oaths and Allegiance to and for the use of his Majesty and his Royal Posterity. And do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament, and are resolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.*

The King received this Answer without any expression of Choler or Indignation, seeming only to wonder at their Confidence, for in all appearance they could have no hope of relief, the whole number of Soldiers, Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, together with the Train-Bands, and those Horse and Dragoons, which they on a sudden got from *Berkley* Castle, amounted to few more than Fifteen hundred; forty Barrels of Pouder was all their Store, with a very mean and slender Artillery for such a Service, and the Works were of a great compass and little more than half perfected: so that it was generally believed, the King would rather presently have attempted the Town by a Storm, whilst they were yet in some consternation, than waste his Time and Soldiers by a Siege: but by all the Intelligence he could get, the Parliament was in no condition to send any Forces to disturb him, and his Council of War thought it better to save his Infantry by a little expence of Time, than by exposing the hazard of so many of their lives in an Assault. So that a close Siege was made on all Sides, though the first had been the wiser Counsel.

The Parliament were very much troubled at the News of this Siege, and used all the Endeavours possibly to recruit *Essex* his broken Army for the relief of it; the first thing they did was to cause 2000 Men to be pressed to strengthen some weak Companies, and upon a Conference with the Committee of the Militia of the City of *London*, by consent of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they procured from thence two Regiments of the Train-Bands, three Regiments of Auxiliaries, and a Regiment of Horse: nor were they less mindful of the North; for the Army from *Scotland*, which they had invited to their Assistance, could not be ready soon enough to secure these parts; wherefore they passed an Ordinance for the speedy pressing of 20000 Men to be raised out of the six Associate Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Cambridge*, *Hartford*, and *Huntington*, to be put under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*. In preparation whereunto, Colonel *Oliver Cromwel* was very active: he had the Year before, the Command of a Troop of Horse, with which he secured the Town of *Cambridge*, and obstructed many Levies for the King in *Cambridgeshire*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; but some time before this, he had a Commission to be a Colonel, and by Authority thereof, he raised a Regiment of Horse, consisting of 1000, with which he was imployed in several of the North-west parts of *England*, where he joyned as occasion

1643. casion offered with Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Gell*, the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, and others, and did very considerable Service to his Party; his great Design was by this new Army to attempt to change the whole Discipline of the Parliament's Militia; for having observed that the King's Horse, who were his greatest Strength, consisted of Gentlemen, or the Servants of such, and that these led on by a sense of Honour, did in most Encounters worst their Enemies; he believed if the Parliament Horse could be framed of the most Zealous of their Party, such as were perswaded by the Preaching of the Ministers, that the Cause was God's Cause, and that all their Religious Liberties were at stake in it, and those that died therein, died in the Favour of God, and in assurance of Salvation, they might set this sense of Conscience against the other sense of Honour, and be in better hopes of Success than before; and this method he put in practice as far as he could in the new raised Forces before-mentioned, whereof most of the Officers were very great Zealots, and the Soldiers by degrees became of the same Leven, and those were they that effected afterwards what he hoped for from them.

Essex musters his Army at *Hounslow* Heath.

On the 24th. of *August* the Earl of *Essex* drew all his Army together to *Hounslow*, where almost all the Members of both Houses of Parliament were present, the remainder of his old Army was well recruited, and he had got some additional Regiments of Horse, besides the Horse and Foot he had from the City, which made a gallant Appearance. That Night he marched to *Colebrook*, where he staid a Day for some more Men that were to come to him, and then he marched to *Beckonsfield*, and so forward to *Beerton*, where he Cloathed his Army, and marched on.

The King thought it scarce credible that an Army could have been so soon got together; but since it was so, he sent out Parties to obstruct their March, but they marched so close, and in so good order, that little obstruction could be given to his Progress; so that by the 5th. of *September* he came to *Presbury* Hills, where he drew up his whole Army in view of the City, and discharged four Pieces of great Ordnance to give them notice of his approach, which was at a time when the King's Forces were prepared ready for a Storm, the Besieged in want, and their Ammunition consumed to three Barrels of Pouder: but upon consultation had by the King with the General Officers, it was resolv'd the Army should draw off, which was done, and all their Huts were set on Fire. *Essex* marched thence to *Cheltenham*, and staied there two Days, and from thence on the 8th. of *September* he went with his whole Army to *Glocester*, where he staid two Nights till he had furnished the City with Ammunition, Money, and other Necessaries, and from thence marched to *Tewksbury*, staying betwixt the King's Forces and that Garrison, four Days, to give them more time the better to furnish themselves with Victuals: whilst he staied there, he had Advice, that a Body of the King's Army were then in *Cirencester* Castle, and there had laid in great Stores of Provision; upon which advertisement, want of Victuals and Necessaries increasing upon his whole Army, he made a long March with the Van-guard of his Troops to fall upon them, which he did about One of the Clock in the Morning, sending in a Party of Horse to seize upon the Centinels and Guards, whilst himself with the rest of the Horse begirt the Town, and a Forlorn-Hope of Foot with his own Foot Regiment entred into it, and surprized two Regiments of Horse (belonging to Sir *Nicholas Crispe*, and Colonel *Spencer*) here he found thirty Load of Provision, which proved a great relief to his Army, then in extream distress for want thereof. Having proved successful in this Encounter, he by short marches passed from thence to *Cricklade*, so to *Swinden*, intending to pass through *Hungerford*, but passing over *Oburn* Chace, Prince *Rupert* with the greatest part of the King's Horse charged the whole Army by two commanded Parties, one under the Lord *Jermyn*, and the other under Colonel *Urry*, who performed their Duties so well, that many great Bodies of *Essex* his Horse and Foot were disordered, with little loss to the King's Solders or Officers, save only to the Marquis *de la Vieuville*, a young French Nobleman, who was a very brave and generous Cavalier, and unfortunately slain.

Glocester relieved by *Essex*.

Cirencester taken by *Essex*.

1643.

Prince *Rupert* with the King's Horse, disorders *Essex* whole Army.

Essex from thence marched to *Hungerford*, and the Prince sent an Express to the King then at *Wantage*, desiring him to advance with all haste to *Newberry*, the better to hinder *Essex*'s march to *London*, which was the thing he chiefly endeavoured. The King was glad of the Advice, and in pursuance of it he marched away to *Newberry*, where he got before *Essex*; the next Day the Parliament Army marched from *Hungerford* toward *Newberry*, but hearing the King's Forces had possest the Town, they lay that Night in the Field; but the next Morning by break of Day *Essex* gave Orders to march to a Hill, called *Biggs-hill* near *Newberry*, which with some struggle he gained; but the Forlorn of the King's Army by endeavouring to hinder him of so advantageous a Place, did there begin the Fight, which was very vigorously prosecuted on both sides till Night came on, that both Parties drew off. The next Day *Essex* found his way open towards *Reading*, so that although the loss was equal to both Armies (saving that as the Quality of the Commanders were greater on the King's side, more eminent Persons of that Party were slain) yet the Victory was allowed to the Parliament Army, because they gained thereby their way to *London*, from which the King strove to hinder them. The number of the slain in this Battle is not recorded, Captain *Massey*, Captain *Hunt*, and divers other Officers of *Essex* his Army were killed, but not many of higher Rank than Captains; three of the Nobility fell on the King's side; the Earl of *Carnarvon*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord *Faulkland*. After this Fight, the King marched to *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Essex* drew his Army to *Reading*, and from thence to the Towns and Villages near *London*; but the King on the third of *October*, finding *Reading* free, placed a good Garrison in it.

The Fight at *Newberry*.

The Gentlemen of *Norfolk* hearing the great Success of the Marquis of *Newcastle* in *Yorkshire*, did expect his march into that and the rest of the associated Counties, and in confidence thereof, they seized on *Lyn*, and put a Garrison into

1643. into it for the King; but whilst the Marquis of *Newcastle* vainly thought to take in *Hull*, before he left *Yorkshire*, the Earl of *Manchester* with Colloniel *Cromwel*, and what Forces they could hastily get together, marched into *Norfolk*, and besieged *Lyn*, which in desperation of Relief, after a few days was yielded to them, and to save the Town from Plunder, the Earl impos'd a Fine upon the Inhabitants of 10 *s.* a man to every private Soldier, and a Months Pay to every Officer, which amounted to 3 0000 *l.* and a while after, namely on the Eleventh of *October*, Sir *John Meldrum* march'd out of *Hull*, with two Bodies of Foot under the Command of Colonel *Lambert* and Captain *Rainsbrough*, and fell upon the Marquis of *Newcastle*'s Quarters before the Town, driving them from their Outworks and Trenches, where they kill'd fourscore of his Soldiers, and took 110. Prisoners, and 9 great pieces of Ordnance, and forced himself to Retreat to *Beverly*, from whence afterward, all his Army march'd away and left the Town free: yet Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and those in the Town were not in Condition to take the Field, but *Meldrum* was dispatch'd to *London* to solicit for Forces to be sent to *Hull* to make up an Army: but in the mean time the Earl of *Newcastle* having received great Quantities of Arms from *Denmark*, which were brought to *Scarbrough*, used Diligence to augment his Army to be able, not only to oppose the *Scots*, which were very near ready to march into *England*, but to strengthen *Newark*; and the King's other Garrisons in the Northern parts, whereof *Lincoln* and some others had been taken by the Earl of *Manchester*, whilst the Earl of *Newcastle*'s Army lay before *Hull*, and others had been much distressed: But whilst these things were Acted in the North, many considerable Occurrences happened in other parts, which deserve to be mentioned.

Lyn seized on, and made a Garrison for the King by the *Norfolk* Gentlemen. But besieged and taken by *Manchester* and *Cromwel*.

The Marquis of *Newcastle* beaten from *Hull*.

The King being moved with Compassion of the sad Condition of his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, for want of Relief and Supply of Money, Munition, Arms, Provisions, Cloaths, and all other Necessaries: for the Parliament, who had undertaken the Managery of that War, and raised great sums of Money for that end, imployed the greatest part of it in the War in *England* against the King, so that many of the *English* Soldiers, unable to endure the insupportable Necessity that lay upon them, did many times seize on Ships, and force the Mariners to transport them to *England*, which being represented to the King, He in *July* this year, sent a Commission to the Marquis of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant-General of the *English* Army, to treat with the *Irish* for a Cessation of Arms for one year, which after some time, upon the 15*th.* of *September* was agreed to by both Parties, and whilst the Cessation was making in *Ireland*, the King's Armies, in the Western parts of *England*, were very prosperous; insomuch, that about the same time, or a little before, *Biddiford*, *Appleford*, *Barnstable* and *Exeter*, were surrendred to the King by the Victorious Arms of Prince *Maurice*, who from *Exeter* marched to *Dartmouth*, which place was on the sixth of *October* surrendred likewise to him; so that though the King was unfortunately prevail'd with to lose the opportunity of ending the War, by besieging *Gloucester* and *Hull*, yet was his Condition at this time, much better than the year before; for where, as a Twelvemonth past, he had in all the West but the County of *Cornwal*, and in *Yorkshire* no more than that City and *Pomfret* Castle, and except at *Redding*, *Wallingford*, and *Abbington*, not a Soldier quartered out of *Oxford*, not a Ship nor Port except *Newcastle* and *Falmouth*, and as the Parliament themselves published, not ten thousand Men in Arms, he had now five Armies in being, and was possessed of all the Western Counties and Garrisons therein, except *Plymouth*, *Lyn*, and *Poole*, and of all *Yorkshire*, *Hull* only excepted, and in *Cheshire* none but *Namptwich* stood out against him, and *Wales* was wholly His; and though the Parliament got from him *Strafford*, *Warrington*, *Lyn*, *Lincoln*, and some other inconsiderable Garrisons, the King in lieu of those, gained from them, *Saltash*, *Cirencester*, *Burningham*, *Liege*, *Lichfield*, *Brandford*, *Hallifax*, *Wakefield*, *Dainton*, *Bristol*, *Bath*, *Dorchester*, *Weymouth*, *Biddiford*, *Barnstable*, *Appleford*, *Tenby*, *Haverford-west*, *Pembroke*, and *Exeter*, and as to *Gloucester*, great care was taken to hinder Excursions from that Garrison; Sir *William Vavasor* was sent with a strong Party of Horse to Engarrison *Hereford*, with Commission to raise Forces, and to command in Chief in that County and *Gloucestershire*; *Sudeley* Castle was Garrisoned by the Lord *Chandois* for the King, which stop'd *Gloucester*'s Entercourse with *Warwick*, the only way of Commerce with *London*; *Berkley* Castle was for the King maintained by a *Scotish* Captain. Sir *John Winter* was strongly setled in the Forrest of *Dean*; a Garrison was likewise put into *Beverston* Castle, and indeed Garrisons there were in every Corner of the County, beside several Parties of the King's Army which lay abroad in the Fields about it; so that *Gloucester* was almost as much distressed as if it had been besieged, they being inforced to Fight or Skirmish for whatever they got. In the mean time, an Additional Supply of One thousand Foot, and One hundred Horse, under the Command of Sir *William St. Leger* and Colonel *Min*, landed out of *Ireland* to the King's Aid, and were with eight pieces of Ordnance Ordered to Advance to *Thornbury*, the more to distress the City of *Gloucester*.

A Cessation of Arms agreed upon in *Ireland*.

Diverse places in the West surrender'd to the King.

1643.

Many places Garrisoned for the King, by Sir *William Vavasor* and others.

More Forces sent the King from *Ireland*.

The *French* King and the Queen Regent of *France*, seem'd very sensible of the King's Condition, and sent the Count *d'Harecourt* (a Prince of the House of *Lorrain*, and a great Soldier,) their Embassador into *England*, to offer the Mediation of *France* to compose the Differences betwixt the King and the Parliament; He came first to *London*, and addrest himself to both Houses for a Safe-Conduct to *Oxford* to the King, which they granted, and on the 18*th.* of *October* he made his Entry into that City, and three days after, he had publick Audience in the great Hall at *Christ's-Church*, where the King and Queen received him with great State and Magnificence; and whilst he stay'd at *Oxford*, he and his Retinue were lodg'd in St. *John's College*; but finding himself unable to effect any thing of his Embassy, after a few Months stay, he returned. Sir *William Waller* who had laid long in *London* to form an Army, had at last got together Six thousand Horse and Foot, with which he was about this

The *French* King sends an Embassador to Mediate between the King and the Parliament.

1643. time lain down before *Basing-House*, where he met with no better success than the King had at *Gloucester*: but whilst he was there, the City prest the Earl of *Essex* to besiege *Redding*, but he found himself not in a condition for such a Service, but march'd to *Uxbridge*, and so to *St. Albans*, where he kept his head Quarters, and sent out Parties to several places to oppose the King's Forces, which were very active in many places, though not always fortunate; for about this time the Lord *Widdrington* with Colonel *Henderson*, and a good Party of Horse and Foot, were met near *Horne*-Castle in *Lincolnshire*, by the Parliament's Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, betwixt whom there was a sharp Fight, wherein Sir *Ingram Hopton* an Officer of the King's, had once unhorsed Colonel *Cromwel*, but he was again quickly mounted, and the King's Party put to the worst, and Sir *Ingram Hopton* and some few others were slain. The King shortly after this Misfortune, was recompenced with the good News of 4000 *English* Foot landed in *North Wales*, out of *Ireland*, under Sir *Michael Erneley*, who immediately after their Landing, took in *Hawerden* Castle near *Chester*, and might afterwards have proved more serviceable than they were to the King, had they not been divided as they were into several parts of his Armies, but been kept together under their old and known Commanders.

Lord *Widdrington* worsted by *Manchester* in *Lincolnshire*.

The *Scots* promised to the Parliament (from whom Commissioners were sent to *Edenburgh* about that business) that they would bring into *England* to their Assistance, an Army consisting of one and twenty thousand Horse and Foot, towards the Charge of raising whereof, the Parliament sent 100000 *l.* into *Scotland*, and great Levies of Men were made for this Army, which was now near drawn together; but some at *Oxford* had so good an Opinion of the *Scots*, that they would hardly be brought to believe they would Invade *England*, till they saw them in the Bowels of the Nation; for General *Lesley* with great Imprecations upon himself, as hath been before expresst in this History, protested never to draw his Sword against the King: but the Ruling Party in *Scotland* to facilitate the Raising of this Army, had raised a Report that the King was Deserted by most of his Nobility.

The *Scots* raise an Army for the Assistance of the Parliament.

The King reposing great Trust in the Duke of *Hamilton*, had written to him to use all his Power and Interest to keep his Country-men at home, which had not been difficult for one of his Credit in that Nation; but he by some secret Arts did more Inflame them, and to cover his deceit, pretended to fly from *Scotland* to *Oxford*, where he came about the last of *December*, pretending to seek a shelter there for his Loyalty; but the King had so good Information of his Practices in *Scotland*, that as soon as he came thither, he and the Earl of *Lanerick* his Brother, were both forbidden the Court, whereupon *Lanerick* got privately out of *Oxford*, and went to *London*, where he was well received, which increased the King's ill Opinion of his Brother, and he was sent Prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle.

The Duke of *Hamilton* sent Prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle.

The King had on the 22d. of *December* summoned the Members of both Houses, who had deserted those at *Westminster* to Assemble at *Oxford*, on the 22d. of *January* following, where accordingly they met in the great Hall at *Christ's-Church*, and after the King had made a short Speech to them, he dismist them to their Seats. The Lords sate in the upper Schools, and the Commons in the Convocation House, and for their better welcome, he advanced Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Duke of *Cumberland*, and Earl of *Holderness*, and created *James* his Second Son, Duke of *York*, by which Name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might sit and Vote amongst them. After they had sat awhile, by a Letter they mov'd the Earl of *Essex* to endeavour Peace, and did also declare against the Invasion of the *Scots* by another Letter sent to them, in which they acquainted them with the falseness of their Reports concerning the King, and shew'd how inconsiderable a number of Lords were with those that invited them in; the King himself writ also to them to put them in mind of their several Engagements to be quiet, but before those Letters could come to *Scotland*, and indeed some days before the Parliament had assembled at *Oxford*, the *Scotch* Army was marched into *England*, but when the Letters came to the Ruling Party at *Edenburgh*, with a strange unheard-of Insolency, they commanded them to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman: but the dishonour of that Nation was in a great measure repaired by the Gallantry and Faithfulness of the Marquis of *Montross*, who about the time of this their Invasion, was made General Governour of *Scotland*, and with an Incredible Industry, by small numbers of Men won many Battels, and overthrew well formed Armies, whereof some Relation shall be made hereafter, and had he not been betrayed by those he trusted, he had forc'd that People to Justice and Quietness. Upon the entry of the *Scotch* Army in to *England*, a Letter was writ from *Berwick* in the Name of the Committee of both Kingdoms, subscribed by the Marquis of *Argile* and Sir *William Armine*, to Sir *Thomas Glembam*, who then lay at *Anwick* with 16 Troops of Horse, two Regiment of Foot, eight Drakes, and twenty pieces of Ordnance, which was to be communicated to the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, wherein it was signified, *That they came into* England *to prosecute the ends of the Covenant, Namely, The Preservation and Reformation of Religion, the true Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Publick Peace and Liberty of his Dominions, hoping that things of so great and considerable Consequence, would find with him and them such Entertainment as might answer the Weight and Importance of them: Adding, That if Misinformation, or any other unhappy Grounds should so far prevail with him and the rest, as to reckon them in the number of their Enemies; and if instead of that Concurrence with them which they wished and hoped to deserve, they found Opposition and Acts of Hostility, the Law of Nature and their own Reason, might tell them what they were to expect.* Sir *Thomas* returned an Answer to this Letter, to this purpose.

1643. The King Summons a Parliament at *Oxford*.

Prince *Rupert* made Duke of *Cumberland*; and *James*, the King's second Son, Created Duke of *York*.

The *Scotch* Army enters *England*.

The Marquis of *Montross* made General Governour of *Scotland*.

A Letter to Sir *Thomas Glembam*, shewing the reasons of their Armies march into *England*.

That there being none with him but Officers, he could not return an Answer so suddenly by their Trumpeter, but he said he would send to the Gentlemen of the Country to give him a Meeting, and thereupon they should receive an Answer by a Trum-

Sir *Thomas Glembam's* Answer to the Letter.

peter

1643. peter of his own, and by this means he gained time to draw his Forces and Artillery to *Newcastle*, for *Anwick* was not tenable, and many of the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, especially such as were allied to my Lord *Grey* of *Wark*, either for fear of the *Scots*, or affection to their Cause, were very backward in their opposition to them; but *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth*, *Shields*, and such other places as were Garrisoned by the King's Forces, did so obstruct their march, that they passed not *Tyne* till the second of *March*, and when they did, the Marquis of *Newcastle*, and General *King* marched so near them, that they could not advance Southward, but got into *Sunderland*, where they lay, till the Lord *Fairfax* and the rest of the Parliament Forces made a diversion able enough to give them opportunity to descend into *Yorkshire*, as hereafter will be shewn.

The *Scotch* Army descend as far as *Yorkshire*.

Sir *John Meldrum*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, Sir *Will. Constable*, and Col. *Lambert*, had out of *Lincolnshire* and the associated Counties got many Men together, and made such impressions upon the Marquis of *Newcastle*'s *Quarters*, that they became very well able to keep a Body together in *Yorkshire*, and Sir *John Meldrum* marched into *Nottinghamshire*, where he joined with some Troops of the Earl of *Manchester*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, to the number of 8000 horse and foot, with which they besieged *Newark*.

Newark besieged by *Meldrum*.

The King was much concern'd at the News of this Siege, and was resolved at any hazard to relieve the Town; in order whereunto the King sent an Express to Prince *Rupert*, which came to him on the 12th. of *March* to *Chester*, wherein he commanded him to draw what force he could together to raise the Siege of *Newark*. Upon this Advice he made haste to *Shrewsbury*, speeding away Major *Legg* (General of the Ordnance) before to chuse out so many commanded Musqueteers of the *English* (of late come out of *Ireland*) as might be well spared out of that Garrison. These were a thousand Musqueteers of Colonel *Broughton*'s and Colonel *Tillier*'s Regiment, with 120 of Colonel Sir *Folk Hunks*. All these sent down by the *Severn*, met the Prince at *Bridgenorth* on *Friday*. Of Horse he took along his own Troop, and Regiment, with 20 of Major General *Urrey*'s; with these Forces he drew along 3 Field-pieces. At *Wolverhampton* next day was his Army recruited by 100 horse, and 200 foot of Colonel *Leveson*'s. On *Munday* Night he had notice at *Ashby de la Zouch*, of 2200 Enemies under Sir *Edward Hartop*, sent out by *Meldrum* to the Pass and Bridge over the *Sore*, a Mile from *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*. Their purpose was either to intercept Major General *Porter*, or to prevent his joining with my Lord *Loughborough*: for thither with 4 Regiments of Horse, and 1000 commanded Musqueteers of my Lord of *Newcastle*'s Men, was *Porter* now come from about *Newark*, to hinder the farther inroads into *Leicestershire*. Daily slight Skirmishes here passed. For *Meldrum* not able to force the Passage, and hearing of my Lord of *Loughborough*'s drawing out, stole away. *Porter* thus disingaged, was the next day together with my Lord *Loughborough*'s Forces conjoined to the Princes. That Night they all quartered in a Close by *Bingham*, 8 Miles short of *Newark*. About two of the Clock, the Moon

An Express sent by the King to Prince *Rupert* to raise the Siege.

then well up, the Drums beat, and all marched. Hitherto had the marches been so speedy, as fame in self was prevented; for by *Meldrum*'s own Letter sent to the Lord *Fairfax*, which was intercepted the Night before, they had no more but an uncredited Rumour of Prince *Rupert*'s coming. On this days march the Prince had notice by his spials, how the Enemies were busied all that Morning in sending away their Cannons; which proved no other, than their drawing them off their Batteries into their chief work at the *Spittle*, or *Exeter*-House, a little more than Musket-shot from the Town; for into that one Quarter had they this Morning drawn all their Regiments and Ammunition. The Prince having intelligence of their amassing themselves thus into one body, which he supposed a preparation to march off suddenly, advanced his Van of Horse upon the spur to overtake them: the rest of his Horse had order to keep along with the Foot, Cannon and Ammunition. Coming near the *Bacon-hill*, a Mile short of *Newark*, he perceived some Horse of the Enemies, who upon his approach, drew down the other side to their own Gross. The Prince thus easily gaining the Hill, was earnest to pursue his good Fortune, upon his apprehension of having many advantages upon a retreating Enemy: whereupon he gave order to charge them with all the Horse then with him, to ingage them till the Rear and Foot should be marched up to him. Trooping thus to the Edge of the Hill, he perceived the most of the Enemy in Battalia, (Horse and Foot) near the *Spittle*; all except four great Bodies of Horse, who expected him at the very descent of the Hill. The Prince thus ordered his own few Forces: first himself with his own Troop of Life-Guards, undertook to attack that Body on the left Hand, appointing my Lord *Loughborough*'s Troop to second him, and Colonel *Charles Gerard*'s Troop to be as a Reserve a little on my Lord's right Hand. The Prince's Regiment was cast out into five Divisions, two Troops to each Division: in the first and very right Hand of all, were Captain *Gardiner*, and Captain *Richardson*; then Captain *Cobb*, and Captain *Martin*; then the Lord *Grandison* and Sir *Thomas Dallison*; next them the Troops of Sir *Lewis Dives*, and the Lord *Dillon*; Major *Legg*'s and Lieutenant Colonel *O Neal*'s Troops, being next unto the Life-Guards; this Regiment was seconded by Major General *Porter*'s Regiment: the Field-word, was, *King and Queen*; theirs *Religion*. The Fight began about 9 a Clock, and after a while it grew fierce, especially on the Prince his right Wing, the other doubling their Files from 3 to 6 deep, and charged two utmost Troops upon the Flanks so hard, that Captain *Martin* came timely in to help to beat them off; the Prince himself having pierced deep into the Enemies, and being observed and known, was dangerously at once assaulted by 3 sturdy Persons, whereof one fell by his own Sword; a second being Pistoll'd by Master *Murrayo*, one of his own Gentlemen; the third now ready to lay hand on the Prince's Collar, had it almost chopt off by Sir *Will. Neale*; he thus disingaged with a shot only in his Gauntlet, with Sir *Richard Crane* and his own Troop, charged quite thorow the Body, pursuing them in a Rout, home to their

1643.

The Fight at *Newark*.

1643. Works at the *Spittle*; presently after this, his Regiment with their seconds likewise routed the three other Bodies, four of the Troops charging even into the Work, and bringing away a Captain Prisoner; *Loughborow* also deported himself honourably, some of his shrunk at the second Charge, but he himself rode back to rally and bring them up again: Colonel *Gerard* was shot in the Arm in this Encounter, and being by the fall of his Horse much bruised, was taken Prisoner.

After a little pause, both sides began to make ready for a second Charge; the Prince to make impression, and they to receive it: and though for a good while they disputed it roughly, yet by fine force were they and all the rest driven quite out of the Field beyond their own Work, Foot and Cannon at the *Spittle*; divers of them hasting by a Bridge of Boats over that branch of the *Trent* into the Island: four other Troops, with as many Foot Companies hasted up to *Muckam-bridge* upon the other side of the Island, and main Stream of the River, about three quarters of a Mile both from *Newark* and the *Spittle*: here they stayed till towards Evening; when breaking the Bridge behind them, and throwing one piece of Cannon into the *Trent*, they hasted to *Nottingham*. In both these stiff hours, the Prince took five Cornets, and ninety Prisoners, whereof three Captains, some Gentlemen, three Cornets, besides other Officers, and two Cannoniers. And now as if an universal Truce had been agreed upon, there was some half an Hours silence, excepting that the Enemies Cannon disturbed it. As for the Prince, he now stayed for his Foot and the Reer of his Horse, both left full two Miles behind, when his Van began to double their march to overtake the Enemy; anon came up his Foot, all that day commanded by Col. *Tillier*: these resting themselves a while upon the Hill, the first division being part of those that came from *Shrewsbury*, were led on by the Colonel, these marched down in the Face of the Enemy, hooting at their Cannon, and flanked with some Horse, they were wheeled to the Right into a Meadow; at their coming, the Enemy drew all their Horse and Foot within their *Spittle* work, and coming up against this place, both sides salnted one another at too far a distance with a short Volley; but Col. *Tillier* was not to stay here, as being by his Orders to march up to the very Rivers side, to recover the Boat-bridge from the Enemy; but this being too well guarded, he was glad to go off, making a stand without reach of Cannon. In this time were divers more bodies brought down into the field, who charged up to the Enemies work, and killed many: *Loughborow*'s Men being left upon the Hill for a Reserve. Thus was the Valley bespread with the Prince's Battalions: and in this Posture stood the Army. Sir *Richard Byron* Governour of *Newark* likewise before this, had sent part of his Garrison (both Horse and Foot) into another Ground on the South-East side of the Town. And by this time had the Prince notice given him by a Prisoner, and by one of theirs that came over to him, how they were so distressed for want of Victuals, that they were not able to live there two days. Whereupon he began to resolve upon other Counsels, esteeming it cheaper to block up their Trenches than to storm them. And block up they were already in a very narrow room, no more being free than the backside of the *Swede* towards the River. Besides which, they were on all sides surrounded by his Forces. On the South side, by the Town; on the East, by the Prince; and on the North, by Colonel *Tillier*. Into the Island on the West, had the Prince sent five hundred Horse, besides 200 of the *Newark* Troopers. Thus the late Blockers found themselves now besieged, and without much hope of sudden relief or safe means for Sally; for so well had the Prince ordered them, that had they sallied forwards, he had then fallen on upon their first issuing out, both in front, and flanks with his Army, and the Town had charged them upon their Reer. Had they offered to escape over their Boat-bridge, those in the Isle had disturbed their passing, and others entertained their coming over. By this time had the Prince commanded Sir *Richard Byron* with his own, and Sir *Gervase Eyre*'s Horse Regiment with 800 of Sir *John Digby*'s Foot, to advance so high into the Island, as to put in betwixt the Enemies two Bridges. By which interposition was all intercourse cut off betwixt their greater Body at the *Spittle*, and those at *Muckam-Bridge*: upon this, those eight Colours at the Bridge retreated, as aforesaid. Under favour of these Town-forces too, was the Prince resolved to cast up a Redoubt that Night betwixt the Bridges, but going to view the Ground, the Enemy sent out a Trumpet to desire a Parley. To make way for this, and the more to sweeten and oblige the Prince, had Sir *John Meldrum* some Hours before sent home Colonel *Gerard*, yet upon the Parole of a Soldier and a Gentleman, to return himself a Prisoner whenever he should be called. They having sent out to Parley, quit their Bridge, which the Prince presently possessed by 100 Musquetiers. For the Parley on the Prince his part was appointed Sir *Richard Crane*, Captain of his Life-Guards, with Sir *William Neale*, Scout-Master-General, the other sending Sir *Miles Hobard*, and Sir *John Palgrave*, two Colonels of *Norfolk*, on their part. The Prince his Horse were so over-marcht, and the Foot so beaten off their Legs by long Marches, that he found his Men not very able to engage anew, and the Enemy were more than was believed; so that he was willing to give them good Conditions, and the rather, for that (as by intercepted Letters, it appeared) the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, being commanded by the Council of State to march, other places might e'er long have need of his Presence, so that (at length) he condescended to these Articles.

1643. The Prince blocks up their Trenches.

Prince *Rupert* beats them out of the Field.

The Prince grants with these Articles.

1. *That all Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other fire Arms belonging to the Artillery be delivered.*

2. *That all Soldiers march away with their Swords by their sides, and Colours and Drums.*

3. *That all Officers march without molestation with their Arms and Horses for themselves and Servants, and all Rog and Baggage, Money, and whatsoever doth truly belong to themselves.*

4. *That all Troopers and Dragoons march with their Swords, Horses and Colours.*

5. *That*

1643. 5. That His Highneſs ſend a Convoy to protect us from any injury two miles from the utmoſt of his Highneſs's Quarters.

Dated *March* 22. 1643.

The Parliamentarians quit their Garriſons in *Lincolnſhire*.

Upon this Victory of the Prince, the Garriſons of *Gainsbrow*, *Lincoln* and *Sleeford*, were quitted by the Parliamentarians, and *Sturat* Caſtle in *Staffordſhire* was ſurrendred to Sir *Gilbert Gerard* for the King; but four days after the Action at *Newark*, the King's Forces under the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, received a conſiderable loſs at a place called *Hilton*, where for two or three days ſeveral ſkirmiſhes were made betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Armies, and on the 25th. of *March* they came to a pretty cloſe Engagement, wherein the *Engliſh* Foot were much diſordered and one Brigade of the Horſe routed, and about two hundred Horſe and Men were taken, but not without great loſs to the *Scots*, though their numbers were increaſed with 3000 *Engliſh* Seamen and others, which came to them in *Sunderland* from *Hull*, and upon this diſorder the Marquis inlarged his Quarters Southward, but the *Scots* did not yet advance much farther.

1644. The Marquis of *Newcaſtle* receives a loſs at *Hilton*.

Arundel Caſtle taken by Sir *William Waller*.

Sir *William Waller* having taken *Arundel* Caſtle in *Suſſex*, and procured a Commiſſion from the Parliament, loſs dependent on *Eſſex* than that he had before, marches into *Hampſhire* againſt the Lord *Hopton*, who was then very fortunate there, having taken *Warder* Caſtle, and many other places. At *Brandon Heath* near *Alreſford*, both Parties met on the 30th of *March*, and there was a very hot diſpute betwixt them, but *Waller* having the advantage of the ground, and a covert of Trees and Hedges to ſhelter his Foot, did thereby great execution on the King's Party, who preſſing too eagerly to gain a Victory, loſt it; yet it was not an intire Conqueſt, for my Lord *Hopton* retreated to *Winchester* with all his Cannon, except two heavy pieces which were plunged, and could not eaſily be drawn off; but Sir *John Smith* and Col. *Butler*, and ſome other Officers of leſs note, of his Army, were ſlain, and 200 common Souldiers, and many others wounded, amongſt which the Lord *Steward*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond* was one, who died three or four days after at *Abington*, of his Wounds; he was a young Noble-man of great Courage and Generoſity in all his Actions, and very debonair and affable in his behaviour towards all; on the Parliament ſide many Officers and Soldiers were killed and wounded, and of the wounded, Col. *Thomſon* who loſt his Leg, and Col. *Dalbie*, were the moſt remarkable; after this Fight, the Town of *Winchester* was yielded to Sir *William Waller*, but the Caſtle continued long after a Garriſon for the King. The News of the Affront lately given to the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s Army by General *Leſley*, animated *Fairfax* and the Forces in *Yorkſhire*, to draw what Troops they could together, to endeavour to join with the *Scots*, who were now upon their march; and in purſuance of this Deſign, the Lord *Fairfax* marched out of *Hull* with twenty Troops of Horſe, and joined with his Son Sir *Thomas* and Col. *Lambert*, who made up about Sixty Troops more, beſides a good body of Foot under Sir *John Meldrum*, making up in all to the number of Seven thouſand Horſe and Foot, and with this little Army they made as if they intended to march to *York*, but on the 11th. of *April*, when they came near *Selby* (where Col. *Bellaſis* lay with a good Body of Men, as a Reſerve to the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*) they drew before the Town, and about a 11 of the Clock, they aſſaulted it in three places, and after 2 Hours fight made themſelves maſters thereof, wherein they took Col. *Bellaſis* the Commander in Chief, Governour of *York*, with moſt of the reſt of the Officers, and ſixteen hundred common Soldiers, a Drake, and a Saker, ſeven Barrels of Pouder, ſixteen bundles of Match, great ſtore of Bullets, and two thouſand Arms; immediately upon this Succeſs, the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* retreated to *York*, to re-inforce that Garriſon, in caſe any Attempt ſhould be made upon it; and *Fairfax* marched to meet the *Scots*, and joined his Army with theirs at *Wetherby*, from whence they diſpoſed them to Quarters, till a Reſolution ſhould be taken for further action: In the mean time, the Queen being great with Child at *Oxford*, and ſomewhat apprehenſive of a Siege there, by the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller*, which was the common intelligence of that time, to prevent the inconveniences thereof, ſet out from *Oxford* on the 17th. of *April* towards *Exeter*, where ſhe ſafely arrived ſome time after; and two days after her departure from *Oxford*, the Parliamentary Convention at *Oxford* were by the King prorogued to the 8th. of *October*, and that prorogation was afterward inlarged to the 9th. of *November* by Proclamation. Prince *Rupert* was very active in *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, and *Lancaſhire*, to make an Army ſufficient to relieve the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, who was ſomewhat ſtrained in *Yorkſhire* by the Parliament Forces, where he had done very good ſervice in taking many Garriſons from the Enemy, as *Langford* Houſe, and *Tonge* Caſtle in *Shropſhire*, *Stafford* in *Cheſhire*, and *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, beſides the relief of *Latham* Houſe, (which had been 18 Weeks defended by the Counteſs of *Derby* againſt a cloſe Siege) and the defeat of many Parties that encountred him or his Forces at ſeveral times; but we ſhall leave him for a while, to ſpeak of the King's condition at this time.

1644.

Waller defeateth the Lord *Hopton* at *Brandon-Heath*.

Winchester yielded to Sir *William Waller*.

Fairfax joins his Army with the *Scots*.

The Queen upon apprehenſion of danger, removes from *Oxford* to *Exeter*.

The Parliament at *Oxford* prorogued.

Latham Houſe defended 18 weeks by the Counteſs of *Derby*, relieved by Prince *Rupert*.

The Parliament having formed two Armies, whereof the Foot were for the moſt part made up of *London* Trained-Band and Auxiliaries, one under the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the other under Sir *William Waller*; both Armies Rendezvous'd on the 24th. of *May* at *Bleawbury* in *Berkſhire*, and kept their Head-quarters that night at *Abington* within five Miles of *Oxford*, where they continued five or ſix days, and *Eſſex* marched from thence to *Iſlip*, with purpoſe to diſtreſs *Oxford* on the North part, and left Sir *William Waller* at *Abington* on the South part.

The Parliament form two Armies under the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller*.

The King perceiving the Parliament's intention to beſiege *Oxford*, was reſolved to endeavour to prevent it, by giving their Armies ſome diſtant diverſion, or at leaſt to remove his perſon from the incommodities of a Siege: The place reſolved to go to, was *Worceſter*, which he kept ſo private, that ſcarce any knew of it but himſelf, and

to

1644. to amuse the Enemy, on the third of *June*, he sent a Party of Five or Six hundred Horse, under the Command of the Earl of *Cleaveland*, to alarm *Abington*, who bravely entred the Turn pike, and if he had had more Forces, might have carried the Town; but having done his Business, he retreated with his Party to *Oxford*, whilst *Waller* drew his Troops about *Abington*, expecting the King's march that way; but He that Evening appointed his Rendezvous at *Nortbly*, about eight Miles from *Oxford*, where he drew up his Army, consisting of about 7000 Horse and Foot, 12 Drakes, and 60 Carriages, and having refreshed himself at one Mr. *Parret*'s House there, from whence he marched to *Burton on the Water*, a Village between *Burford* and *Stow on the Wold*, and there lodged at Dr. *Temple*'s, the Parson there.

The King removes with his Army from *Oxford* to *Worcester*.

From *Burton* the King went to *Pershore*, and from thence to *Worcester*.

Essex and *Waller* having notice of the King's march, 18 Hours after he was gone, pursued him two several ways; *Essex* was in some trouble to know what to do, considering that Fighting would not so much waste his Men, as tedious marches after the King's light Army, when his was incumbred with a heavy Train of Artillery, so that he thought it more prudent to put *Waller* upon this service, and to stay for him at *Burford* to consult about the prosecution of it. At *Burford* it was resolved that *Essex* should march Westward, to bring those Counties into the obedience of the Parliament, whilst *Waller* should get what Forces he could together, to join with him in pursuit of the King, who was yet at *Worcester*, from whence on the 11th. of *June*, he sent a Party out to relieve *Dudly* Castle that was besieged, and having intelligence that the Parliament Armies were now severed, and hearing that *Waller* came nearer by tedious and hungry marches, the King advanced to *Budely*, where he staid four Days, and *Waller* imagining his intention to be to march towards Prince *Rupert*, hastned into *Staffordshire* to get before him; but the King turns back with resolution to be furnish'd with more Men and Ammunition from *Oxford*, and in order thereunto, on the 18th. of *June*, he came to *Witney*, where he staid till some Forces came to increase his Army, and being as well provided as he could in so short a time, he marched towards the Parliaments associated Counties, and on the 22d. of *June*, he came to *Buckingham*, where he received the joyful News of the Queen's safe delivery of the Princess *Henrietta*.

Essex marches Westward. *Waller* pursues the King to *Worcester*.

The King marches to *Buckingham*, where he receives the News of the Birth of the Princess *Henrietta* at *Exeter*.

Waller to recruit his Army from the Garrisons of *Gloucester*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, *Northampton* and *Kenelworth* Castle, had on the 26th. of *June*, a Rendezvous in *Kenton* Field, whereof the King having notice, turned his march towards him, and quartered that Night at *Brackley*; two Days after the King's coming before *Banbury*, he found *Waller*, drawn up in Battalia Westward from the Town on the side of *Crouch-hill*, taking advantage of the Hills, Boggs and Ditches, so that the King marched to *Daintry*, leaving a Guard of Dragoons at *Cropredy-bridge*, to secure his Pass over the River, and thereupon the Army marched over, and the Musquetteers that guarded the Bridge were gone off; when *Waller* greedily apprehending to make some advantage upon the King's Rear, puts over 2000 Horse, with a great Body of Foot, and 14 pieces of Cannon, sufficient as he thought to disorder it; the King's Rear consisted of the Earl of *Chesterland*, and the Earl of *Northampton*'s Brigades of Horse, and Sir *Bernard Ashley*'s *tertia* of Foot: These fac'd about, and routed all the Enemy that had passed the Bridge; and the Earl of *Northampton* seeing some of *Waller*'s Horse endeavouring to ford the River, charged and repulsed them: In this fight 300 of *Waller*'s Soldiers were slain, and *Waller* their General of the Ordnance, was taken Prisoner, with two Lieutenant-Colonels, three Captains, two Lieutenants, four Cornets, with other Ensigns and Officers, 180 common Soldiers, five Gunners, and fourteen great Guns. There was slain on the King's part, Sir *William Butler*, and Sir *William Clark*, the Lord *Wilmot* General of the Horse, was twice Prisoner, but rescued once by Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, and the second time by Mr. *Robert Howard*, who was Knighted for the Service of that Day. Colonel *Neud* was also hurt, and some other Officers and others were taken Prisoners, but there were not above twenty slain.

1644.

Sir *William Waller* routed by the King's Forces at *Cropredy-bridge*.

The King marched to *Burnham* after this Fight, from whence he sent a message to the Parliament to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, and from thence he went on to *Bath*; Sir *William Waller* was not in a condition to follow him, but after some time, he went to *London* to solicit Recruits, whilst the King march'd after *Essex* into the West. In the beginning of this Month, Prince *Rupert* marched out of *Lancashire* with a considerable Army for the relief of *York*, wherein the Marquis of *Newcastle* had been besieged two Months by three Armies, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Fairfax* and General *Lesly*: they all upon approach of the Prince, drew off their Army, and thereupon the Prince and the Marquis of *Newcastle* marched after them to a Plain called *Marston-Moor*, where on the third of *July*, a terrible Fight began, in which the Prince at first had much the better, taking their Ordnance, and many of them Prisoners, insomuch that General *Lesly* and the Lord *Fairfax* thinking all had been lost, fled many Miles from the place where the Battle was fought, and never came to the remainder of their Army, till two Days after the Fight; but in conclusion, by a wonderful and an unexpected fatality the fortune of the Day turned, and the Parliament Forces recovered their lost Ordnance, and took some of the Prince's Baggage, and with it Sir *Charles Lucas*, Colonel *Porter*, and Colonel *Tillyard* Prisoners. In this Battle were slain on his Majesties part, the Lord *Cary*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, Colonel *Eure*, Colonel *Tourneley*, with some others of note, and about 1500 common Soldiers. On the Parliament's part were slain Sir *Charles Fairfax*, with many other of their Commanders, and at least 3000 Soldiers.

The King sends a message to the Parliament about a Treaty of Peace.

York besieged by *Manchester*, *Fairfax*, and *Lesly*, is relieved by Prince *Rupert*.

Marston-Moor Fight, wherein the King's Party was at last defeated.

After this Battle the Parliament Army sate down again before *York*, and Prince *Rupert* marched away with about 6000 Horse and Dragoons into *Lancashire*, and from thence to *Chester*; but the Marquis of *Newcastle*, and his two Sons, General *King*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the

Lord

1644. Lord *Widdrington*, Earl of *Carnwarth*, Bishop of *London-Derry*, Lord *William Carnaby* General Pay-master, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Colonel *Carnaby*, Colonel *Busset*, Colonel *Mozen*, Sir *Wal. Vavasor*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Fra. Mackworth*, and Sir *Charles Cavendish*, did all take Shipping at *Scarborough*, and were from thence transported to *Hambrough*.

The sudden departure of the Marquis of *Newcastle*, and so many other considerable Persons at this time, was thought to be occasioned by General Dissatisfaction among the Officers, concerning the Abilities and Integrity of *King*; whose Direction had a Great Influence upon the Action of that day; but however it came to pass, so it was, that being a *Scotch*-Man, he was very hardly spoken of among the Northern Commanders, as neither so great a Soldier as the World believed him, nor so Zealous in the Cause, as perhaps he would have been, if it had not been against his own Country-men.

The Parliament Army had now lain twelve days before *York*, since their last Approach to it, and Preparation was made for a Storm; but Sir *Thomas Glemham* the Governour, sent a Trumpeter out late at Night for a Parley, for his Provisions and Ammunition was much wasted, and he had not above 1000 Soldiers besides those that were Sick and Wounded, to defend the Town: So that upon the 16*th.* of *July* the City was Surrendred upon very Honourable Terms, amongst which the two or three first were, *That all Officers and Soldiers should march out with their Horses and Arms, flying Colours, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullets in Mouth, with Bag and Baggage, and a Convoy to* Skipton, *and that no Soldiers shall be plundered*: but the Soldiers that were to guard them, in Violation of these Conditions, plundered many of the Waggons, at which the Earl of *Manchester* and *Cromwel* were so much displeased, that many of them were censured at a Court Martial, but little Restitution was made, and most of them that were Accused, agreed in one Excuse, *viz.* That they never heard it was any part of the Agreement, that they should march away, and be Protected with their Bag and Baggage, and that many of Sir *Thomas Glemham*'s Soldiers set them on to Plunder, discovering to them which were the Waggons of Papists, in Rifling whereof they assisted and got their share.

York surrendred to the Parliament.

Having endeavoured hitherto in the Actions of this year, to apply them to the times whereon they were Acted, we must now return to describe the Motions of the Earl of *Essex*, and the King, in the Western parts, which for some Weeks together administred the greatest Matter for Story.

Whilst the King was at *Bath*, he received Advice that *Essex* was, about the 16*th.* of *July*, march'd from *Tiverton* in *Devonshire* towards *Plymouth*, to raise the Siege, which Sir *Richard Greenvil* had at that time before *Plymouth*, and disperse his Forces, which was the Result of a Council of War then had, when two other Questions were proposed, either to march back to meet the King's Forces, or to besiege *Exeter*; but neither of those were Approved, and they were not very earnest to Attempt *Exeter*, now they knew they had Frighted the Queen from thence, who about the 15*th.* or 16*th.* of *July* safely arrived at *Brest* in *Britany*, where she was very well received, tho' she got not thither without much hazard, having 100 great shot made at her, and those few small Vessels of her Guard, by a Squadron of the Parliament Ships that lay to intercept her.

1644. The Queen leaves *Exeter*, and arrives at *Brest* in *Britanny*.

As soon as the King heard of *Essex*'s Advance towards *Plymouth*, he march'd with his Army into *Somersetshire*, and at *Kingsmoor*, he summoned the Gentry of the County, and recommended to them the Care of that County in his absence, and not to suffer themselves to be drawn away from his Service: and hearing that upon the March of *Essex* his Army towards *Plymouth*, Sir *Richard Greenvil* had raised his Siege thereof, and was march'd into *Cornwal*, with his own Regiment, and the Regiments of Colonel *Fortescue*, Colonel *Carew*, and Colonel *Acheland*, and that *Essex* was marching after him with his Army, he immediately advanced with all his Forces towards *Cornwal*; but before he could get thither, *Essex* had much distressed *Greenvil*, having almost inclosed him with three Regiments of Horse, and a Company of Dragoons, under Colonel *Bear*.

The King marcheth with his Army into *Somersetshire*.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* distressed by *Essex*.

On the first of *August* the King entred *Cornwal*, passing over the *Tamar* at *Polton-Bridge*, and he marched directly to *Liscard*, where for some time he settled his head Quarters; the County was very Cordial to him, insomuch that not any of *Essex* his men could straggle from their Quarters without danger to be killed or taken Prisoners by the Country People, which made him (who then Quartered at *Listithiel*, about 8 miles from *Liscard*) keep his Army very much together, and call back those he had sent to attempt on Sir *Richard Greenvil*; but all his Care did not prevent the loss of some of his chief Officers; for Quartermaster-General *Dalbier*, Colonel *Allured*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Carleton*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Bartley*, with some other Officers, being at the Lord *Mohun*'s House at *Bucconock* at Dinner, were all, except *Dalbier*, surprized by a Party of the King's Horse, and brought Prisoners to *Liscard* on the 4*th.* of *August*.

The King enters *Cornwal*, and marcheth by *Liscard*.

Many of *Essex* his Officers surprized and brought Prisoners to *Liscard*.

The King, by the Addition of Prince *Maurice* his Army was much increased in strength, and in all appearance, likely to give himself (as it after happened) a Conquest over *Essex*, but the tenderness he always had towards his Subjects, made them try rather (according to his custom) first to seek Peace before he proceeded to the rigour of War, in order whereunto, he writ from *Liscard* a Letter to *Essex*, dated *August* the 6*th.* which he sent to him by his Nephew, the Lord *Beauchamp*, but no return was made to it, and a day or two after, another Letter was writ to him by the Officers of the Army, to which he sent a negative Answer to the Earl of *Forth*, importing, *That he had received a Letter from his Lordship, and some other Commanders, by which a Treaty was desired with him for a General Peace, which he could not admit of, without breach of the Trust reposed in him by the Parliament, having no power by his Commission to Treat in a matter of such Importance.* During this Conjuncture of Affairs, an unhappy Accident fell out in the King's Army; for in the Consultation amongst the Officers, of the Letter to be sent to *Essex*, a very earnest Debate

Prince *Maurice* joyns his Army with the King's.

The King sends a Letter of Peace to *Essex*.

was

1644. was had of the Matter of it, and the Manner of the Addreſs, and ſome Expreſſions uttered by the L. *Wilmot* therein, of making the Prince of *Wales* Mediator in the buſineſs, which by ſome Diſaffected to that Lord was improved to his Prejudice, as if he intended to make a Diviſion in the Army, and thereupon the King was perſwaded to ſecure him, and ſend him away with a Guard to *Oxford*; which cauſed a great Conſternation in the Army, for he was very well beloved of the Soldiers, and if great Care had not been uſed to temper the minds of many of them, great Inconveniencies might have enſued: but nevertheleſs the King loſt hereby the Counſel and Conduct of one of his beſt Officers, who by all the Actions of his Life, before and after, gave ſuch evident marks of his Loyalty, that even his Enemies were aſhamed and ſorry for their Apprehenſions of him: General *Goring* was at the inſtant of his Remove put into his Command, and the King began to uſe all poſſible means to diſtreſs the Enemy by almoſt Encompaſſing them with his Forces; he himſelf and Prince *Maurice* quartered at *Bocconnock*, *Greenvil* faſtned himſelf at *Lanbetherrock*, three miles Weſt of the King, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Leprin* Bridge, a mile above *Liſtithiel*, to which Place the Tyde flowed up from *Foy*, ſo that it was not fordable but at one paſs between that and the Sea: the King's Army Incamped between *Bocconnock* and a Heath that parted his Quarters and the Enemy, and placed Guards on all places on the River leading from his Quarters at *Liſtithiel* to *Foy*, poſſeſſing a Houſe of the Lord *Mohun*'s, over againſt the Town, and a Fort that Commanded the Mouth of the Haven; ſo that *Eſſex* had no place for Relief by Water, but at a ſmall Creek *Mimibilly*, and St. *Blaſe* his Bay, but neither ſafe for Ships, but retained a large ſpace of Ground Weſtward; whereupon *Goring* was ſent with moſt of the Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Baſſet* with 1500 Foot to thoſe parts, to ſtop all Proviſions coming in at St. *Blaſe*, by which means *Eſſex* and his Army were reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that Sir *William Belſour* with five and twenty hundred of their Horſe, broke away before day in the Morning, on the 31 of *Auguſt*, between the Quarters of his Majeſty and Prince *Maurice*, as they lay Encamped, and got to *Saltaſh*, and the ſame Night *Eſſex* himſelf and the Lord *Roberts*, Deſerted the Army, and got away in a Boat to *Plymouth*.

Lord *Wilmot* ſecured at *Oxford*.

General *Goring* put into his Command.

Eſſex is blockt up by the King's Forces in *Cornwal*.

Eſſex forced to deſert his Army.

The next day *Skippon* with the Foot endeavoured to march to *Foy*, but the King having notice of their Motion, marched ſoon after them, and that day took five of their Ordnance, falling into their Rear within two miles of *Liſtithiel*, the next morning they made a Stand, and with their remaining Horſe, Regained ſome Fields from whence they had been forced before; whereupon the King ſent Captain *Edward Breet* with the Queens Troop, who in his View forced them to Retire, Regained the loſt Ground, and got more, and returned in good Order, with the loſs only of Four of his Men, and himſelf ſhot in the Arm; for which good Service the King immediately Knighted him. In the Evening their Men were ſo harraſſed, they could ſcarce be made to ſtand to their Arms, and in that their Condition, Lieutenant-Colonel *Butler* came to deſire a Parley of the King, which was granted, and a Treaty followed, by which on the firſt of *September*, the following Articles were accorded betwixt Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Brainford* on the one Part, and Major-General *Philip Skippon* and Colonel *Chriſtopher Whitbeck* on the other Part.

Captain *Breet* Knighted for his good ſervice.

1644. A Treaty betwixt Prince *Maurice*, and Major-General *Skippon*.

1. *That all the Officers and Soldiers, Horſe and Foot on this ſide the River* Foy, *ſhall to morrow being the* 2d. *of* September, *at* 11. *of the Clock, Deliver up their own Quarters, all their Cannon, Train of Artillery, Carriages, Arms Offenſive and Defenſive, both of Horſe and Foot, Powder, Bullet, Match and Ammunition, unto ſuch Officers as the General of his Majeſties Artillery ſhall appoint, except Swords and Piſtols of all Officers above Corporals.*

2. *That all Officers and Soldiers, both Horſe and Foot of the ſaid Army ſhall march out of their Quarters to* Liſtithiel *with Colours, Trumpets, and Drums, and that all Officers above the Degree of Serjeants, ſhall have their Servants, not exceeding the number of Fifty.*

3. *That they ſhall march from* Liſtithiel *to* Pool *and* Wareham, *and not touch any Garriſon by the Way.*

4. *In caſe they march from* Pool, *that they ſhall not bear Arms, till they come to* Portſmouth *and* Southampton.

5. *That all Sick and Wounded ſhall lye at* Foy *till they be cured.*

6. *That they ſhall have in their March all the Money they can procure from* Plymouth, *and all other Accommodation they can obtain from thence.*

7. *That there ſhall be no Inviting of Soldiers, but ſuch as come voluntary to his Majeſties Service.*

And according to theſe Articles, the King had delivered up to him all the Train of Artillery, conſiſting of 49 Braſs Pieces of Ordnance (with thoſe taken before) two hundred and odd Barrels of Gun-powder, with Match and Ball proportionable, 700 Carriages, and betwixt eight and nine thouſand Arms; and many of the Common Soldiers deſerted their Officers, and voluntarily offered their Service to the King; but this Victory did not leſſen the King's Inclination to Peace, inſomuch that on the 8th. of *September* he ſent a ſecond Meſſage to the Parliament from *Tavenſtock*, though this, as that before, had no Anſwer; nor was any Treaty agreed on till *January* following, as will be hereafter mentioned. But in ſtead of this Meſſage, if he had gon with his Army towards *London*, in all probability he might have made an end of the War, the Army of *Eſſex* being thus broken, and that of *Manchester* not returned from the Northern ſervice.

The King ſends a ſecond Meſſage to the Parliament for Peace.

About this time the Marquis of *Montroſs* was very victorious for the King in *Scotland*, having obtained a great Victory over the Covenanters upon *Newbigging*-Moor, and taken *Perth*, and within fourteen days after this, he gained another Victory near unto *Aberdeen*, and ſoon after took that City, and marched from thence into the Earl of *Argyle*'s Country, which he waſted with Fire and Sword, and did many great Services even to admiration, conſidering the ſmallneſs of his be-

The ſucceſs of *Montroſs* in *Scotland*.

1644. beginning and the little assistance he had from *England*; but we shall leave a while the Narrative of his Fortune, to return to the Transactions in *England*, which were the remaining part of this year prosecuted in several places with various Success: In the West, after the great Victory over *Essex* his Army, *Ilsford-Comb*, *Barnstable*, and *Saltash*, submitted to the King's Arms, and *Basing-House* that had been eighteen Weeks besieged, was relieved by a Party from *Oxford* under Sir *Henry Gage*, and a little after, he with the Earl of *Northampton* raised the Siege of *Banbury*-Castle, which had been a Month beleaguer'd by Colonel *John Fiennes*, and slew and took many of his men, and one Piece of Ordnance; but the good Fortune of the Parliament in several parts, ballanced this Success with Advantage; *Monmouth* was, in *September*, taken by Colonel *Massy*, and the Town and Castle of *Newcastle*, which had long endured the utmost Force of the *English* and *Scotch* Armies, was taken by Storm with great loss to the Assailants on the 27*th*. of *October*, and a while after, *Leverpool* in *Lancashire* was surrendred to Sir *John Meldrum*: but the great businesses that concluded this Year, were the Battel of *Newberry*, and the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which will come next to be related, interwoven with some other of the most remarkable Occurrences that then hapned.

The King has good Success in the West.

The Parliaments Success in divers parts.

The Earls of *Essex* and *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*, had drawn a great Army together, with a Resolution to hinder the King's march to *Oxford*; but he not believing that *Essex* could have so soon appeared at the head of an Army, fought, or was willing not to decline Engagement. *Essex* and *Manchester*, on the 23*th*. of *October* rendezvous'd their Army in *Aldermaston* Park, and the next night came privately over the Water at a Ford near *Padworth*, and next morning to *Bucklebury* Heath near *Newberry*, where the King then was, and about 12 of the Clock drew down their whole Army between *Thacham* and *Shaw*, and skirmished with the King's Horse: On *Saturday* both Armies plyed one another with their great Ordnance, but without much hurt done. Then some of *Manchester*'s Troops, and *London* Trained-bands crossed the River *Kennet* between the Hill and *Newberry*, and did some Execution upon those that kept the Pass against them: But Sir *Bernard Ashley* coming to their rescue, forceth the other over the River. Again, in the afternoon 4000 of *Essex* and *Waller*'s Horse and Dragoons with 500 Pikes, charged the Royal Army on the West side of *Newberry*, where were the Cornish Foot, & the Duke of *York*'s Regiment, with 5 Field-pieces, and Prince *Maurice*'s Brigade of Cornish Horse, all which having not unmanfully sustained the rough charge of the Parliamentarians, were yet forced to retreat back in some disorder, and here some of the King's Field-pieces were taken. The Essexians following their Success, advanced with 500 Horse, and a sufficient strength of Musquetiers betwixt *Newberry* and *Spine*, upon the King's Life-Guards, and Sir *Humphrey Bennet*'s Brigade, whom they overpowered, and had much more endamaged, if the Lord *Bernard Stewart* had not come up to their assistance, and secured their Retreat on the East-side of *Spine*; the Parliamentarians having settled three Bodies of Foot in certain Inclosures, advanced over a Ditch with a great Body of Horse to break thro' the King's Guards; but first they were obliged to fight with General *Goring* and the E. of *Cleaveland*'s Brigade, (who charged stoutly and beat back the Enemy, but pursuing disorderly, were repulsed with loss.)

The Battel at *Newberry*.

1644.

Upon the North-East of *Newberry* stood the Lord *Ashley*, with Colonel *George Lisle*, against whom the Earl of *Manchester*'s Horse and Foot, with the Trained Bands of *London*, came down the Hill, and worsted Colonel *Lisle*'s Guards: But Sir *John Brown*, Lieut. Colonel of the Prince of *Wales* his Regiment of Horse, charged the Foot, and stopt them, and then received a Charge of 1000 Horse, and was forced to retreat.

Manchester in the next place forces his way to charge the Reserve, commanded by Colonel *Thelwel*, and after a smart Dispute, beat them out of the Field, and gains their Colours, and two pieces of Cannon: In this Battel on the King's Part were slain Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, Lieutenant-Col. *Leak*, Lieutenant-Col. *Topping*, and Capt. *Catlin*; the Earl of *Cleaveland*, and some few were taken; the Earl of *Brainford*, and *Forth*; Sir *John Greenvill*, Sir *Richard Campfield*, Major *Alford* and Captain *Walgrave*, and others, were wounded, many private Soldiers slain and taken Prisoners. The Fight endured till Eight of the Clock at night, and was ended to the Advantage of the Parliamentarians; for the King perceiving that most of his Brigades were shattered, and fearing a total Overthrow if the Battel should be renewed, marched away secretly to *Dennington*-Castle, and there left behind him his great Pieces of Ordnance, and so hastened to *Willingford*. General *Essex* lodged himself in *Newberry*, and having in vain summoned and Assaulted *Dennington*-Castle, he marched away on the 29*th*. of *October*, committing the care of that Siege to a Party which he left behind him.

The King's Party worsted at *Newberry*.

The King after this Fight, made what haste he could to Recruit and Refresh his Army, that he might Relieve *Dennington*-Castle, which was not sufficiently provided, and bring from thence the Ordnance, Ammunition & Baggage which he left there; and that he might also succour *Basing-house*, which was again Besieg'd, and therefore on the 6*th*. of *November* he had his Rendezvous at *Bullington-Green*, betwixt *Wallingford* and *Oxford*, and from thence, he marched two days after to *Dennington*; but upon his Approach to the Castle, the Enemy drew off their Forces, and he put into the Garrison a supply of such things as they wanted, and then drew off the Train of Artillery, and other Carriages which he had left there: and hearing Sir *William Waller* was with an Army about *Hungerford*, he march'd thither to engage him, but they would not venture an Encounter, and from thence Sir *Henry Gage* was sent with a Party to Relieve *Basing-House*; but before he came, the Besiegers drew off, and left the Work very easie to him. After these Performances, the King returned to *Oxford*, and disposed his Army to Winter Quarters; and there he was attended by the Earl of *Denbigh*, and some of the House of Commons, as Commissioners from the Parliament, with Propositions for a Peace; which produced an overture for a Message to be sent from him to the Parliament by the Duke of *Richmond*. and the

The King returns to *Oxford*, and receives Propositions for a Peace.

1644. Earl of *Southampton*, which was agreed to, and from thence a Treaty was had at *Uxbridge*, which began about the first of *February* after, of which we shall make further mention in its place.

About the end of this Month, Sir *Alexander Carew*, who was Governor of St. *Nicholas* Island at *Plymouth*, was tryed by a Court Martial for endeavouring to deliver up the Island to the King, and Sentenced to be Beheaded, which Sentence was a few days after Executed upon him on *Tower-Hill*, and by the same Court Martial Sir *John Hotham* and his Son were in like manner Arraigned, found guilty, and Executed for designing to quit their Party, and by some Service to Ingratiate a return to their Allegiance to the King: concerning whose Misfortunes, the King amongst other Reflections thereon in his Excellent * Book, expres'd him thus.

Sir *Alexander Carew* beheaded. Sir *John Hotham* and his Son executed.

Sir John Hotham *unreproached, unthreatned, not cursed by any Language or secret Imprecation of mine, only blasted with the Conscience of his own Wickedness, and falling from one Inconstancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest Sons Heads, as Forfeitures of their Disloyalty to those Men, from whom surely he might have expected another Reward than this, to divide their Heads from their Bodies, whose Hearts with them were divided from their King.*

Nor is it strange, that they who employed them at first in so high a Service, and so successful to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much promerited of them: For Apostasie unto Loyalty, some Men account the most unpardonable Sin.

Nor did a solitary Vengeance serve the turn; the cutting off one Head in a Family, is not enough to Expiate the Affront done to the Head of the Common-Weal. The eldest Son must be Involved in the Punishment, as he was Infected with the Sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country; Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, cap. 3. p. 46.

In this Heat, *Roger L' Estrange*, the Son of Sir *Hamond L' Estrange* of *Norf*, was Condemned to dye by the same Court, being taken with a Commission for the Reducing of *Lyn*. He was betrayed by one *Leman*, and *Haggar*, under the horridest Oath of Secresie imaginable: He was Sentenced by a packt Committee unheard: and upon his Appeal to the Lords, Reprieved in order to a Hearing, which he expected almost four years, in *Newgate*, and came off at last without it.

By this severe and sanguinary way of Proceeding, the Parliament made themselves very Terrible, especially to their own Party, against whom any particular Crimes could be objected; but where the Offences were General, and the Persons of great Interest in their Army, they were more cautious in their Methods; and it happened at this time, that they were much perplex'd at the ill Conduct of their Armies, in suffering the King to make that Progress he lately did in the Relief of *Dennington* and *Basing-House*; for by his appearance there, the Quarters of the Parliament's Army on that side, were at *Redding*, *Henly*, *Abington*, and *Farnham*, and the King's Troops were quarter'd at *Basing*, *Odiam*, *Newbury*, *Blewbury*, and *Malborough*.

Dennington and *Basing-House* relieved by the King's Forces.

Essex began to be suspected as Careless or Discontented, and Colonel *Norton* writ a Letter that he had received a Warrant from a Chief Commander of the Army to withdraw from *Basing*; and the Earl of *Manchester* made a long Relation in writing concerning the Carriage at *Dennington*, wherein he made his own Defence, but accused Colonel *Cromwel*. Upon this, the House of Commons fell into Consideration of the slow Proceedings of their Armies, alledging that many of their Officers were deficient in not Prosecuting Advantages, which tended to the Prolongation of the War, and that the Differences amongst their Commanders were commonly most where the Command is greatest; which produced this Resolution, (*viz.*) *That no Member of either House of Parliament shall (during this War) injoy or execute any Office or Command Military or Civil, which hath been Granted or Conferred on any Member of either House, or by any Authority derived from either House, and that an Ordinance be brought in to that purpose.* 1644.

The House of Commons vote, that no Parliament man shall execute any Command Military or Civil.

This Vote and the Ordinance thereupon, was very much opposed by the Peers; but Petitions from the City and several Counties were framed and presented to move their Compliance, which in the end prevailed upon them: In the mean time, tho' it was now Winter, and not ordinarily a time of Action, the War went on in several Places, and several new Garrisons were made by both Parties, to the miserable Spoil and Destruction of the Country. Sir *Jacob Astley* possessed himself of *Cirencester* with three Brigades of Foot and four Regiments of Horses, and became so formidable, that he commanded Contribution to the very Gates of *Glocester*; nor were the Garrisons in *Worcester*, *Hereford*, and *Bristol*, less Active; and *Monmouth* that had been before taken from the King, was Regain'd by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*: but in the midst of this good Fortune on the King's side, a Garrison was form'd at *Abington*, a Town within five Miles of *Oxford*; by order from the Two Houses of Parliament, under the Command of Colonel *Brown*, the King and Council looking on, and suffering the Intrenchments to be made, the Works to be raised, and the Ordnance to be planted on the same. * It cannot be denied, but that Sir *Henry Gage*, and many of the Chief Commanders which were then in and about *Oxford*, offered their Service to the King, and earnestly desired leave to prevent that mischief, which by the Intrenchments of this Town, must need fall upon them. But the Lord *George Digby*, not long before made Principal Secretary of State, had perswaded the King unto the contrary, upon Assurance that he held Intelligence with *Brown*, and that as soon as the Town was fortified and furnished with Victual, Arms and Ammunition, at the Charges of the Houses of Parliament, it would immediately be delivered into His Majesties hand. In which Design he was deluded, and exposed to some loss of Reputation: For *Brown* having brought his Project to the highest round of the Ladder (as himself expressed it) thought it high time to turn it off, and to declare himself for the two Houses against the King; printing not long after all the Letters which passed between him and the Lord *Digby* upon this Occasion.

Monmouth regained by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*. *Abington* made a Garrison for the Parliament under *Brown's* command.

* *Heylin's* short view of the Life and Reign of King *Charles* Fol. 109.

But

1644. But now when it was too late, Sir *Henry Gage* was sent with a commanded Party out of *Oxford* and *Wallingford*, to raise a Fort at *Cullam* Bridge within half a Mile of *Abingdon*, but the Design being discovered he was prevented, and in the Attempt unfortunately received a shot, whereof within two hours he died, and with him Lieutenant Col. *Lower*, the Deputy Governor of *Wallingford*, and Major *Green* of that Garrison, with several others of great Courage and Reputation.

Archbishop *Laud* beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

On the same day, or the day before, *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, after he had been kept four years a Prisoner in the *Tower*, his Rent sequestred, and his Books, Papers, and all his Goods seiz'd; his Charge was, *A constructive Treason under several Heads, reducible into two Particulars*;

1. *For Endeavouring the Subversion of the Laws of the Land.*
2. *And a like Endeavour to overthrow the Protestant Religion.*

His Tryal was at the Lords Bar, and Mr. *William Pryn* of *Lincolns-Inn*, his profest Enemy, was made his Prosecutor, wherein nothing was omitted to aggravate his Offences, though when all that could be, was said, nothing that did amount to Treason could be proved against him; but the *Scots* who were at that time very prevalent, would not be satisfied unless he were put to death, to manifest thereby their Zeal against the Episcopal Hierarchy, to usher in the Presbyterian Government at the approaching Treaty, so that by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, he was adjudged guilty of High-Treason, though at the passing thereof in the House of Peers, there were but seven present, (*viz.* the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembrooke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullingbrook*, and the Lords *North*, *Grey*, and *Bruce*.)

* *Heylin's* History of the Life of King *Charles* I. pag. 113.

He ended his Life with such a Modest Confidence and so much Piety, that his greatest Enemies then present, who came to behold the Execution with Hearts full of Joy, returned back with Eyes as full of Tears.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge*.

In pursuance of several Messages from the King for a Treaty, it was assented to by the Parliament, and at *Uxbridge* Commissioners met on the 30th. of *January* for the King, on one part, and for the Parliament of *England* and the Parliament of *Scotland* on the other.

The Commissioners for the King, were,	Commissioners for the Parliament, were,
Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*.	Earl of *Northumberland*.
Marquis of *Hertford*.	Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*.
Earl of *Southampton*.	Earl of *Salisbury*.
Earl of *Kingston*.	Earl of *Denbigh*.
Earl of *Chichester*.	Lord *Wenman*.
Lord *Capel*.	Mr. *Pierpoint*.
Lord *Seymour*.	Sir *Henry Vane*, Junior.
Lord *Hatton*.	Mr. *Crew*.
Lord *Culpepper*.	Mr. *Whitlock*.
Sir *Edward Nicholas*.	Mr. *St. John*.
Sir *Edward Hide*.	Mr. *Prideaux*.
Sir *Richard Lane*.	

			1644.
Sir *Thomas Gardner*.	Lord *Loudon*.	*Scotch* Commissioners.	
Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*.	Sir *Ch. Erskin*.		
Mr. *Jo. Ashburnham*.	Mr. *Douglas*.		
Mr. *Geoffry Palmer*.	Mr. *Brackly*.		
Doctor *Stuard*.	Mr. *Henderson*.		

The first things to be treated on, were,

1. Religion.
2. The Militia.
3. *Ireland*.

The matters of the Treaty.

The first Paper at the opening of the Treaty was concerning Religion, which was delivered from the King's Commissioners to the others, in these words;

1. *That Freedom be left to all Persons of what Opinion soever in matters of Ceremony, and that all the Penalties of the Laws and Customs which enjoin these Penalties be suspended.*

2. *That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, without the consent and counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergy of each Diocess, of the Learnedst and gravest Ministers of that Diocess.*

3. *That the Bishop keep his constant Residence in his Diocess, except when he shall be required by His Majesty to attend him on any Occasion; that if he be not hindered by the infirmity of Old Age or Sickness, he Preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocess.*

4. *That the Ordination of Ministers shall be always in the Publick and Solemn Manner, and very strict Rules observed concerning the Sufficiency and other Qualifications of those Men who shall be received into Holy Orders. And the Bishop shall not receive any into Holy Orders without the Approbation and Consent of the Presbyters, or the Major part of them.*

5. *That competent Maintenance be established by Parliament, to such Vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, out of the Impropriations, according to the Value of the several Parishes.*

6. *That no Man shall be capable of two Parsonages or Vicarages with Cure of Souls.*

7. *That toward the settling of the publick Peace, 100000 l. shall be raised by Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the said Lands.*

8. *That the Jurisdiction in Causes Testamentary, Decimals and Matrimonials, be settled in such a manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament. And likewise that Acts to be passed for Regulating of Visitations, and against immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and Abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other Abuses in Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, as shall be agreed upon by King and Parliament.*

And if the Parliament's Commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the King's Commissioners shall very willingly apply themselves to the Consideration thereof.

The Parliament Commissioners, after they had perused this Paper, delivered one of theirs to the

1644. King's Commissioners, which was as followeth?

That a Bill be passed for Abolishing of all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. according to the Third Proposition.

That the Ordinances concerning the Calling and Sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Directory for Publick Worship, already passed both Houses, and the Propositions concerning Church-Government annexed and passed both Houses, be Enacted as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity, according to the First Proposition.

That his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the Covenants be enjoyned to be taken according to the second Proposition.

To this was annexed the following Paper,

That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for Edification, is by the respective bounds of their Dwellings.

That the Minister and the Church-Officers in each Congregation, shall join in the Government of the Church, as shall be established by the Parliament.

That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterial Government.

That the Church be governed by Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies, to be established by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial and National Assemblies.

These Papers were debated on three Days without any Determination on any one Controverted Point, and on the 4th. of *February*, the Parliament Commissioners delivered in the following Proposals concerning the Militia.

We desire that the Subjects of *England* may be Armed, Trained, and Disciplined as the Parliament shall think fit; and that the like be for *Scotland*, as the Parliament there shall think fit: and that His Majesty give His Royal Assent to the Acts following.

1. *An Act for Settling the Admiralty, and all Forces at Sea, and Moneys thereto for Maintenance, to be as the Parliament shall think fit. The like for* Scotland.

2. *An Act for settling all Forces by Sea and Land in Commissioners to be named by Parliament, to be such as both Kingdoms shall confide in, with Power to suppress all Powers and Forces contrary thereto, and to act as they shall be directed by Parliament.*

And so for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

That the Militia of the City of London, *and the Parishes without* London, *and the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council.*

That the Tower of London *may be in the Government of the City, and the chief Officers thereof nominated, and removable by the Common-Council.*

That the Citizens or Forces of London *may not be drawn out of the City without their own consent, and the Example of drawing them out in these distracted times, may be no Precedent for the future.* 1644.

These Papers were likewise debated three days, and then the Parliament Commissioners presented a Paper concerning *Ireland* to this Effect.

That His Majesty give His Royal Assent to an Act to make void the Cessation of Ireland, *and all Treaties of the Rebels without Consent of Parliament, and to settle the Prosecution of the War of* Ireland *in the Parliament, to be managed by the joint Advice of both Kingdoms, and His Majesty to assist, and to do no Act to discountenance or molest them therein.*

The King's Commissioners in the debate of this Proposition, did lay open the eminent and inevitable Necessity which caused the King to make the *Irish* Cessation, which he was in honour obliged to make good; nevertheless they offered to condescend to any thing for the security of the King's Protestant Subjects: But the Parliament Commissioners were so bound up by their Instructions, that they could admit of no Alteration of what they offered.

The matter of Religion was then resumed, and that was to be concluded before they proceeded to any other Proposition. But so many Difficulties occurred in the debate thereon, that no Accord could be made; for the Parliament to endear the *Scots* to them, had caused every Member of each House to take the *Scotch* Covenant, *whereby they bound themselves to the Preservation of the Religion of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government; and, To endeavour the Extirpation of Episcopacy, and the Reformation of Religion in* England *and* Ireland, *according to the Example of the best Reformed Churches.* Whereby they could mean nothing less than to bring them to the Discipline of *Scotland*, because they had sworn to the preservation of the Religion there. Moreover, they had Sworn in this Covenant against detestable Indifferency and Neutrality, (to keep their own words) whereby it seemed apparent, that though at first the Contrivers of this Oath pretended only for Liberty of Conscience, they now would allow none to any. Wherefore the King's Commissioners were at a stand; for the King took himself bound by the Oath of his Coronation, not to alter the Government of the Church, and they were bound by their Instructions to insist thereon, so that the Treaty became desperate upon this account, though on the King's part it was offered, That if the Articles proposed by them, did not give Satisfaction, that then so great an alteration as the total abolishment of a Government established by Law, might (for the Imparlance of it, and any Reformation in Doctrine for the Scandal of it) be suspended, till after the disbanding of all Armies, when the King should be present with the Parliament, and calling a National Synod, might receive such Advice both from the one and the other, as should be necessary; and as any Reformation thus calmly made, would needs prove for the singular Benefit; so whether the contrary, that is an alteration even to things though in them-

The *Scotch* Covenant taken by both Houses.

1644. themselves good, could by the Principles of Christian Religion, be enforced upon the King or Kingdom.

The Treaty proves ineffectual

This would not be admitted, and the time allowed for the Treaty being but twenty days, nothing was effected therein; for the Parliament were resolved to have no Peace but on their own terms, believing all the Kings Proposals for Peace, to proceed either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the Weakness and Irresolutions of his Council.

Shrewsbury taken.

After this, followed the taking of *Shrewsbury*, a place of very great Importance to the King, as the Gate which opened into *Wales*, situate on a rising ground, and almost encompassed about by the River *Severn*; that part which is not environed by water, being wholly taken up and made good by a very strong Castle. By the loss of which Town the King's former Intercourse with his Loyal Subjects of *North Wales* was not only hindred, but a present stop was given to an Association which was then upon the point of concluding between the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Chester*, *Worcester*, *&c.* to the great prejudice of the King's Affairs in those parts of the Kingdom.

Pomfret Castle relieved by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Lord Fairfax's Army defeated.

But to make a Recompence, in some measure for this great Loss, about the beginning of *March* this year, *Pomfret* Castle in *Yorkshire* was relieved by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who there defeated the Lord *Fairfax*'s Army that lay before it, and in his going thither he defeated a great Party of the Parliament Forces commanded by Colonel *Rossiter* near *Melton-Moubray* in *Leicestershire*.

The Prince of Wales sent into the West to perfect the Association.

The King at this time thought fit to send the Prince of *Wales* into the West, to perfect the Association which had been begun in the end of the last Summer, and in those Countries to advance such further Forces as might not only serve for the defence of themselves, but give some reasonable increase to his Army; so that upon the fifth of *March* he set forwards toward *Bristol*, accompanied by the Lord *Culpepper* and Sir *Edward Hide*, as his principal Counsellors, and some of the chief Gentry of the West, who were of most Authority in their several Countries.

1645. The King having advised with such of the Members of both Houses of Parliament, as had assembled at *Oxford*, from their last meeting in *November* after their Prorogation, to the tenth of *March*; He then being resolv'd for Action, dismist them to their several Countries.

The Parliament pass their self-denying Ordinance.

Sir Thomas Fairfax made General of their Army.

Cromwel, Skippon, and Ireton excepted out of their Ordinance.

Essex, Manchester, and Denby, surrender their Commissions, and Warwick his Admiralship.

And now both sides prepare for Action, in order whereunto, the Parliament had passed their Ordinance which they call'd Self-denying, wherein all and every the Members of either House were to be discharg'd of all their Command, Military or Civil, and in pursuance thereof, they elected Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General of their Army, which they now modell'd out of their other Armies, consisting of 11 Regiments of Horse, and 10 Regiments of Foot. *Oliver Cromwell*, though a Member of the House of Commons, was particularly excepted out of the Ordinance, and so was *Skippon* the Major-General, and *Ireton* the Commissary-General of the Horse; and to make way for these Officers, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, and *Denby*, surrendred their Commissions in the Lords House, and the Earl of *Warwick* also surrendered his Commission of Admiral.

April the third, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* sets forth for *Windsor*, where he applies himself to the gathering together of his Army, to which place Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* came to him, and was immediately order'd to march towards *Oxford*, with a Brigade of 1100 Horse and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of Horse, which Prince *Rupert* had sent from *Worcester* to fetch off the King from *Oxford* with his Train of Artillery, and some Foot, with Intention to take the Field; and at *Islelip*, *Cromwell* falls upon them, which after some dispute he routed, and took divers Prisoners, and about 200 Horse, and from thence he pursued several of them that escaped to *Bletchingdon* House, where Colonel *Windebank* kept a Garrison for the King, which was surrendred to him upon the first Summons, but the Colonel was soon after condemned by a Court of War at *Oxford*, and shot to death for parting so easily with the Place. A few days after *Cromwell* marches to *Farringdon*, and assaulted that Garrison, but was repulsed with the loss of near 200 Men, besides many that were wounded and taken Prisoners. The King perceiving that *Fairfax* intended to besiege *Oxford*, sent for Prince *Rupert* and General *Goring* to march to him thither, and these about the beginning of *May* came to *Oxford* and fetch'd off the King, who quickly increased his Army, and advanced with it towards the Relief of *Chester*; but *Goring* returned to the Siege of *Taunton*, from whence he had been called to this Service.

1645. *Fairfax goes to Windsor to gather up his Army.*

Cromwel routs some Horse sent to Convoy the King from Oxford.

Colonel Windebank shot to death at Oxford.

Cromwel repuls'd at Farringdon.

Prince Rupert and General Goring came to Oxford and fetcht off the King.

Fairfax in Commiseration of the distress'd condition of *Taunton*, marched with his Army to the Relief of it as far as *Blandford*; but upon second thoughts he sends Colonel *Welden* with near two thousand Horse and Dragoons, and 500 Foot to *Taunton*, and returns to *Newbery*, where he receives an Express to march to *Oxford* and lay close Siege to it: In the mean time *Welden* makes haste to *Taunton*, and the Kings Forces before the Town being informed it was the whole Army, resolved to give one furious Assault, and if that took not effect, to quit the place; which was performed, and they entred the Town, and fired two Streets, but the Governour retired to the Castle, and they could not force that, wherefore they drew off, and suffered Col. *Welden* to enter the Town; but *Goring*, *Greenvil*, and *Barkley*, uniting their Forces together, did so press upon *Welden*, that they besieged him and the Town again. By this time the King had relieved *Chester*, and from thence marched to *Leicester*, and taken it by Assault, wherein were many Prisoners of Note, and good store of Arms and Ammunition, and from thence he went to *Daventry*. *Fairfax* having Intelligence as he lay at the Siege of *Oxford*, of this fortunate Progress of the King's Arms, was resolv'd to raise his Siege, and march directly towards him, with an intent to give him Battle; and in pursuance hereof, on the 5th. of *June* his Army rendezvoused at *Great Brickhill*, and from thence he marched to *Gilbrough*, within four miles of *Northampton*, and five miles of *Brough-hill*, which was one of the Quarters of the Royalists.

Fairfax lays close Siege to Oxford.

The King relieves Chester, and takes Leicester by assault.

The King hereupon drew off from *Brough-hill*, minding to march Northward to the Relief of *Pomfret*, which was again besieged; but *Fairfax* being eager to engage, sent *Ireton* with a flying Party

1645. Party of Horſe, who fell into *Naſeby* Town, and took many Priſoners, giving ſuch an Alarm to the whole Army, that the King at midnight left his own Quarters, and for Security haſtened to *Harborough*, where he raiſed Prince *Rupert*, and called a Council of War, where it was reſolved to give Battle, and becauſe *Fairfax* had been ſo forward, they would not ſtay for him, but ſeek him out, and at a place near *Naſeby* in *Northamptonſhire*, the two Armies met on *Saturday* the 14th of *June*.

The Fight at *Naſeby*. The King himſelf commanded the Main Body, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the Earl of *Lindſey*, and the Lord *Aſhley* the Right-hand Reſerve, the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George Liſle* the Left. Of the Parliaments Army, *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the Main Body, *Cromwel* the Right Wing, with whom was *Roſſiter*, who came with his Forces but a little before the Fight, and *Ireton* had the Left. The Reſerves were brought up by *Rainſborow*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*. Prince *Rupert* charged the Parliaments Left Wing, commanded by *Ireton* who made notable Reſiſtance, but at laſt was forced to give Ground, *Ireton* himſelf being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horſe ſhot under him, and himſelf taken Priſoner. For a while Prince *Rupert* follows the Chaſe almoſt to *Naſeby* Town, and in his return ſummoned the Train, who made no other Anſwer but with their Fire-locks: but in the mean time *Cromwel* charged furiouſly on the King's Left Wing, and got the better, forcing them from the Body, and proſecuding the Advantage, quite broke them and their Reſerve, during which the main Bodies had charged one another with incredible Fierceneſs, often retreating and rallying, falling in together with the But-ends of their Muskets, and coming to handy-blows with their Swords. But *Fairfax*'s Foot coming up ſeaſonably to the Horſe, and *Cromwel* coming in with his Victorious Right Wing, they all charged together upon the King's main Army, who maintain'd the Fight till over-born with freſh Numbers, and being out of Condition to diſpute it any longer, retired out of the Field toward *Leiceſter*, in the greateſt diſorder and confuſion imaginable: leaving (as Heaven would have it) a compleat Victory to the Parliamentarians, who purſued them within two miles of *Leiceſter*, and the King finding the purſuit ſo hot, leaves that Town, and haſtens to *Litchfield*. This Battle was exceeding bloody, both Armies being very couragious and numerous, nor being five hundred odds, fought in a large fallow field on the North-Weſt-Side of *Naſeby*, about a mile broad, which ſpace of ground was wholly taken up. On the Parliaments ſide were wounded and ſlain, above a thouſand Officers and private Soldiers: Major-General *Skippon* (who was an old experienced Soldier, and was ordered to draw up the Form of the Battle) fought ſtoutly that day; and although he was ſorely wounded in the beginning of the Fight, and the General deſired him to go off the Field, he anſwered he would not ſtir ſo long as a man would ſtand, and accordingly ſtayed till the Battle was ended. *Ireton* (as is ſaid before) was dangerouſly hurt, and taken Priſoner for a while, after he had done his part, but in the Confuſion of the Fight got looſe again, and ſaw the Victory atchieved. The General and Lieutenant-General performed their work with ſufficient Reſolution (had their Cauſe been as good) and by their own Examples infuſed Valour into their Followers, ſo likewiſe did the other Officers of whom divers were wounded. 1645.

The Victory obtained by the Parliamentarians. The King eſcapes to *Litchfield*.

On the other ſide, the King ſhewed himſelf that day a couragious General, keeping cloſe with his Horſe, and himſelf in Perſon rallying them to hot Encounters: the Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord *Aſhley*, Col. *Raſtol*, and others were wounded, 20 Colonels, Knights, and Officers of Note, and 600 private Soldiers ſlain: but much more was the Damage that the King ſuſtained, by what was taken, *viz.* 6 Colonels, 8 Lieutenant-Colonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, and 70 Lieutenants, 200 Enſigns, and other inferiour Officers, 4500 Common Soldiers, and many Women, 13 of the King's Houſhold Servants, 4 of his Footmen, 12 Pieces of Ordnance, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages, all their Bag and Baggage, with ſtore of rich Pillage, 3000 Horſe, the King's Standard, one of the King's Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which were after publiſhed by the Parliament, (with leſs Decency and Civility than became ſuch an Aſſembly.) Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* haſted away the ſame night to *Newark*. The next day General *Fairfax* ſent up Col. *John Fines* to *London*, with the Priſoners and Colours taken in the Fight.

The King having ſaved himſelf by flight, gathered together ſome part of his ſcattered Forces, but never was able to make head againſt the Conquerors, loſing this year one Garriſon after another, till his whole ſtrength was almoſt reduced to *Oxford*; I ſhall take notice only of ſome of the principal, namely, *Leiceſter*, *Carliſle*, *Pomfret* Caſtle, *Bridgewater*, *Scarbrough*, *Briſtol*, *Hereford*, and *Weſtcheſter*, on which ſo great a part of his Affairs did moſt eſpecially depend. Several Garriſons of the King's taken.

On the 16th. of *June*, *Fairfax* ſat down before *Leiceſter*, and ſummoned the Governour, the Lord *Haſtings*, to deliver up the Town; which he refuſing, Warrants were iſſued for the Country to bring in Ladders & other Neceſſaries for a Storm; and *Haſtings* continuing yet obſtinate, he aſſaulted it in ſeveral places, and at the *Newark* ſide, he made ſo wide a Breach, that the Governour deſired a Parly, which was granted, and thereupon a ſurrendring enſued upon very fair Terms. There were in the Town 14 Pieces of Ordnance, 30 Colours, 2000 Arms, 400 Horſe, 50 Barrels of Powder, and Ammunition proportionable, and about a week after, Sir *Thomas Glenham* Governour of *Carliſle*, having been long beſieg'd by the Parliament Forces, and deſpairing of Succours, yielded up the Town. The low condition of Col. *Wellon*, & the Town of *Taunton*, cauſed the Committee of both Kingdoms to order Gen. *Fairfax* to march thither, which he readily obeyed, but upon his approach to the Town, General *Goring* on the tenth of *July*, drew off from *Taunton*, and retreated to *Langport*. The next day *Fairfax* being at *Long-Sutton* within two miles of *Langport*, he drew out his Forces early in the morning in *Sutton* Field, *Goring* likewiſe drew forth at that time, and took a Paſs leading to *Bridgewater*, and lined the way to it with Muſqueteers; *Fairfax* ſent Major *Barbel* *Leiceſter* and *Carliſle* ſurrendred up to the Parliament.

to

1645. to force the Pass, but he was repuls'd; then *Desbrough* was sent with 200 Horse, who prest so hard upon the Royalists, that they were put to a Disorderly Retreat into *Langport*, setting one end of the Town on fire, that the Smoke thereof might hinder the Enemies Pursuit of them; but Lieutenant General *Cromwel* with some Troops prest through, and pursued them within two Miles of *Bridgwater*.

In this fight *Goring* lost about 200 of his men, who were slain, and about 1400 taken Prisoners, of which Colonel *Bretteridge*, and Colonel *Slingsby* were the Chief. On *Fairfax*'s side, Colonel *Cook*, Colonel *Butler*, and Major *Bethel* were wounded, and a Captain of *Butler*'s slain, and about 100 of the Soldiers killed and wounded.

Sir *John Digby* died of his wound at *Bridgwater*.

Sir *John Digby* who was Major-General of the Horse to *Goring*, was shot in the Elbow, and carried into *Bridgwater*, where shortly after he died of his Wound, and was very much lamented by his Party; he was about Forty five years of Age at the time of his death, and in all his Life was scarce ever heard to swear or seem angry; he had very great Courage and Conduct in Martial Affairs, and was competently learned also in many Sciences. *Goring* after he had refresht himself for some time in *Bridgwater*, marched away to the North of *Devonshire*: Sir *Thomas Fairfax* presently thereupon sits down before *Bridgwater*, and summons the Town; but being resolutely denied by Sir *Edmond Wyndham* the Governor, he stormed the lower part thereof, which is divided from the rest by a Bridge, and gain'd it, and the next day he shot hot Steel plugs into the Town, by which means, and by some Intelligence he had with the Town, most of the Houses that were thatcht were fired, whereby the Townsmen were so distracted, that they left the Works, and flung down their Arms to endeavour to save their Houses. In the midst of this Consternation, *Fairfax* sent a Trumpeter in to the Governour, whereby he acquainted him, that he purposed to Assault the Town, but in Compassion to the Women and Children therein, he offered to permit, as many of them as desired it, to go out of the Town; upon this, there was so great a Distraction in the Garrison, that the Governor was forced to yield to a Treaty; and thereupon on the 23. of *July* the Town was surrendred, upon Condition only of fair Quarter, but all except Townsmen that were in Arms, to be Prisoners at War, of which there were a thousand Officers and Soldiers, and in their Stores they found 44 Barrels of Powder, and 400 weight of Match; and in the Town 44 pieces of Ordnance, and 1500 Arms; and two days before, *Pomfret*-Castle, after three Months Siege, was delivered up to Major-General *Poines*, upon Condition, for the Officers and Soldiers, to march away with their Arms, Drums beating, and Colours flying, and Bullet in Mouth, with 6 shot of Powder, and Bullet proportionable; and on the 25th. of *July* the Castle of *Scarbrough* had the like fate, it being then Surrendred by Sir *Hugh Cholmley* the Governour, to Sir *Matthew Boynton*, who Commanded the Forces before it, upon very Honourable Conditions, amongst which it was provided, that the Governor and all his Officers, and Soldiers should have a safe Convoy to *Newark*, and from thence after six days notice, as many as desired should have a Pass to go into *Holland*, or any other Place abroad, and none were to be Plundered or forced to take up Arms against their wills, but have Passes to go Home if they desired them. They had kept this Castle so well, that at the delivery thereof, many of the Officers and Soldiers were so Sick and Weak, that they were brought out in Sheets: there were about 36 pieces of Ordnance in the Castle, besides many Armes, but very little Victual or Ammunition. 1645.

Bridgwater yielded up to *Fairfax*.

Pomfret-Castle delivered up to Gen. *Poines*.

Scarbrough-Castle surrendred to Sir *Matthew Boynton*.

Bristol comes next, a Place conveniently seated for the Trade of *Spain*, the River capable of great Ships, and the Port well guarded: At the taking of this City by the King's Forces, to such strength as before it had, there was added a Fort Royal, then conceived Impregnable. Into this City Prince *Rupert* had put himself at the present; and was besieged not long after, by General *Fairfax*, who came before it on the 25th. of *August*. The Prince made several Sallies, and did some execution upon the Enemy, but not without considerable loss to his own Party, amongst which Sir *Bernard Ashley*, and Sir *Richard Crane* died of Wounds they received in one of them.

Fairfax had Intelligence that the Works in many places were very weak and imperfect, and withal, he heard that the King did purpose to join with *Goring* to raise the Siege, but first expected that they should weary themselves so long before the Town, till he should be able to draw together a Force sufficient for such an Enterprize; upon Consideration whereof, a Council of War was called, and Resolution taken to storm the City, which was done in this order: Colonel *Fortescue* with four Regiments on *Somersetshire* side, Colonel *Montague* with the like number on both sides of *Lawford*-Gate, and Colonel *Rainsborough* on this side the River *Froom*, from the Sally-port to the Fryers-port, and other Regiments were disposed in several Stations, to second the Assailants and enter the Lines; *Fortescue* fail'd in his Attempt, but *Montague* and *Rainsborough* effected their business; and *Rainsborough* possest himself of Fryers Port, and all the other Forts, except the great Fort, were taken; the way being thus made by the Foot, the Horse entred the Town, and the Prince's Horse hastned to get themselves into the Fort-Royal, but the Parliamentarians from the Fryers-port did so Command the Gate and Entrance into the great Fort, that none could go in or out, so that the next day a Parley was had, and Articles Concluded on for the Surrender thereof; and in the Place they had above 200 pieces of Ordnance, 8000 Arms, 200 Barrels of Powder, 80 Tun of Beer, and great store of other Provisions. In the Storm, on the King's side, Major *Price*, Major *Williams*, and ten other Officers were slain, and many Soldiers, and Colonel *Taylor* Wounded. On the Parliament side, Lieutenant Colonel *Pursey*, and Captain *Hill*, and Major *Cromwel* with 30 more Officers were killed; and Major *Bethel*, Major *Gethings*, with some others of less note were wounded. The Prince on the 11th. of *September* marched out of the City with eight Lords in his Company, 500. Horse, and 1400 Foot, the Foot marched with their Muskets & other Arms; but when they came within 1645.

Bristol stormed by *Fairfax*.

20 Miles

1645. 20 Miles of *Oxford*, they were to lay them down.

Fairfax marches into the West to the Prince of *Wales.*

Briſtol being thus reduced, *Fairfax* marched into the Weſt, towards the Prince of *Wales* (who was now in the middle parts of *Devonſhire*) intending to take in *Exeter*, but there were ſo many blocks in his way, that it was a long time after, before he gained that City, as will be hereafter related.

The quick Surrendring of *Briſtol* did much trouble the King, for he thought that City, (ſo well fortified and furniſht with Victual, Arms, and Ammunition) would rather have given a turn to his Affairs, by the Ruine of the Parliament Army againſt it, than otherways; but the line being ſo very large, they had hardly Men enough to Man the Works, eſpecially being kept by frequent Alarms upon continual Duty; ſo that in the end, partly out of Wearineſs, and partly out of Diſcouragement to ſee the Parliament carry all before them, the Prince was neceſſitated to deliver it up, for the People would ſtand by him no longer. Soon after this diſaſter, Col. *Legg* was removed from his Government of *Oxford*, and Sir *Thomas Glenham* appointed in his ſtead.

Scots raiſe their Siege from *Hereford.*

Montroſs's Victory in *Kelſieth* Field near *Glaſcow.*

Hereford ſurprized by Colonel *Birch* and *Morgan.*

Hereford next followed the ſame Fortune of *Briſtol*, which having been beſieged by the *Scots* from the 13*th.* of *July* to the firſt of *September*, (at which time they were forced to draw off upon News that their help was required in their own Kingdom, where *Montroſs* was very Prevalent, having defeated an Army imployed againſt him in a Battel fought in *Kelſieth* Field near *Glaſcow*:) the Town was ſuddenly ſurprized by Colonel *Birch* and Colonel *Morgan* (the laſt then Governor of *Glouceſter*) on the 18*th.* of *Decemb.* The King a little before this time had got a ſmall Army together in *Wales*, and ſeeing *Briſtol* loſt, was very deſirous to free *Cheſter* (a City of very great Importance in thoſe parts of the Kingdom) from the Siege then before it, by Sir *Will. Brereton*, Col. *Jones*, and others; to effect which, he march'd with his Army conſiſting of about 5000 men, and moſt Horſe, to Relieve the Town; but in his march towards it, he was fought by General *Pointz*, at *Routon-Moor*, within 2 Miles of *Cheſter*, where being out-power'd with Numbers, his Army was worſted, and amongſt others, the L. *Bernard Stuart* (Brother to the Duke of *Richmond* then newly made Earl of *Lichfield*) was ſlain; he was a young Nobleman of great hopes, and therefore was his loſs very much lamented by the King; upon this Diſcomfiture, the King drew his broken Army towards the North-Eaſt, and commanded the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, to march for *Scotland*, and to join with the Marquis of *Montroſs*, who was very ſucceſsful there, and only wanted Horſe to enable him to reduce that whole Kingdom to the King's Obedience. Theſe in Obedience to their Order march'd Northward, and at a Village called *Sherborne*, they ſurprized Seven hundred of the Parliament Foot, with their Arms and Baggage; but ſtaying there for Carriages, ſome of General *Pointz* his Forces Commanded by Colonel *Copley*, Colonel *Lilborne*, and Colonel *Allured*, fell upon them, and routed them, killing and taking about a hundred Officers, three hundred common Soldiers, ſix hundred Horſe, with their Furniture, and the Lord *Digby*'s Coach and Horſes, and therein his Cabinet of Letters; but he with his Remains of his ſhatter'd Brigade, making towards *Scotland*, was a ſecond time met, upon *Carliſle* Sands, and utterly defeated, he himſelf eſcaping to the *Iſle* of *Man*, from whence he got a paſſage into *Ireland*: The King was got to *Newark* when this Misfortune hapned to the Lord *Digby*, but ſo great was the diſcontent he found there, that he was put to much trouble thereby: Sir *Richard Willis* was a little before removed from the Government of the Town, and the Lord *Bellaſis* made Governor thereof in his place: which Alteration cauſed great heats among ſeveral Noble Perſons, as they ſtood ſeverally affected to either Party; inſomuch that indecencies of Language and Behaviour, paſſed even in the King's Preſence; and the feud, in all probability, had proceeded further, if His Majeſty had not interpoſed with his Royal Authority to compoſe it. But all this was not yet ſufficient to extinguiſh the Animoſities which were contracted upon this Diſpute; although for the preſent they were ſo far pacified and allayed, as not openly to break out into any notorious Act of Violence or Miſchief. This matter hath been reported ſeveral ways, and all with ſo great uncertainty, that I have rather choſen to deliver the truth in Generals, than to run the hazard of a miſtake in a more particular Relation. In the cloſe of this Affair, the two Princes, *Gerard*, the Lord *Hawley*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, with ſome others of their Friends, retired to *Norton-Houſe*, Fourteen Miles from *Newark*, from whence they ſent to the Parliament for a Paſs to tranſport them out of the Kingdom, and obtained it.

Routon-Moor Battel, wherein His Majeſties Army was worſted, and the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, Earl of *Lichfield*, ſlain.

Lord *Digby* defeated at *Sherborne* in *Yorkſhire*, and himſelf compelled to flie into *Ireland.*

1645.

The King comes to *Newark.*

Sir *Richard Willis* removed, and the Lord *Bellaſis* made Governor of *Newark.*

The two Princes, *Gerard*, Lord *Hawley*, and *Willis*, depart the Kingdom.

Theſe Traverſes were accompanied with unwelcome Intelligence from moſt places; for about this time, the King received the ill News of the taking from him of *Baſing-Houſe* by Storm, (the Defendants not having a ſufficient number to man their Works) and therein the Marquis of *Wincheſter* (who had long and gallantly defended his Houſe) taken Priſoner, with about two hundred others, and about a hundred were ſlain in the Defence of the Place: and as one Misfortune is commonly followed by another, he had Notice about the ſame time of the loſs of *Shelford-Houſe* taken by Storm, wherein the Governour, Colonel *Stanhop*, a Son of the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and near two hundred more, were kill'd after the Houſe was entred.

Baſing-houſe taken by ſtorm, and in it the Marquis of *Wincheſter.* *Shelford-houſe* taken by ſtorm, and Colonel *Stanhop*, with many others ſlain.

Newark, at this time, became ſo In-ſecure, that the King thought it inconvenient to continue longer therein, and, therefore with a Guard of Three hundred Horſe, he got ſafe to *Oxford* on the third of *November*, and thither the Princes *Rupert*, and *Maurice*, came to him from *Worceſter*, after a ſerious Reflection upon themſelves for their Miſcarriages towards him, and were perfectly reconciled to his Favour.

The King leaves *Newark*, and comes ſafe to *Oxford*, whither the two Princes came to him and regain his favour.

The King's Forces, in moſt parts, became very much leſſen'd, and though by the endeavours of the Queen, and ſome of his Miniſters abroad, foreign Aid was promiſed him againſt the next Summer, yet the King, in Affection to his people, was rather inclined to try all other ways, than accept of thoſe Succours, and to that purpoſe, from the 15*th.* of *December* to the 22*d.* of *March* following, he ſent Nine or Ten Meſſages to the Parlia-

1644. Parliament with Offers of Peace, and for the better accompliſhment thereof, he propoſed to have a perſonal Treaty with them, but they would not conſent to any other Terms of Accommodation, than to have all their Demands drawn up into Bills, to be preſented to him for his Aſſent; yet in the mean time the King omitted not to uſe all ways in his Power to relieve his Garriſons, and the Prince of *Wales* in the Weſt was very active: but the ſpirits of Men became ſo much depreſſed by the vigorous Progreſs of the Parliament's Troops, that nothing ſucceeded.

The King ſends Offers of Peace to the Parliament, but they would not hear of commodation.

Dartmouth ſurrendered to *Fairfax.*

The Siege of *Plymouth* was raiſed by *Fairfax*, and two days after, *Dartmouth* was ſurrendered to him by Sir *Hugh Pollard*, the Governour thereof, and from thence he marched to *Exeter*, and ſummon'd it, and there he left Sir *Hardreſs Waller* to block up the City, whilſt himſelf with the reſt of his Forces went to find out the Prince his Army, then Commanded by the Lord *Hopton*; he himſelf being gone into *Cornwal* to raiſe the Trained-Bands, and what other Soldiers he could, to ſtrengthen his Troops. Whilſt theſe things were acting in the Weſt, the King at *Oxford* was again intent upon the Relief of *Cheſter*, and for that Service ſeveral Forces were by Sir *William Vaughan* drawn out of the Garriſons of *Hereford*, *Ludlow*, *Worceſter*, and *Bridgenorth*, who with Seven hundred Horſe, and Seven hundred Foot, advanced to its Relief; but the Enemy drawing out a Party of a Thouſand four hundred Horſe, and a Thouſand Foot, encountred, and utterly Routed him, ſo that after this Attempt, all hopes of Relief failing, on the ſame day the City was Delivered up to Sir *William Brereton* upon theſe Conditions, *viz.* That the Lord *Byron* and all Noblemen, Commanders, and Officers and Soldiers, ſhould depart the Town in all their Apparel whatſoever; The Lord *Byron* with Horſe and Arms, and ten men alike accompliſhed to attend him; his Lady, and Servants, with Coaches, in each four Horſes, with ſuch other Ladies and Gentlewomen as he thought fit, and with his Books, Evidences and Writings in his poſſeſſion: but all of them with not above Forty pounds in Money, and Twenty pound in Plate; the reſt of the Noblemen with their Ladies anſwerable to their Honour, with not above Thirty pounds in Mony, and ſo every one in their degrees to be common Soldiers, who were to march away with 20 *s.* each. Nor were the Conditions for the Citizens leſs reaſonable, which were the eaſier condeſcended to, by Sir *William Brereton*, though he knew their diſtreſs; becauſe of the deſire he had not to ruine the City, the chief of his County, and of which he hoped to be Governour.

The King's Forces ſent to the Relief of *Cheſter*, routed; and the City delivered up to Sir *William Brereton.*

Belvoir Caſtle ſurrendered to the Parliament.

And on the ſame day *Belvoir* Caſtle was by Sir *Gervaſe Lucas* ſurrendered to General *Poins*, upon Conditions, and the Governour and his Lady, with the Officers and Soldiers, were with a Convoy, conducted to *Litchfield*. At *Torrington* in *Devonſhire*, *Fairfax* found the Lord *Hopton* with his Army; which he reſolved to engage; *Hopton* having the leſſer Number, drew up his Men into ſeveral cloſes, and *Fairfax* preſſed upon him very hard, but a great part of the time was ſpent in Skirmiſhes by ſeveral Parties, till both retired; at length the Forlorn Hopes of both Armies engaged; that of the Parliaments, with its Reſerve, was at firſt beaten back to the main Body of their Army, but that advancing, the Fight began about eight a clock at night, nigh the Town, to which the Royaliſts retreated, and there they maintained the Charge ſo reſolutely, that had not *Fairfax*'s Soldiers been heartened with freſh Supplies, they had given it utterly over: but the other overpowered by their freſh Numbers, gave back, whereby the Enemy gained the Town; which being entred into, the Magazine in the great Church was fired by a Train, and deſtroyed *Fairfax* more Men than he had loſt in the Battel; for there was no leſs than eighty Barrels of Powder; upon the firing of the Magazine, Sir *John Digby* took Advantage of the Enemies Amazement, and gave them a reſolute Charge, in which he did ſome Execution, and ſo fell off, and marched with the reſt of the Forces into *Cornwal*; whither *Fairfax* followed with ſo much ſpeed, that he compell'd the Royaliſts in diſorder to quit *Launceſton*; whereupon the Prince of *Wales* marched away towards *Pendennis* Caſtle, accompanied with the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Culpepper*, and Sir *Edward Hide*, and took ſhipping there on the firſt of *March*, and arrived ſafe at *Scilly*; the Lord *Hopton* ſoon after finding it in vain to make reſiſtance with his broken Army, being ſummoned by *Fairfax* to diſband, conſented to it upon very honourable Conditions: but having experienc'd how ill Articles had been obſerved, and being likewiſe ſenſible of the ill effects of the King's gracious Propoſals for Peace, he choſe rather than to go to *Oxford* (whither by Articles he might have been conveyed by fifty of his own, and fifty of the Parliament's Horſe) to tranſport himſelf to *France*.

1645.

The Lord *Hopton* beaten, and *Torrington* taken by *Fairfax.*

Launceſton quitted by the King.

The Prince of *Wales* takes ſhipping, and arrives at *Scilly.*

Lord *Hopton* accepted of conditions for diſbanding his Army, and tranſports himſelf to *France.*

After the diſbanding of theſe Forces, all the King's Garriſons and Forts in *Cornwal* yielded, except *Pendennis* Caſtle, and St. *Michael*'s *Mount*, and General *Fairfax* return'd to the Siege of *Exeter*.

All theſe miſchances thus hapning on the neck of one another, all the King's hopes and expectation reſted upon the coming of Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, (created Lord *Aſtley* of *Redding* two years ſince;) who having kept together ſome Remainders of the King's Forces ſince the Fight near *Cheſter*, and increaſing them with the Acceſſion of ſome freſh Supplies, marched towards the King, and was to have been met upon the way by Sir *John Campſfield*, with the *Oxford* Horſe. But either through the want of Intelligence, or the neceſſity of Fate, or ſome occaſional Delays, it was ſo long before *Campſfield* was upon his march, that the News came of the Lord *Aſtley*'s being vanquiſhed by Colonel *Morgan* at a place called *Donnington*, near *Stow* on the *Wold*, on the 21*th.* of *March*; in which Fight himſelf was taken Priſoner, and with him all the King's hopes were loſt of preſerving *Oxford*, till he could better his Condition.

Lord *Aſtley* defeated near *Stow.*

The King having often ſent to the Parliament (as hath been ſaid) to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, offering to come to *Weſtminſter* in Perſon, had on the 30*th.* of *March* a meſſage from the Parliament, wherein they told him, That it would be unſafe for him or them to return to *Weſtminſter*, until he had aſſented to the Propoſitions

1646. ons which they were framing, &c. And to prevent his coming to *London* without their Knowledge and Consent, they Voted, That if the King should come, or attempt to come within the Lines of Communication; that then the Committee of the Militia of *London* should have Power, and were thereby Enjoyned to apprehend and secure such as should come with him, to prevent Resort unto him, and to secure his Person.

The Parliament Vote against the King's coming to *London* in order to a Treaty.

Exeter was at this time so much distress'd, and without possibility of Relief, that the City was on the 13*th.* of *April* surrendred to *Fairfax* upon very good Conditions; Sir *John Berkley* the Governour was to march out with his Soldiers, both Cornish and others, in the height of Honour, with Drums beating, Colours flying, Bullet in Mouth, Matches lighted, &c. The first into their Country, and the others to *Oxford*, The Princess *Henrietta* youngest Daughter to the King, (who ever since her Birth had continued in this City, under the care of the Lady *Dalkeith*) was sent up to *London*, there to be disposed of by the Parliament, till soon after she was by her Governess conveyed privately to her Mother in *France*. To the Fortune of *Exeter*, *Barnstable* Town and Fort, St. *Michael's Mount*, *Dunston* Castle, *Woodstock*, and many others Garrisons, soon after submitted; so that *Fairfax* his Victorious Army, having cleared the West, was now resolved to march up to a close Beleaguering of *Oxford*, (which had, some time before, been extremely straitned by the continual Alarms of *Fleetwood* and *Rainsborough*) which made the King begin to think of some way for his safety; and at last on the 27*th.* of *April*, the King, disguised, departed out of *Oxford*, accompanied only with Mr. *Hudson* a Minister, and Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and few or none else were acquainted with his Design; so that though many knew that he was gone, yet various were the Opinions whither; some said to *Wales*, others to *Montross* in *Scotland*; but the most general Opinion was, that he was come up and lay in *London* concealed: to discover which, the Parliament passed an Order, *That whatsoever Person should Harbour or Conceal, or know of the Harbouring or Concealing of the King's Person, and should not immediately reveal it to the Speakers of both Houses, shall be Proceeded against as a Traitor to the Common-wealth, Forfeit his whole Estate, and dye without Mercy.* But contrary to all mens Expectations, he is at length heard of at the *Scots* Camp before *Newark*; many wonder'd how he durst trust his Person with them; but the Parliament having notice of it, immediately Order'd that the Commissioners, and the General of the *Scottish* Army should be desired, *That His Majesties Person might be disposed of, as the Two Houses should desire and direct, and that he be thence disposed of, and sent to* Warwick *Castle*, and, *That* John Ashburnham *and the rest that came with him into the* Scots *Quarters, should be sent for, as Delinquents, by the Sergeants at Arms, and that the Commissioners of the Parliament, Residing before* Newark, *should make a Narrative of the King's coming thither, and present it to the House*: But these Votes were scarce past, when came a Letter from the General and Commissioners of the *Scottish* Army to the Committee of both Kingdoms, to be Communicated to the Parliament, acquainting them, *That the earnest desire they had to keep a right Understanding between the two Kingdoms, moved them to acquaint them with that strange Providence wherewith they were surprized, together with their Carriage and Desires thereupon; That the King came yesterday into their Army in so private a way, that after they had made some search for him upon the surmises of some Persons, who pretended to know his Face, yet they could not find him in sundry Houses; That they believed their Lordships would think it was matter of much Astonishment to them, seeing they did not expect him to come into any Place under their Power; They conceived it not fit to inquire into the Causes, but to endeavour that his being there might be improved for procuring the Work of Uniformity, for setling Religion, and attaining of Peace according to the League and Covenant, and Treaty, by the Advice of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and their Commissioners Authorized for that effect; That trusting to their Integrity, they were perswaded that none would so far misconstrue them, as that they intended to make use of this seeming Advantage, for promoting any other ends than were expressed in the Covenant, and had hitherto been pursued by them with no less Conscience than care; That for further Satisfaction they did ingenuously declare, That there had been no Treaty nor Capitulation betwixt His Majesty and them, nor any in their Names; but that they left their ways and means of Peace to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and so far as concerned them, as they had a witness in Heaven, they were confident to make it appear, that there was nothing more in their desires than in all their Resolutions and Proceedings to adhere to the Covenant and Treaty; That their greatest thoughts should be taken up in studying, and their utmost Abilities imployed in Acting those things which most advanced the publick Good and common Happiness of both Kingdoms; wherein, by the help of God, they should labour to use so much Tenderness and Care, that they hope it shall soon appear, their Actions were the Result of honest and single Intentions; That they could not, in a matter of so deep Consequence and common Interest, but seek their Lordships Advice; for which Effect they had also written to the Committee of Affairs in* Scotland, *with Intentions to move Joint Consents and Resolutions, that after a seed time of Afflictions, we might reap the sweet Fruits of Truth and Peace.*

Exeter surrendred to *Fairfax*.

The Princess *Henrietta* conveyed privately to her Mother in *France*, *Barnstable*, *Woodstock*, with many other Garrisons, submit to the Parliament.

Oxford besieged again by *Fairfax*.

The King disguised, leaves *Oxford*.

The Parliaments Order against his Concealment.

The King comes to the *Scots* Camp before *Newark*.

The Parliament sues to the *Scots* for the disposal of the King's Person.

The *Scots* General and Commissioners Letters to the Parliament.

This was the Account given by *Leven* the General, and the Commissioners in the Army to the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Westminster*. In the mean time, the Garrison of *Newark* (which had been for a long time Valiantly defended by the Lord *Bellasis* both against the *Scots* and *English* Forces, and had made many fortunate Sallies upon the Besiegers) was upon the 4*th.* of *May*, the day before the King came into the *Scotch* Camp, entred upon a Treaty, and on the 9*th.* was agreed to be surrender'd upon Condition, *That the Garrison, with all the Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition, should be delivered up to the Commissioners for the Parliament of* England; *That the Lord* Bellasis *Governour, with all Officers, Gentlemen, and Clergy, to march away with their Horses and Swords unto any Garrison of the King's not besieged, or to their own Houses; the Soldiers to have Staves in their hands, and their own goods, and all of them*

Newark surrendered.

1646.

1646. them to have three Months time to make their Peace with the Parliament; or that failing, to be allowed Paſſes to go beyond Sea. About this time alſo was *Banbury* Caſtle ſurrendred, and not long after *Carnarvon* Town and Caſtle were delivered up upon Articles by the Lord *Byron*, and the *Scots* having conveyed the King from *Southwel* to *Newcaſtle*, for the more ſure poſſeſſion of him; he on the 10th. of *June*, by their advice publiſhed a direction to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Sir *Thomas Tilſely*, Col. *Waſhington*, and Col *Blague*, Governours of *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, *Litchfield*, and *Wallingford*, and to all other Commanders of any Towns, Caſtles or Forts within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, giving them an account of his Reſolutions to comply with the Deſigns of his Parliament in every thing that might be for the good of his Subjects, and leave no means unattempted for the removing of Differences betwixt them; and the more to evidence the reality of his Intentions therein, he required them upon Honourable Conditions to quit the Towns and Forts intruſted to them, and to disband all the Forces under their ſeveral Commands; which ſome of them however demurr'd upon, in regard of his Majeſty's reſtraint: But before notice hereof came to *Oxford*, the Governour and Lords there had come to a Treaty, to begin at *Heddington* the 17th. of *May*, between Sir *John Mounſon*, Sir *John Heydon*, Sir *Thomas Gardner*, Sir *George Binion*, Sir *Richard Willis*, Sir *Stephen Hawkins*, Colonel *Goſvell*, Col. *Tillier*, Dr. *Zouch Thomas Chichely*, *John Dutton*, *Geoffry Palmer*, and *Robert Mead*, Eſquires, for the Beſieged; and Lieutenant-General *Hammond*, Commiſſary-General *Ireton*, Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Rich*, Scout-Maſter-General *Watſon*, Major *Desborough*, Major *Harriſon*, Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr. *Waller*, for the Parliament. And after a tedious Treaty continued to the 25th. of *June*, without any Ceſſation of Arms, it was delivered upon Conditions Sufficiently Honourable, had they been as honourably perform'd; The whole Number of the Garriſon was ſuppoſed to amount to 7000 Soldiers and Scholars in pay, who all marched out; but many of the Nobility and Gentry had leave to carry for Paſſes; the Chief of whom were the Duke of *York*, the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Hertford* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Cottington*, *Dunſmore*, Secretary *Nicholas*, and others. The Duke of *York* was conveyed to *London*, and at S. *James*'s committed with the reſt of the Royal Children to the Tuition and Care of the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Lady. The two Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* had Paſſes granted them to go beyond Sea; but before their departure, by the Parliament's Leave, they had a Viſit made to them by their Brother the Prince Elector.

Banbury and *Carnarvon* Town and Caſtle ſurrendred.

The *Scots* convey the King to *Newcaſtle*.

The King ſends directions to his Commanders to quit their Towns and Forts, and to diſband their Forces.

Oxford delivered up to the Parliament.

The Duke of *York*, with the reſt of the King's Children, committed to the Care of the Earl of *Northumberland*.

Two days after the Surrender, all the Seals of Eſtate were ſent up from the General to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, to wit, the Great Seal of *England*, carried by the Lord Keeper *Littleton* to the King in the year 1642. The Privy-Seal, Signet, King's-Bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Admiralty, and Navy Seals, together with the Sword; the Seals were immediately voted to be broken in pieces, which was accordingly performed by a Smith in the Houſe of Lords, the Commons ſtanding by, and the broken Silver given in reward to the two Speakers; but the Sword was laid up ſafe in the Wardrobe. All other Garriſons were ſoon after ſurrendred according to the King's Order; *Ragland* Caſtle was one of the laſt held out in *England* or *Wales*, which the Old Marquis of *Worceſter*, a Man of Fourſcore and four years of Age, delivered up on very good Conditions, when the King had neither Field Army, nor ſcarce a Garriſon beſides it in *England*.

All the Seals of Eſtate broken in the Lord's Houſe.

1646.

Ragland Caſtle ſurrendred.

The King's Children were not long kept together under that Reſtraint the Parliament put upon them, the Princeſs *Henrietta* being in a ſhort time after conveyed into *France* by the Lady *Dalkeith*, and the Duke of *York* after, as will be related hereafter.

The *Scots* deſirous to haſte home in ſafety with that Spoil and Plunder which they had gotten in their marching and re-marching betwixt *Tweed* and *Hereford*, were impatient at the Caution of the King's Governours (as aforeſaid,) and therefore preſt his Majeſty to reiterate his Orders; but that which they moſt earneſtly importuned, was, That the Marquis of *Montroſs* ſhould lay down his Commiſſion, who having twice beaten the Marquis of *Argyle* out of the Field, followed him home, and waſted his Country with Fire and Sword: And having vanquiſhed *Baily*, one of the beſt Soldiers of the Faction (commanding over a well formed Army) in a ſet Battle fought between them; and followed his Blow ſo well, that he made himſelf Maſter of the City and Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, releaſing divers of his Friends who had been ſeized and impriſoned there when he firſt took up Arms, was at laſt (for want of Supplies) totally overthrown by *Leſley*, with 6000 Men out of *England*. And yet about this time he was beginning to make head again, and in a hopeful way of proceeding, till he received his Majeſties Command to Diſband; which he immediately did, and took Shiping, and put himſelf into a voluntary Exile.

Montroſs's Army broken by *Leſley*.

Montroſs diſbands by the King's Command

Whilſt the King was at *Southwel* he had written to the Parliament for a Treaty, which after many Debates, was ſo far complied with, as to ſend Propoſitions to him by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, Mr. *Godwin*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Hippeſley*, and Mr. *Robinſon*; but they were ſo high both in Relation to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and tending to the change of Religion eſtabliſhed, that he could not conſent to them; but to give them ſome Satisfaction therein, on the firſt of *Auguſt* the following Meſſage was ſent to them.

C. R.

The Propoſitions tendered to His Majeſty by the Commiſſioners, &c. (*to which the Houſes of Parliament have taken twice ſo many Months for Deliberation, as they have aſſigned Days for His Majeſty's Anſwer*) *do import ſo great Alterations of Government both in Church and State, as it is very difficult to return a particular and poſitive Anſwer, before a full Debate, wherein thoſe Propoſitions and the neceſſary Explanations, true Sence and Reaſons thereof, be rightly weighed and underſtood; and that His Majeſty upon the full view of the whole Propoſitions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away or changed. In all which he finds* (upon diſcourſe with the ſaid Commiſſioners) *that they are ſo bound up from any Capacity, either to give Reaſons for the Demands they bring, or to give ear to ſuch Deſires as His Majeſty*

The King's Meſſage to the Parliament.

1646. *is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a present Judgment of, and answer to these Propositions, whereby he can answer to God, that a safe and well-grounded Peace will ensue (which is evident to all the World can never be, unless the just Power of the Crown, as well as the Freedom and Propriety of the Subject, with the just Liberty and Priviledges of the Parliament, be likewise settled) to which end His Majesty desires and proposes to come to* London, *or any of his Houses thereabouts upon the Publick Faith, and Security of the Two Houses of Parliament, and the* Scots *Commissioners, that he shall be there with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, where by his Personal Presence he may not only raise a mutual Confidence between him and his People, but also have these Doubts cleared, and these Difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be destructive to his Just Legal Power, if he should give a full Consent to these Propositions as they now stand. As likewise that he may make known to them such his reasonable Demands, as he is most assured will be very much conducible to that Peace which all good men desire and pray for, by the setling of Religion, the just Priviledges of Parliament, with the Freedom and Propriety of the Subject. And His Majesty assures them, that as he can never condescend unto what is absolutely Destructive unto that Just Power, which by the Laws of God and the Land he is Born unto, so he will chearfully Grant and give his Assent unto all such Bills on the desire of his Two Houses, or reasonable Demands from* Scotland, *which shall be really for the Good and Peace of his People, not having regard to his own Particulars, (much less any bodies else) in respect of the Happiness of these Kingdoms: Wherefore His Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as Men, who desire to leave a good Name behind them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all Issues of Blood may be stopped, and these unhappy Distractions peaceably setled; and upon assurance of an Agreement, His Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son, absolutely expecting his perfect Obedience to return to this Kingdom.*

His second Speech at a Conference. Oct. 6. 1646.

This Message did not prevail, and there pass'd many Debates about disposing of His Majesty's Person. *If any such Course shall be taken* (says Lowdon) *or any Demand made for Rendering of his Person, which cannot stand with his Honour, and Safety; or which cannot consist with our Duty, Allegiance, and Covenant, nor with the Honour of that Army to whom (in time of his extream Danger) he had his recourse for Safety; it cannot be expected that we can be capable of so base an Act.* And again, *if it be contrary* (say the *Scotch* Commissioners) *to the Law, and Common Practice of Nations, to deliver up the meanest Subject fled to them, though it be for the greatest Crimes; how much more would the World abroad condemn our Army for a Base, Dishonourable Act, if they should delever up their Head and Soveraign, (having cast himself into their hands) to be disposed of at the Arbitrament of another Nation.*

Answer to the Vote of Sept. 24. 1646.

But alas! these Difficulties only stuck till the Summ was agreed upon, and then they Delivered him up, not only foreknowing, but foretelling the Consequences of that Action. *If your Majesty* (which God forbid) *shall refuse* (says the Chancellor) *to Assent to the Propositions, you will lose all your Friends; lose the City; and all the Country; and all* England *will joyn against you as one man: and (when all hope of Reconciliation is past) it is to be feared they will Process, and Depose you, and set up another Government.* The Propositions that then stood in Competition with the King's Freedom, Life, and Dignity, and the Honour of the *Scottish* Covenanters, were to this following Effect: 1646.

First, For His Majesty to Justifie and Confirm the Proceedings of Parliament.

2. *To Settle the Militia of* England, *and* Ireland, *in the Hands of the Parliament for Twenty years, giving them Power to Raise Men and Moneys, &c.*

3. *To Swear, and Sign the Covenant, and Command the taking of it throughout the Three Kingdoms, Abolishing* Episcopacy, *and Setling Religion as both Houses shall agree.*

4. *That all Honours since* 1642. *be made Null and Void, and that no Peers be admitted for the future to Sit and Vote in Parliament, but by Consent of the Two Houses.*

5. *That all great Places, and Offices of Honour in* England *and* Ireland, *be disposed of by consent of Parliament.*

Upon his Majesty's Refusal to Sign these Propositions, the *Scots* declared, That *there would be a joynt Course taken by both Kingdoms concerning the Disposal of his Person*; (And a little after) *with Respect had to the Safety and Preservation of His Royal Person, in the Preservation and Defence of the True Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, according to the Covenant*, Explaining themselves afterwards, upon a Debate at *Edenburgh*, That the *Clause in the Covenant for Defence of the* King's Person *is to be understood, in Defence and Safety of the Kingdoms*; by which Construction it appears, that they knew what would become of the King before they parted with him. Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* Jan. 16. 1646.

But before the *Scots* entred upon this Treaty about the Person of the King, they had agreed with the Parliament upon Terms for their Marching out of *England*, by which Agreement they were to have two hundred thousand pounds paid in present, upon their Delivery of *Berwick*, *Carlisle* and *Newcastle* to the Parliament of *England*, and two hundred thousand more secured to them upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom.

The first payment of this Money was made at *Newcastle*, according to the Compact, and thereupon they delivered the King to the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, the Lord *Montague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Cook*, Mr. *Crew*, and Major-General *Brown*, who were Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to receive him, and with these on the 8th. of *February*, the King set forward towards his House at *Holdenby* in *Northamptonshire*, where he arrived on the 16th. of the same Month; The *Scots* two days before the King's departure, marched from *Newcastle*, which was possest by a Garrison of *English*, and a few days after, they also put *Berwick* and *Carlisle* into the Parliaments Hands, and Marched quietly home to *Scotland*. The King at *Holdenby* was kept so close, that none of his domestick Servants that had attended him since he left *London*, nor any of his Chaplains were suffered to have access unto him; nor so much as a Common-Prayer-Book allowed him for The *Scots* deliver up the King into the power of the Parliament. The King close Prisoner at *Holdenby-House*.

1646. for his private Uſe. And the Parliament having now the King in their poſſeſſion, and all his Armies and Garriſons ſubdued by their Forces, they began to be much divided amongſt themſelves under the Names of Presbyterians and Independents.

Presbyterians deſcribed. The firſt whereof who were the major part in both Houſes, were thoſe who in compliance with the *Scots*, thought themſelves obliged by the Covenant to ſet up the Presbyterian Diſcipline of *Geneva*, as it was exerciſed in *Scotland*, under the Government of Congregational, Claſſical, Provincial and National Aſſemblies, (to whom the City of *London* very much adhered) but the others diſliked that ſort of Government, as too rigorous, imperious and concluſive, holding that Churches ſhould not be ſubordinate, as Parochial to Provincial, and Provincial to National, but co-ordinate, without Superiority; and from hence they were called Independents: whereof the firſt eminent Appearance was in the Aſſembly of Divines, which met in the year 1643. at *Weſtminſter*, to conſult about matters of Religion; for the major part of theſe being Presbyterians, were in conſideration of a Directory and Model of that Government to be propoſed to the Parliament, when five of their Members, *viz. Thomas Goodwin*, *Philip Nye*, *Sidrach Simpſon*, *Jeremiah Burroughs*, and *William Bridge*, made ſome oppoſition, and deſired Toleration to be indulged to them, that they might not be concluded by the Votes of the Aſſembly; but the reſt of the Members oppoſed their Toleration, and ſome moved their ejection out of the Aſſembly, except in convenient time they would comply therewith: whereupon the Diſſenters appealed from the Aſſembly, and preſented an Apologetical Narrative to the Parliament, wherein they petitioned for ſome favour to them, whoſe Conſciences could not join with the Aſſembly in all Particulars; concluding, That they purſued no other Intereſt or Deſign, but a Subſiſtance in their own Land, as not knowing where elſe with ſafety, health, and livelyhood to ſet their feet on Earth.

The firſt riſe of Independants.

An Aſſembly of Divines ſit at Weſtminſter

Upon this Petition, they found ſuch Favour, that they were ſecured from further Trouble; and from this Beginning they grew to ſo great an Increaſe, that they had the beſt Preferments left in the Church, and opened and ſhut the door of Preferment to others.

Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, and Commiſſary General *Ireton*, and the greateſt part of the Army, conſiſting now of men of ſeveral Sects of Religion, did much favour theſe Independents, who to ingratiate themſelves with them (though in their Confeſſion of Faith and Doctrine they wholly agreed with the Presbyterian) held out a Liberty of Conſcience to all other Sects in the Profeſſion of their Faith and Exerciſe of their Religion.

1647. This Inclination of the Army to the Independents, made the Presbyterians, who were the major part of the Parliament, very watchful over their Actions, and obſerving that the Army at their Courts of War laid hold on all pretences of Scandals and Crimes to diſband and caſhier Presbyterians, that Independents might be put in their places, reſolved to diſband all of them except five thouſand Horſe, a thouſand Dragoons, and five Companies of Fire-locks, for which they wanted

The Army reſolve to Diſband the Presbyterians.

not a good pretence, that the People might be eas'd thereby of a great part of the Taxes impos'd upon them for their maintenance, & that ſome of them might be ſent into *Ireland*, where there was a want of *Engliſh* Soldiers. And for this purpoſe, they borrowed Two hundred thouſand pounds of the City of *London*. The head Quarters of the Army was at St. *Edmunds-bury* in *Suffolk*, when theſe matters were debated in Parliament; but, by the Intelligence they kept at *Weſtminſter*, nothing thereof was concealed from them, and by the Independent Party in the Houſe (as it was commonly ſaid) they were ſo practiſed on, that they were reſolv'd not to diſband; yet when ſomething of this was ſuggeſted in the Houſe of Commons, *Cromwel* with his hand upon his breaſt, ſaid, *In the preſence of God before whom he ſtood, that he knew the Army would diſband and lay down their Arms at their Doors whenſoever they ſhould command them.* Upon this Aſſertion, Orders of both Houſes for diſbanding were ſent to the Army, with Inſtructions for determining the Accompts of the Soldiers; but inſtead of Obedience to theſe Orders, a Council of Officers met at St. *Edmunds-bury* to conſider thereof, began to debate of the matter with much Diſſatisfaction, and two Soldiers out of each of ſixteen Regiments of Horſe and Foot, as Agitators or Agents of their reſpective Regiments, were allowed to meet alſo in a kind of Council on the ſame Buſineſs, and both of theſe Aſſemblies agreed upon the ſame things in ſubſtance, namely, againſt diſbanding; and in a Petition to the General, they deſired the Army might be ſpeedily drawn to a Rendezvous, and that he would uſe his utmoſt to endeavour that it be not diſbanded till publick Grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and all ſuch Perſons called to account who had been Intenders, Contrivers, or Promoters of their Deſtructions, (for ſo they termed thoſe of the Parliament that voted them to be diſbanded.) Theſe Requeſts of the Officers and Soldiers produced a General Rendezvous of the Army at *Newmarket* on the fourth of *June*, and the Agitators the day before privately ſent Cornet *Joyce* with a Party of Soldiers to ſeize on the King (as will be mentioned hereafter) and at this Rendezvous they aſſociated themſelves together, as a kind of diſtinct Body from the reſt of the Kingdom, and ſubſcribed a ſolemn Engagement of their Reſolution, wherein they to this purpoſe expreſſed themſelves, *viz.*

1647.

Agitators of the Army choſen

The Army's Engagement.

We, the Officers and Soldiers of the Army ſubſcribing hereunto, do hereby declare, agree, and promiſe to, and with each other, that we ſhall not willingly diſband or divide, nor ſuffer our ſelves to be diſbanded or divided, untill we have Security, that we as private men, as other the free born People of England, *ſhall not remain ſubject to the like Oppreſſions and Injuries as have been attempted, and ſhall have ſuch ſatisfaction and ſecurity as ſhall be agreed upon by a Council to conſiſt of thoſe General Officers of the Army, who have concurred with the Army in this Reſolution* (for many moderate men upon theſe Diſcontents left them) *with two Commiſſion Officers and two Soldiers for each Regiment, of ſuch likewiſe as Subſcribed to this Agreement.* But whilſt theſe Contrivances were acted at the Head Quarters, there was a large Petition framed in the County of *Eſſex* againſt the Army:

1647. Army: Upon this *Cromwel* goes to *Walden*, where the head Quarters of the Army then was, on pretence of quieting the Distempers thereof, but nothing was effected; and in the Month of *May* they presented a Petition to their General, wherein they desired to be satisfied, not only for their Pay as Soldiers, but that a Provision might be made for their Indempnity, and several other things relating to publick Settlement; of which Petition great complaint was made by the Presbyterians; yet they rested not here, but were very active in framing another to be presented to the Parliament. But the Parliament shewed their high dislike of that Petition, and their approbation and esteem of their good Service who first discovered it: but declared, if the Subscribers would forbear to proceed any further therein, they should be retained in the Parliaments good Opinion, and that those who shall continue in the present Distempers shall be proceeded against as Enemies to the State.

The King brought from *Holdenby* to the Army by Cornet *Joyce*.

These and some other Alterations wrought at last so far, that on the 4th of *June*, a Party of Soldiers commanded by Cornet *Joyce*, came somewhat late to *Holdenby*, and desired to speak with the King, which being granted, he told him, he was come by Command of the Army to remove him from that place; and so the next day after Dinner he carried him towards the Army. But on the 6th. of *June*, the General sent a Letter to the Parliament, pretending that he knew nothing of the Party that attended the King, professing that his Remove was without his Consent, or his Officers about him, but the Party that did it, told him that the reason thereof, was from an apprehension of some Strength gathered to take him away, thereby to make a new War, the Plot and Plotters whereof, they were able to prove when called thereunto: When this was known, it was ordered by both Houses of Parliament,

1. *That the King should reside at* Richmond.
2. *That he should be attended by the same Persons that he was at* Holdenby.
3. *That* Rossiter's *Regiment should guard him.*

The Army's Representation to the Parliament.

But the Army, instead of complying herewith, sent a Representation to the Parliament, wherein they proposed,

That the two Houses might be speedily purged of such as ought not to sit there.

That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and endangered the Kingdom, might be speedily disabled from doing the like or worse.

That some determinate period of time might be set to this and future Parliaments, according to the Act for Triennial Parliaments.

That provision might be for succeeding Parliaments not to be adjournable or dissolvable by any power, but by their own consent during their respective period, and then to determine themselves.

That the freedom of the People to present Grievances by Petition to Parliament may be vindicated.

That the exorbitant power of Country Committees may be taken away.

That the Kingdom may be satisfied in the Parliaments Accompts for their vast Summs received, and also in divers other things wherein the Commonwealth have been long abused.

That after such Delinquents as have been of the King's Party have compounded for their Delinquencies, and paid their Compositions, an Act of Oblivion may be passed. 1647.

And immediately after this Representation, there was brought to the Parliament from the General and his Council of Officers, an Impeachment against Eleven Members of the House of Commons, (*viz.*) *Denzil Holles* Esq; Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major-General *Massey*, Mr. *Glyn* Recorder of *London*, *Anthony Nicols* Esq; Colonel *Edward Harley*, and Colonel *Walter Long*, for things done for the most part in the House, whereof one of the chief was, *That by their power in the House, they caused the Ordinance for disbanding the Army to pass.* The impeached Members declared themselves ready to answer any Crime that could be objected against them; but the Officers of the Army requested that they might be forthwith suspended from any longer sitting and acting as Members: but this was denied, as a thing judged at this time too high, and too much against the Privilege of Parliament; but when the Army iterated their desire, those accused Members by leave of the House made a voluntary secession for six Months. Concerning that Order of Parliament, That the King should go to *Richmond*, the General desired to be excused, intreating them not to command, that till things were more quiet, and that they would appoint no Residence for the King nearer to *London*, than they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be: after which the King was conveyed to *Royston*, thence to *Hatfield*, not long after, to *Causam*, while the Army quartered at *Reading*, from whence when the General with his Army marched to *Bedford*, the King went to the Earl of *Bedford*'s House near *Woburn*, and during all this time he was received with all possible demonstrations of Love and Duty, and some of his Chaplains were licensed to repair to him, and read the Book of Common-Prayer as in former times, and the way was open to all those of his own Party who desired to see him.

Eleven Members impeach'd by the Army.

The City of *London*'s Militia, as it was settled by Ordinance of the 4th. of *May*, was in the managing of Presbyterians, who were very active and industrious in compleating their Companies, both of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, which was rumoured by the Independents as a very dangerous Conspiracy against the Army, and the General, in a Letter to the Parliament of the 10th. of *June*, requested, *That the Militia of the City might be put into the hands of Persons better affected to the Army:* Upon which Letter, the Commons upon the 22d. of *July*, Voted the Repealing the said Ordinance of the 24th. of *May*, and a new Ordinance for reviving the old Militia was presently passed.

The Petition of the City against the Vote for taking the Militia out of their hands.

The unexpected News of this changing their Militia, caused the City to meet in Common-Council, where because the repealing the former Ordinance was upon no other ground than the Army's Desires, they resolved to petition the House of Commons against it, which they did on the 26th. of *July* by the Sheriffs and some of the Common-Council: but so it happened, that about a thousand Apprentices came down two or three hours

1647. hours after, with another Petition, therein complaining, *That to order the Cities Militia was the Cities Birth-right, belonging to them by Charters confirmed by Parliament, for defence whereof they had Adventured their Lives as far as the Army, and desired the Militia might be put again into the same Hands in which it was put, with the Parliament and Cities Consent by Ordinance of the* 4th. *of* May. Upon reading of which Petition, the Lords Revoked the Ordinance of the 23*d.* of *July*, and Renewed that of the 4*th.* of *May*, by a new Ordinance of the 26*th.* of *July*, which they presently sent down to the Commons for their Consents, where some of the Apprentices in a Childish heat were over-clamorous to have the Ordinance passed, refusing to let some Members pass out of the House, so that at last it passed in the affirmative about three in the afternoon, and most of the Apprentices departed; but after this, some disorderly Persons, when the House was rising, took the Speaker and thrust him again into his Chair, detaining both him and the rest of the Members, until they enforced from them a Vote, *That the King should come to* London.

The Speakers, and divers Members flie to the Army.

After this Disorder, the two Houses adjourned for four days, and many private Cabals were held what to do, and those that favoured the Army went thither; so that on the fourth day both the Speakers being absent, new Speakers were chosen, the Lord *Hunsden* for the Peers, and Mr. *Henry Pelham*, a Barrister, for the Commons, by whom it was that day Voted,

1. *That the King should come to* London.
2. *That the Militia of* London *should be Authorised to raise Forces for Defence of the City.*
3. *That Power should be given to the same Militia to chuse a General for those Forces.*

It was likewise Ordered, *That the aforesaid Eleven Members Impeached by the Army, should return to their Seats in Parliament.* The Citizens armed with these Orders, presently proceeded to the raising of Forces, which were to be under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, Major-General *Massey*, and Colonel *Pointz*, who were each of them busie in Listing of Soldiers; but *Waller*, who was a Person of good Experience and foresight, seeing great numbers of Reformed Officers, and Soldiers lately Disbanded, flocking to them, advised that they should immediately seize on all the serviceable Horses in and about *London*, to the number of Six thousand, and bring them in *Tuttle-Fields*, where Saddles, Bridles, and Arms might be provided ready, and they would then have quickly Soldiers to Mount them, and in four and twenty hours time, they might have a Body of Horse to join with the City Regiments, strong enough to oppose the Army if they should attempt any thing against the Parliament and the City: and of this, the Army were in great fear; but some of their Friends in the Common-Council, did so distract their Consultations, that it appeared impossible for them, suddenly to raise any Forces to withstand the Army, who by this time, upon Intelligence thereof, made their Approaches towards *London*, whereupon the Aldermen and Common-Council were so terrified, that they sent to the General for a Pacification, which by the Consent of the Members of Parliament then with him, was granted to them upon these Conditions:

1647.

The City submits to the Army.

1. *That they should Desert the Parliament now sitting, and the Eleven Impeached Members.*
2. *That they should recall their Declaration lately divulged.*
3. *They should Relinquish their present Militia.*
4. *They should deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of* London.
5. *They should disband all the Forces they had raised: And do all things else which were necessary to the Publick Tranquillity*: all which things none of them daring to deny, were presently Ratified.

In the mean time, the Lords and Commons, who had left *London*, consulting with the General and chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, That all Acts and Decrees that had passed on the 26*th.* of *July* and since, should be accounted Null and Void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Council of the Army. It was likewise Decreed, That the General with his Army should march to *London*; and on the sixth day of *August*, he with his Army came to *Westminster*, and with him the Speakers of both Houses, together with the rest of the Lords and Commons, whom he Restored all to their former Seats. Both the Speakers, in the Name of the whole Parliament, gave solemn Thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in *England* and *Wales*, and Constable of the Tower of *London*: and a Months Pay was likewise given as a Gratuity to the Army. The next day General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, Major General *Skippon*, and the rest of the Commanders, with the whole Army, marched through *London*, from the Western part thereof to the Tower, and at the Tower, the General made Colonel *Tichburn*, an Alderman of the Independant Faction, to be Lieutenant of the Tower; and to humble the City, the Militia's thereof were by Order of Parliament divided, and Authority given to *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the Hamlets about the Tower, to exercise and Command their own Militia's.

The General comes with his Army to *Westminster*.

The Members of Parliament in this manner restored, and the Militia of *London* settled to the Armies good liking, the General marched out of *London*, and Quartered his Army in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about *Whitehall* and the *Mews*, to guard the Parliament, his head-Quarters being at *Putney*; and the King, about the middle of *August* was brought to the most stately of all his Palaces, *Hampton-Court*.

The King brought to *Hampton-Court*.

But now the Members that were brought in by the Army, thought it necessary for the strengthning of their Factions, to proceed against all such of both Houses of Parliament, and others, that were in any measure active in the late Troubles, and therefore Sergeant *Glyn* was ousted of his Office of Recorder of *London*, and one *Steele* a Barrister of *Gray's-Inn* admitted in his place, and *Hollis*, *Waller*, *Clotworthy*, *Lane*, *Massey*, and *Nicols*, were summoned to attend the House on the 16*th.* of *October*; and the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suffolk*,

1647. *Suffolk*, and *Middlesex*, with the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Barkley*, *Hunsdon*, and *Maynard*, were Impeached of Treason, and Committed to the *Black-Rod*, and Sir *John Maynard* of the House of Commons, and Sir *John Gray* Lord Mayor of *London*, with four Aldermen, *Adams*, *Langham*, *Culham*, and *Bunch*, were also Impeached and Committed to the Tower, where we shall leave them for some time, and look to the Affairs of *Ireland* during these Occurrences.

Several Members and Citizens committed for acting in the late Troubles.

The Affairs of *Ireland*.

The *Irish*, when the Cessation of Arms was concluded with them at *Singiston* in the Year 1643. seemed very desirous of a Peace, but by their ill Observation of the Articles of Cessation, their reality therein was much suspected; for they were so far from Ceasing from Acts of Hostility during that short Term of a Year, as they had agreed to, that they often Pillaged and Plundered the *English*, Imprisoning and Murdering their Persons, and particularly at the Castle of *Wicklow*, which they surprized, and put all the Men, Women and Children therein to the Sword; yet after this Treaty, they had the Confidence to send Commissioners to the King, to Supplicate, that before the Expiration of the Cessation a Peace might be concluded with them; but he referred them back to his Lieutenant *Ormond*, and he considering the necessity of the King's Affairs, and his present Inability to prosecute that War, would willingly have reduced things to a Pacification; but the *Irish* having Correspondence with the *Spanish* and *French*, upon the Interest of the *Romish* Religion, spun out all Treaties with tedious Delays, in hopes of Supplies of Men and Money to be sent to them, so that in two years, nothing was effected therein; and moreover at the same time, when they were in Treaty with the Lord-Lieutenant, they were likewise agitating under-hand, an Agreement elsewhere, pretending the King's Commission to Authorize the Proceeding: which His Majesty utterly disowned, with Expressions of much Indignation, that his Name should be made use of, to so odious a Purpose, as the Advancement of the Popish Religion, and the Discouragement of the *English* Clergy in that Kingdom. While these things were transacting, matters went still worse and worse with the *English*, so that in Conclusion, all the strong Places in the Province of *Lemster*, except *Drogedah* and *Dublin*, were possessed by the *Irish*. One of the principal Actors in this Affair was seized and taked into Custody by Order of the Lord Lieutenant, who struggled as far as in him lay, to prevent further Inconveniencies: but about the time that the King went to the *Scots* Army near *Newark*, he was forced to conclude a Peace with them, and upon Conditions very advantagious to the Natives; but nevertheless, all of them would not submit to it: For the Pope's Nuncio had drawn a great party of the most Zealous of their Religion to protest against it, as a Peace wherein there was not sufficient Security for the free Exercise of the *Roman* Catholick Religion. *Ormond* thought to profit himself of that Division, and made himself ready to joyn with those that adhered to the Peace, to suppress the others, not doubting upon his Success herein, to be Master of such a force as might make the King's Terms in *England* easier to him: But in the midst of all these hopes, when he was ready with a Party to march to *Kilkenny* to joyn with his new Friends, he was inform'd of a Design against his Person, which was related to him with such Circumstances, that he was confident of the truth thereof, and if he had not retreated to *Dublin*, he and his Party had been lost: In this extremity he thought it better to put *Dublin* and the Forts yet in *English* hands, in the Parliament of *England*'s power, then suffer them to be possess'd by the *Irish*, and brought under foreign Jurisdiction, in order whereunto, he sent to two Captains of the Parliaments Ships then riding near *Dublin*, and imparted to them his desires of complying with the Parliament, if the King would give his Assent thereunto, and obtain'd of them Ammunition and Powder for his present supply; and in further prosecution of that Overture, having the King's Commands so do doing, he capitulated with the Parliament Commissioners; and yielded up *Dublin*, and what remained under his Government to their Authority; who immediately sent thither Colonel *Jones* with 1450 Horse and Foot, who on the 17th of *June* took Possession of *Dublin*, and from that time such Supplies were sent to re-inforce the *English*, that every week produced News of Victories over the *Irish*.

A Peace concluded in *Ireland* by the Marquis of *Ormond*.

1647.

Dublin put into the hands of the Parliament of *England*.

Whilst the King remained at *Hampton-Court*, he seemed not at all a restrained Man, but as a Prince living in the splendor of a Court, so freely to his presence were all sorts of People admitted to kiss his hands, and do all Obeisances whatsoever; nor did the people from *London* only and the adjacent Towns resort to the King, but his Chaplains and such of his Servants who by order of Parliament had been forbidden, as Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Sir *John Barkley*, now by permission of the Army had safe recourse to him: The Marquis of *Ormond* likewise attended him there with an Account of the *Irish* Affairs, and was with much kindness received by him, and about the beginning of *October*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, and the Lord *Seymour*, repaired to him; but the Parliament were displeased at this liberty; whereupon those Lords being told of it, after two days stay at *Hampton-Court*, returned to their Houses: On the seventh of *September* Propositions agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament (the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concurring also) were sent to the King at *Hampton-Court*, to which they Requested his Answer in six days: The Commissioners appointed for this business by the Parliament of *England*, were the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Mountague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Sir *John Holland*, and Major-General *Brown*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and Sir *Charles Erskins*. Two days after their Arrival, the King gave the Commissioners a Message in writing to the two Houses of Parliament, in answer to the Propositions, which was to this effect, (*viz.*):

Propositions sent from the Parliament to the King at *Hampton-Court*.

That having perused the Propositions now brought to him, he found them the same in effect which were offer'd to him at Newcastle, *to some of which, as he could not consent without Violation of his Conscience and Honour, so neither can he agree to other now; conceiving them in many Respects more disagreeable to the present*

The King's Answer to the Propositions.

1647. Condition of Affairs, than when they were formerly presented to him, and having seen the Propoſals of the Army to the Commiſſioners from the two Houſes, reſiding with them, to which as he conceives, they are no Strangers ſo he believes they will think with him, that they much more conduce to the Satisfaction of all Intereſts, and may be a ſafer Foundation for laſting Peace than the Propoſitions at this time tendered to him, and therefore he propounds that Commiſſioners may be ſent from the Parliament and the Army, for a perſonal Treaty upon them, and ſuch others as he ſhall make, that a firm Peace may be ſettled.

This Anſwer was not very pleaſing to the Parliament, and it was by many thought, though the Army's Propoſals had the Conſent of the General and his Council of Officers, yet the Agitators who influenced the Body of the Soldiery, were not aſſenting to them; nevertheleſs, the *Scotch* took great Offence at them, and Affairs were thereby much perplexed more than before; but for the better underſtanding of theſe Affairs, we ſhall relate ſuch of the Armies Propoſals as were of moſt conſequence, and moſt acceptable to the King.

The Army's Propoſals to the King.

1. That an Act be paſſed to take away all coercive Power, Authority, and Juriſdiction of Biſhops, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers whatſoever, extending to any civil Penalties upon any, and to repeal all Laws whereby the Civil Magiſtracy hath been, or is bound upon any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure to proceed (ex Officio) unto any civil Penalties againſt any Perſons ſo cenſured.

2. That there be a Repeal of all Acts or Clauſes in any Act, enjoyning the uſe of the Common Prayer, and impoſing any Penalties for Neglect thereof, as alſo of all Acts or Clauſes in any Act impoſing any Penalties for not coming to Church, or for meeting elſewhere, for Prayer, or other Religious Duties, Exerciſes or Ordinances, and ſome other Proviſion to be made for diſcovering of Papiſts, and Popiſh Recuſants; and for diſabling of them and all Jeſuits and Prieſts from diſturbing the State.

3. That the taking of the Covenant be not enforced upon any, nor any Penalties impoſed upon the Refuſers, whereby Men might be conſtrained to take it againſt their Judgment or Conſciences; but all Orders or Ordinances tending to that purpoſe to be repealed.

4. The things here before being provided, for ſettling and ſecuring the Rights, Liberties, Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, his Majeſty's Perſon, his Queen and Royal Iſſue may be reſtored to a Condition of Safety, Honour and Freedom in this Nation, without Diminution to their Perſonal Rights, or further Limitation to the Exerciſe of the Regal Power, than according to the Particulars foregoing.

5. That a leſſer Number out of the Perſons excepted in the two firſt Qualifications of the Parliaments late Propoſitions to the King, not exceeding five for the Engliſh (being nominated particularly by the Parliament, who together with the Perſons in the Iriſh Rebellion in the third Qualification) may be reſerved to the further Judgment of the Parliament, as they ſhall find Cauſe. All other excepted Perſons to be remitted from the Exceptions, and admitted to Compoſition. 1647.

6. That the Rates of all future Compoſitions may be leſſened and limited not to exceed the ſeveral Propoſitions hereafter expreſſed reſpectively. That is to ſay, 1. For all Perſons formerly excepted not above a third part. 2. For the late Members of Parliament under the firſt Branch of the fourth Qualification in the Propoſitions, a fourth part. 3. For other Members of Parliament in the ſecond and third branches of the ſame Qualification, a ſixth part. 4. For the Perſons mentioned in the ſaid fourth Qualification, and thoſe included in the tenth Qualification, an eighth part; and that Real Debts owing upon Record, or proved by Witneſſes, be conſidered, and allowed in Valuation of their Eſtates in all the Caſes aforeſaid.

7. That thoſe who ſhall hereafter come to compound, may not bind the Covenant but upon them, as a Condition without which they may not compound; but in caſe they ſhall not willingly take it, they may paſs their Compoſition without it.

8. That the Perſons and Eſtates of all Engliſh not worth Two hundred pounds in Lands or Goods, be at liberty and diſcharged, and that the King's menial Servants, that never took up Arms but only attended his Perſon, according to their Offices, may be freed from Compoſition, or to pay (at moſt) but the Proportion of one years Revenue, or a twentieth part.

9. That in order to the making and perfecting of Compoſitions for Delinquency at the Rates aforeſaid, the Rents, Revenues, and other Dues and Profits of all ſequeſtred Eſtates whatſoever (except the Eſtates of ſuch perſons as ſhall be continued under exception as before) be from henceforth ſuſpended and detained in the hands of the reſpective Tenants and Occupiers, and others from whence they are due, for the ſpace of ſix Months following.

10. That the Fleet of the Army, or other Forces of the Parliament given in Articles upon Surrenders to any of the King's Party, may be fully made good, and where any breach thereof ſhall appear to have been made, full Reparation and Satisfaction may be given to the Parties injured, and the Perſon offending, being found out, may be compelled thereunto.

11. That there may be a General Act of Oblivion to extend unto all (except the Perſons to be continued in Exception as before) to abſolve from all Treaſpaſſes, Contempts, &c. done in Proſecution of the War, and from all

1647. *trouble or prejudice, for or concerning the same, and to restore them to all Privileges belonging to other Subjects.*

The resentment of the *Scots* at these Proposals, which was touched at before, was chiefly manifested in a Remonstrance about this time made by the Commissioners of the General Assembly met at *Edinburgh* the 13th. of *October*, to their Committee of Estates; wherein amongst other things they declared;

The *Scots* Remonstrance.

That his Majesty waving the Propositions of both Kingdoms, and pressing the Proposals of the Army, to be the subject of a Treaty, doth much increase the Danger of Religion, seeing those Proposals, as they omit and abandon the former Desires of both Kingdoms in point of Religion, so they cannot accord (as the Words stand) the continuance of Prelacy, the toleration of Heresie and Sects, and the taking away the Ordinance enjoining the taking of the Covenant.

And a little further they thus expostulate themselves;

These Dangers of Religion we have insisted on as being most proper to move speak to, but not as if we were insensible of the great danger of the King's Person, and of Monarchical Government, for preservation of which, according to our Covenant, our Prayers and best endeavours shall not be wanting: And since the Danger of Religion is so great, and the grounds of our Fears and Apprehensions so pregnant, we earnestly beseech and humbly obtest your Lordships in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, and by the Vows of God which are upon you, that as your Lordships desire God and your own Consciences and Posterity, may not afterwards charge upon you the Ruin of Religion, King and Kingdoms, so your Lordships may be very tender and conscionable, that no such design be entertained or get place amongst you, as tendeth to the Disabling of this Church and Kingdom from an effectual Prosecuting and Promoting the End of the Covenant, or to the strengthening and enabling the Enemies thereof, by affording them the Opportunity which they wait for, to disturb the Peace and destroy the present Reformation: These and no better Effects can be looked for, if the Army in this Kingdom, which hath been so blessed of God, and so faithful to you, shall be disbanded, before this Cause of God, which so much concerneth his Glory, the Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, the Honour and Happiness of the King, be settled upon a firm Foundation.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* attended the King at *Hampton-Court*, and gave him full Information of all these Matters, and so far represented to him the uncertainty of his Condition in reference to the Army, which became now by the Practices of some busie men very ungovernable, that he began to incline rather to the *Scots*; and the Commissioners of *Scotland* residing at *London*, sent Letters to the Parliament dated *November* the 5th. in which they pressed very much, that the King might come to *London*, and treat personally with the Parliament about the things controverted; urging for Reasons thereof, because the King had been taken from *Holdenby* against his Will, and without the Consent of the Parliament, by the Violence of the Soldiers, and still remained under the Power of an Army, not in that Freedom which was thought fit for a King, treating about a Business of so great moment; but if it might not be thought convenient for his coming to *London*, that he may continue at *Hampton-Court* so he be not under the Power of the Army, but in such a Condition that the Commissioners of both Parliaments might have free Recourse to him. 1647.

The *Scots* Commissioners Letters to the Parliament.

The Agitators were much alarmed at this Interposition of the *Scots*, and their keeping up their Army in *Scotland*, and from hence they became more violent than before in their Practices against the King, which they expressed in several Proposals to the General Council of Officers: And about this time, in one of their Debates at a General Council at *Putney*, it was proposed,

Whether it were safe, either for the Army or the People, to suffer any Power to be given to the King? and in the Discussion of this, it was said openly in the Council:

That they had gone about to wash a Blackmoor white whether he would or not, and to set up a Power which God would destroy: That the Power of Kings was a burthensome Stone that would destroy whosoever should fall upon it:

Monstrous passage against the King at a Meeting of the Officers at *Putney*.

That the Reason of their Distractions in Councils was from a Compliance to save that Man of Blood (meaning the King) *and those Principles of Tyranny which God from Heaven by his many Successes had manifestly declared against.*

Cromwel and *Ireton* (who yet wished well to the King) did what they could to oppose these Proceedings, but the Stream was too strong against them; and the King having from time to time Notice of these Agitations, thought it not imprudent to provide (e'er it should be too late) for his own Safety, and by Advice of Sir *John Berkely*, Colonel *Legg*, and Mr. *Ashburnham* (whom he then much trusted) he resolved to attempt to get to *Jersey*; and for the effecting thereof, a Ship was provided somewhere about *Southampton* for his Transportation; but before he took this Resolution, he thought fit to retract an Engagement made by Mr. *Ashburnham* on his behalf not to depart from the Army without their Consent; which we shall relate in Mr. *Ashburnham*'s own Words:

Ashburnham's Letter from *Carisbrook* to the Speaker, dated *Novemb.* 29. 1647. Printed for *R. Royston*.

When the Differences of the Army grew great, and an active and powerful Party thereof daily menacing Violence to his Majesty's Person, his Majesty commanded me to retract the Engagement which I had formerly given, alledging, That Colonel Whally affirmed to him, that the Officers of the Army had so little power to preserve him, as that they were scarce able to keep themselves from Affronts; whereupon having found Colonel Whalley walking by the River-side near Hampton-Court, I told him that I came to withdraw that Word which I had given him for his Majesty's not leaving the Army without their consent; the Colonel said, Why then the King doth so too? and I told him you are to understand it so. He added, it was fairly done, and he would take notice of it accordingly.

This being done, and the Ship and Horses and other Convenience for the King's escape in preparation, he resolved to take the first opportunity he could, to get his Liberty: but hearing of some passages at the meeting of the Officers at *Putney* on

1647. Manuſcript of the tranſactions at *Putney*, collected by Sir *William Clerk* attending as Secretary at all cloſe meetings.

on the 11th of *November*, tending to the Deſtruction of his Perſon: (where Colonel *Harriſon* made a long Narration concerning ſome things that lay upon his Spirit, in relation to the King, Lords, &c. ſaying, *That the King was a Man of Blood, and therefore the Engagements to him were taken off, and that they were to Proſecute him:* And that on the ſame day the Agitators of nine Regiments and the General's Life-Guard, had prepared a Letter of the ſame ſtraid, by way of Narrative to all the Soldiers of the Army to draw them to a general Rendezvous to declare againſt any Settlement with the King) he reſolved that Evening to remove himſelf, and accordingly about eight a Clock at Night he got away, having Horſes laid ready to receive him on the other ſide of the River; and about nine a Clock, whilſt the Commiſſioners of Parliament and Colonel *Whalley* (who commanded the Guard) expected when he ſhould come out of his Chamber to Supper, and wondred at his long ſtay; at laſt ſome of them going in, and not finding the King, they found his Cloak left there, and a Letter written with his own hand to the Commiſſioners, to be by them communicated to both Houſes of Parliament; *Cromwel* about midnight diſpatched a Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons with notice of the Kings departure: In the King's Letter to the Parliament, after he had diſcourſed ſomewhat about Captivity, and the ſweetneſs of Liberty, he proteſted (as before God) *That he had not taken this deſign of withdrawing himſelf to diſturb the publick Peace, or any Treaty tending to the eſtabliſhment thereof, but only to preſerve his own ſafety, againſt which he underſtood there was a Treaſonable Conſpiracy.* But towards the end of the Letter he uſeth theſe words: *Now as I cannot deny but that my Perſonal Security is the urgent cauſe of this my Retirement, ſo I take God to witneſs, that the Publick Peace is no leſs before mine eyes: and I can find no better way to expreſs this my Profeſſion (I know not what a wiſer man may do) than by deſiring and urging that all chief Intereſts may be heard, to the end each may have juſt ſatisfaction; as for example, the Army for the reſt though neceſſary, yet I ſuppoſe are not difficult to conſent (ought in my Judgment) to enjoy the Liberty of their Conſciences, and have an Act of Oblivion or Indempnity, (which ſhould extend to the reſt of all my Subjects) and that all their Arrears ſhould be ſpeedily and duly paid, which I will undertake to do, ſo I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from uſing ſuch lawful and honeſt means as I ſhall chuſe: To conclude, let me be heard with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, and I ſhall inſtantly break through this Cloud of Retirement, and ſhew my ſelf to be* Pater Patriæ.

The tye of Obedience to him as King.

The King eſcapes from *Hampton* Court.

The Kings Letter to the Parliament at his departure from *Hampton*-Court.

CHARLES REX.

The Parliament were at firſt ſurprized with this unexpected news of the Kings departure, and they diſpatched Meſſengers to all Sea-ports to prevent his going out of the Kingdom, and upon a Rumour that he was concealed in *London*, they ordered, That if any man ſhould cloſely detain the King's Perſon and not reveal it to the Parliament, he ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of his Eſtate and Life: But in the midſt of this Confuſion, a Letter came to the Lords from Colonel *Hammond*, Governor of the *Iſle* of *Wight*, dated at *Cowes* the 13*th.* of *November*, wherein he acquainted them, That being that morning on his way from *Carisbrook* Caſtle to *Newport*, Mr. *Aſhburnham* and Sir *John Berkley* overtook him, and after a ſhort diſcourſe told him, the King was near, and that he would be with him that night; and was come from *Hampton*-Court, upon information, that there were ſome who intended to deſtroy him, and that he could not with ſafety continue any longer there, and finding his caſe thus, he choſe rather to put himſelf into his hands being a Member of the Army (which he ſaid he would not have left, could he have had Security to his Perſon) than to go to any other place; and therefore weighing the great concernment that the Perſon of the King was of, he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to preſerve his Perſon from any ſuch horrid Attempts, and to bring him to a place of ſafety: hereupon he went over the Water and found the King near the water-ſide, and by his own deſire he brought him to the Iſle of *Wight*.

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The King is brought to the Iſle of *Wight*, at the Counteſs of *Southampton*'s Houſe.

The Parliament were well pleaſed to hear of the King's being at *Cowes*, and ordered thereupon on the 10*th.* of *November*,

1. *That he ſhould continue there and in the Caſtle.*

2. *That none that have borne Arms againſt the Parliament, but Inhabitants that have compounded, ſhall remain in that Iſland.*

3. *That no Delinquent or Foreigner ſhould be admitted to come to him without leave of the Parliaments of* England *and* Scotland, *and that Propoſitions ſhould be ſpeedily ſent to him.*

4. *That five thouſand pounds ſhall be advanced for his Accommodation:* And,

5. *That it ſhould be conſidered who ſhould attend his Perſon.*

In the little ſpace of time betwixt the King's departure from *Hampton*-Court, and his arrival at *Cowes*-Caſtle in the Iſle of *Wight*, many great Diſtempers appeared in the Army, which had been growing ſome while before, on this occaſion The Agitators having ſome Jealouſie, that *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, and the reſt of the General Officers deſigned to eſtabliſh the King (and being acted and guided by divers Perſons not of the Army that were for a total Subverſion of Monarchical Government) poſſeſſed the Soldiers with much prejudice againſt them, as that they had faln from their Principles, and were in their Proceedings Falſe and Treacherous both to the Army and Kingdom, and by ſeveral inſinuations of this kind which they diſperſed in printed Papers, they had made great Factions and Parties in the Army, and much divided the Soldiers from the Officers, and both Officers and Soldiers amongſt themſelves: theſe Diſorders and Diſcontents were much encreaſed by the repair of the Agitators to the Head Quarters, where they Aſſembled as a kind of Repreſentative Council, and debated divers matters of great Concernment: But the General doubting the event of theſe practiſes, and being willing to quiet the Diſcontents then growing amongſt the Soldiers, in the firſt place diſmiſſed the Agitators to their ſeveral Regiments, and ſent alſo moſt of the Officers then at the Head Quarters to their reſpective and particular

Diviſions happen in the Army.

1647. ticular charges, to endeavour to satisfie and compose those Discontents and Divisions; and about a fortnight after, he contracted the Quarters of the Army, intending to draw them to several Rendezvouses; the first whereof was to be in a place call'd *Cork bush Field* betwixt *Hartford* and *Ware*, on the 15*th.* day of *November*; but as soon as the Agitators had notice of these Orders, they and their associates laboured to hinder the Execution thereof, and to draw divers Regiments from the Quarters and Rendezvouses, to which they were ordered, to the first Rendezvous, near *Ware*; whereupon the General the day before, called a Council of War at *Hartford*, and there agreed upon a Remonstrance, and Engagement, which was to be read at the Rendezvous at the Head of every Regiment, and subscribed by the Officers and Soldiers; but the next day when the Army was drawn together, many of the Soldiers of five whole Regiments Mutinied against their Officers, and wore certain marks of Distinction to be known by from the rest; nor was this done in so Tumultuous a manner as usually Mutinies are made, but with some kind of Order, and had proved very dangerous, if *Cromwel* and *Ireton* and some of the rest of the Officers had not been very active in seizing on some of the principal Mutineers; in the doing whereof, one or two were shot to death before the Troops were reduced to order and good obedience: but though the present Distemper was thus ended, great Animosities remained, most of the Mutineers and the Officers that favoured them, were tryed at Court-Martials, and Cashiered, or otherwise punished, but *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, and their Factions were after this (to keep their Credit with the Army) to alter their Counsels, which brought great Miseries to the Kingdom, as will be shewn hereafter.

The Soldiers Mutiny against their Officers.

The principal of them shot to Death.

Whilst the Parliament were deliberating about Propositions to be sent to the *Isle* of *Wight* to the King; a Letter came to them from him, dated the 18*th.* of *November*, superscribed, *To the Speaker of the Lords House, to be communicated also to the House of Commons*, which was Read in both Houses. In which he delivered his Sence and Opinion concerning many things contained in the former Propositions to him, especially concerning the Abolition of Episcopacy, which he said, *He could not consent to either as a Christian or a King, because he looked upon it as Apostolical, and had Sworn at his Coronation to maintain it; but yet he was willing that Presbytery should be Authorized for three years, and in the mean time, a free debate had between the Divines Assembled at* Westminster, *and twenty that he should appoint for the future settlement of Church-Government; he was also willing that the Parliament should dispose of the Militia, and have the Choice of his Privy Counsellors during his Reign, provided they would have it by Grant in Letters Patents from him, and that it might return to his Successors: He gave touches also concerning the Payment of the Arrears of the Souldiers, and the other matters; of all which he said, he hoped that he should satisfie the Parliament with his Reasons, if he might personally treat with them. Therefore he desired earnestly to be admitted with Honour, Freedom and Safety, to Treat personally at* London. The Commissioners of *Scotland* likewise with great vehemency pressed, That the desire of the King might be granted: insomuch, that after a long Debate, on *Novemb.* 26. it was concluded, That four previous Propositions being drawn up into the Form of Acts, should be sent to the King in the *Isle* of *Wight* to Sign; which when he had Signed, he should be admitted to a Personal Treaty at *London*. 1647.

The Kings Letter from the Isle of *Wight*, to the Parliament.

1. *An Act for Raising, Setling, and Maintaining Forces by Sea and Land within the Kingdom of* England *and* Ireland, *and Dominion of* Wales, *&c.*

Four Acts sent to the King to be Signed.

2. *An Act for Recalling of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations against the Parliament, or those who have adhered to them.*

3. *An Act, that those Peers who were made after the Great Seal was carried from the Parliament, may be made uncapable of Sitting in the House of Peers.*

4. *That Power may be given to the Two Houses to Adjourn themselves as they think fit.*

The first of these Acts was concerning the Militia, which Divested the King, His Heirs and Successors of the Power thereof for ever; for though it seemed to be but for twenty years, yet it saith, That neither the King nor his Heirs or Successors, nor any other, shall exercise any Power over the Militia by Land or Sea, but such as shall Act by Authority and Approbation of the Lords and Commons: it gives also an unlimited Power to the two Houses to Raise what Forces, and what number for Land and Sea, and of what Persons (without exceptions) they please, and to imploy them as they shall judge fit, and to Raise what Money, they please for maintaining them. The Titles of the other Acts do sufficiently discover the Nature of them, and therefore we shall not inlarge upon them: The Commissioners of *Scotland* would in no wise give their Consent that these four Acts should be imposed on the King before he Treated at *London*; and in a large Declaration they protested against it, notwithstanding which, they were sent by the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Montague*, Mr. *Lisle*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Bunkly*, and Mr. *Kemp*, Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament, and on the 24th. of *December* they were presented to the King at *Carisbrook* Castle; but he willing to satisfie all Interests, and finding the *Scots* openly to protest against them, refused to give his Assent to any Acts till the whole Peace should be concluded; and the Commissioners returned to *London* with his Denial. This Refusal of his Majesties, together with some other unhappy Circumstances, gave *Cromwel* a Suspicion that the King had some thought of Deserting the Army, and casting himself upon the Presbyterian Interest; whereupon the Army marched to *Windsor*, where the head Quarters for some time remained, and the chief Officers had many Consultations about the present Transactions betwixt the King and the Parliament; for *Cromwel* and *Ireton* finding the Interest of the *Scots* was likely to be

The King refuseth to give his Assent to them.

1647. be joyn'd with that of the King, and that the City of *London* was very favourable to them, they feared a downfal to their Greatneſs, if they did not prevent the progreſs thereof and ſtrengthen themſelves by drawing the inferiour Officers and Soldiers who were much affected by the late mutinies againſt the King and his Government, to have a good Opinion of them; to effect which, as a pretence to procure an unity in the Army, a Faſt was ſolemnly kept amongſt the Officers, and a whole day ſpent in Prayer and Preaching, and at the cloſe thereof, all thoſe Priſoners that were Committed for the Mutiny at *Ware*, as the mind of God, were ſet at Liberty, when as one well-knowing in thoſe Affairs, publiſhed; * *They had without doubt reſolved it before as the only expedient to re-imbalm their loſt Reputation; for if the King would have taken their Price, to let* Cromwel *and* Ireton *Rule and Reign under him, no doubt but he might have come in; but becauſe the* Scots *feared if he came in by theſe Grandees of the Army, they and he might joyn together, to Chaſtiſe them for all their old and former Provocations, and therefore out of meer Safety (it may be) they outbid the Grandees to gain the King's Affection, which made them mad.*

The Officers of the Army keep a ſolemn Faſt.

* *Joh. Lilburne* in a Book called *Engliſh* Freedom, Soldiers Rights. pag. 59.

Thus much is related in Print, and to manifeſt this Practice, *Cromwel* and *Ireton* being preſent in the Houſe of Commons when the King's Anſwer was Read, *Ireton* ſaid; *That the King had denied Safety and Protection to his People by denying the four Bills; that Subjection to him was but in lieu of his Protection to his People, this being denied they might well deny any more Subjection to him, and ſettle the Kingdom without him: That it was now expected after ſo long Patience, they ſhould ſhew their Reſolutions, and not deſert thoſe Valiant Men who had engaged for them beyond all poſſibility of Retreat, and would never forſake the Parliament, unleſs they forſook them firſt; and in the concluſion he preſſed for a Queſtion to be put, That no more Addreſſes or Applications ſhould be made to the King.* This Diſcourſe was received with much admiration of many that had obſerved the late Motions of the Army, and read their Declarations, who knew how contrary this his Speech was from what he had often before aſſerted on behalf of the King, and that moſt of thoſe Declarations were Penned by him, in one of which were theſe words: *We do clearly profeſs, we do not ſee how there can be any Peace to the Kingdom firm or laſting, without a due conſideration of, and proviſion for the Rights, Quiet, and Immunity of his Majeſties Royal Family, and his late Partakers;* And in many others there were the like Expreſſions, beſides what was contained in the Armies Propoſals before recited; but now, Thoſe that choſe by Arms to compaſs their ends upon the King, began too late to diſcover, That the Government by an Army would introduce at laſt (as in the Roman State it did) the Army to be Maſters of Government. This Debate of Non-addreſſes was very long in agitation; for it continued from Nine in the Morning till Seven at Night, and when the Houſe was ready for a Queſtion, *Cromwel* ſpake to this purpoſe;

Ireton's Speech in the Houſe of Commons.

Remonſtrance from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Army under his Command at St. *Albans*, *June* the 23. 1647. pag. 64.

That it was now expected the Parliament ſhould Govern and Defend the Kingdom by their own Power and Reſolutions, and not teach the People any longer to expect Safety and Government from an Obſtinate Man, whoſe heart God had hardned; That thoſe Men who had defended the Parliament from ſo many dangers with the expence of their Blood, would defend them herein with Fidelity and Courage againſt all Oppoſition. Teach them not by neglecting your own and the Kingdoms Safety (in which their own is involved) to think themſelves Betrayed, and left hereafter to the Rage and Malice of an irreconcilable Enemy, whom they have Subdued for your ſake; and therefore are likely to find his future Government of them inſupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Juſtice, leſt Deſpair teach them to ſeek their Safety by ſome other means then adhering to you, who will not ſtick to your ſelves, and how deſtructive ſuch a Reſolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge: And to enforce this Speech, at the latter end thereof, in a kind of menacing manner, he laid his hand upon his Sword; and in the end, a Declaration and Votes were paſſed, which were after much Debate Aſſented to by the Lords, in theſe words.

Cromwel's Speech in the Houſe.

1647.

The Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, after many Addreſſes to his Majeſty for the preventing and ending this unnatural War, Raiſed by Him againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, have lately ſent four Bills to his Majeſty, which did contain only matter of Safety and Security to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the Compoſure of other Differences to a Perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty, and having received an abſolute Negative, do hold themſelves obliged to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, ſpeedily to ſettle the preſent Government in ſuch a way, as may bring the greateſt Security to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof. And in order thereunto, and that the Houſes may receive no delay nor interruptions in ſo great and neceſſary a Work, they have been taking theſe Reſolutions, and paſſed theſe Votes following, viz.

The Lords and Commons do declare, *That they will make no further Addreſſes or Applications to the King.*

The Parliament Vote that no more Addreſſes ſhould be made to the King.

Reſolved, *&c.* By the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, *That no Application or Addreſſes be made to the King by any Perſon whatſoever, without the leave of both Houſes.*

Reſolved, *&c.* By the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, *That the Perſon or Perſons that ſhall make Breach of this Order, ſhall incurr the Penalty of High-Treaſon.*

Reſolved, *&c. That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King: and do enjoyn, That no Perſon whatſoever do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or any other Perſon.*

Within few days after theſe Votes of Parliament were Publiſhed, and in compliance with them, a Declaration of the General, and General Counſel of the Army was made, and preſented to the Parliament, in the cloſe whereof it was thus expreſſed:

We

1648. The Declaration of the Army.

We do freely declare for our ſelves and the Army, That we are Reſolved, through the Grace of God, firmly to adhere with, and ſtand by the Parliament in the things Voted, concerning the King, and in what ſhall be further neceſſary for Proſecution thereof, and for Setling and Securing of the Parliament and Kingdom, without the King, and againſt him or any other that ſhall hereafter partake with him.

The Parliament publiſhes a Declaration.

The Parliament alſo made a publick Declaration about the beginning of *February*, with many invective Arguments in it againſt the King, laying open all thoſe Errors of his Government together, which they had with Virulence and Malice formerly publiſhed in parcels; but the more ſober part of the People knew too well by what Arts the Councils which produced theſe Actions were framed, to be perſwaded by them, and ſo great were the Diſcontents in the City of *London* and the Suburbs thereof, that part of the Army was Quartered about *Weſtminſter*, the *Mews*, and other places of the City, for fear of Inſurrections; and the Month before theſe high Tranſactions, ſeven Lords, and thirteen of the House of Commons were choſen out of both Houſes, to ſit as a Committee in *Derby*-Houſe (where the Committee of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* had ſitten before) who were impowred to ſuppreſs Tumults, and Inſurrections, and to that purpoſe to Raiſe Forces as they ſaw occaſion; the Names of theſe were, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *VVarwick*, and *Mancheſter*, and the Lords, *Say*, *VVharton* and *Roberts*; and of the Commons, Sir *Henry Vane* Senior, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Sir *VVilliam Armin*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, *Nathaniel Fines*, *VVilliam Pierpoint*, and *Oliver St. Johns* Eſquires, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *VVallop*, theſe were pretty equally made up of Preſbyterians and Independents; but the latter ſeem'd to be moſt prevalent by the influence of the Army, but they were leſs violent in their Actings, than otherwiſe they would, that they might not too much exaſperate the *Scots*, for their Commiſſioners had about this time, repeating the four Votes againſt the King, propounded to know, *VVhether the Houſes by their Votes, That no Perſon whatſoever do preſume to make, or receive any Application or Addreſs to, or from the King, would debar the* Scots *to make or receive any Addreſſes to, or from him, and ſo put an incapacity upon him to perform Acts of Government towards them:* This Meſſage cauſed great debate, but at laſt it was conſented to, *That the* Scotch *Commiſſioners might make Addreſſes to the King*: But theſe Carriages in the Houſe of Commons made the Army and their Independent Friends conſult how to Suppreſs or Terrifie the Preſbyterians, who in that Houſe notwithſtanding all the Military means, were yet the major part, tho' leaſt active; and to effect this, about the beginning of *March* the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons (which had been ſix months before rejected) to deſire their Concurrence to an Engagement of thoſe Members that fled to the Army, *To live and die with the Army*, which after eight hours Debate was carried by nine Voices in the affirmative, when there were near two hundred preſent, after many Preſbyterians, who were awed by the Threats of ſome of the Army's Creatures, had left the Houſe, becauſe it was late, not daring to Vote in the Negative: and it was inſinuated, that if they had not approved of the Engagement, a new Charge would be exhibited by the Army to the Lords againſt the principal Oppoſers; which prevailed upon the weakneſs of many, tho' the wiſer ſort believed that they durſt not attempt any ſuch thing; for many Arguments at this time were publiſhed againſt thoſe Proceedings, very well received by the People, ſome of which went ſo high, as not to allow the Lords any Judicature over the Commons: but others agreed, *That the Houſe of Peers was a Court of Judicature, but not without the King's ſpecial Authority granted to them either by his Writ, or by his Commiſſion*; and the Lords by the four Votes before-mentioned having denied all further Addreſs or Application to the King, had cut off from themſelves that Fountain from which they derived all their Power. During theſe Practices, to encreaſe and ſtrengthen the Independent Party, the Diſcontents of the People were much augmented in all places, againſt the Parliament and the Army for their Severity againſt the King; for upon his denial to aſſent to the four Bills or Acts lately ſent to him, the Governour removed moſt of his Servants from him, and reſtrained him to the circuit of the Caſtle within the Walls, and tho' he did it at firſt, without the Authority of the Parliament; yet they afterwards approved of the Action. Thoſe in the Iſland being neareſt to the view of this uſage, were very much offended with it, and one Captain *Burleigh* lately an Officer in the King's Army and an Inhabitant there, beat up a Drum in *Newport* to draw ſome Soldiers together to Reſcue the King; but being too haſty in the Attempt, his endeavours were fruſtrated, and he himſelf was taken Priſoner, and thoſe that took part with him ſuppreſt: he was after ſome time ſent in Cuſtody to *Wincheſter*, where by a Special Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer directed to Serjeant *VVild* of *VVorceſterſhire*, the then Chief Baron and others; he was Tried and Condemned of High Treaſon; and on the 10th. of *February* injuriouſly executed for the ſame.

1648.

Hiſt. Indep. 61, & 62.

The King ſuffers a more cloſe Reſtraint.

Captain *Burleigh* ſuffers for endeavouring the King's Reſcue. He is ſo diſtinguiſhed from another Loyal Perſon of his name, late Recorder of *London* and now a Learned Judge.

The King in this Condition ſet forth a Declaration to all his Subjects, which inlarged their Compaſſion towards him, and in that towards the end he thus expreſſeth himſelf, (*viz.*)

The King puts forth a Declaration.

By what Means or Occaſions I am come to this Relapſe in my Affairs, I am utterly to ſeek, eſpecially when I conſider that I have Sacrificed to my two Houſes of Parliament (for the Peace of my Kingdom) all, but what is much more dear to me than my Life, my Conſcience and Honour; deſiring nothing more than to perform it in the moſt proper or natural way, a Perſonal Treaty; but that which makes me moſt at a loſs, is, the remembring my ſignal compliance with the Army and their Intereſts, and of what Importance my Compliance was to them, and their often repeated Profeſſion and Engagements for my juſt Rights in General, at New-Market, *and Saint* Albans, *and their particular Explanations of theſe Generals by their Voted and Re-voted Propoſals, which I had reaſon to underſtand ſhould be the utmoſt Extremity would be*

The Scots Commiſſioners allowed to make Addreſſes to the King.

The Parliament paſs an Engagement

The Committee of *Derby*-houſe new impowr'd.

1647. *would be expected from me, and that in something therein I should be eased, (herein appealing to the Consciences of some of the chiefest Officers in the Army, if what I have said, be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their Expectation, or my Professions to them, I challenge them, and the whole World, to produce the least Colour of Reason; And now I would know what it is that is desired: Is it Peace? I have shewed the way (being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it) which is a just Compliance with all chief Interests. Is it Plenty and Happiness? they are the inseparable Effects of Peace: Is it Security? I who wish all Men would forget and forgive like me, have offered the Militia for my time: Is it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it, is most ready to give it: Is it the Right of Administration of Justice? Offices of Trust are committed to the Choice of my two Houses of Parliament: Is it the Arrears of the Army? upon a Settlement they will certainly be paid with much ease, but before, there will be found much Difficulty, if not Impossibility in it.*

Thus, all the World cannot but see my real and unwearied Endeavours for Peace, the which (by the Grace of God) I shall neither repent me of, nor never be slackened in, notwithstanding my past, present, or future Sufferings. But if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs the Good I would or might do: What is it that Men are afraid to hear from me? It cannot be Reason, (at least, none will declare themselves so unreasonable as to confess it) and it can be less impertinent or unreasonable Discourses; for thereby peradventure I might more justifie this my Restraint, than the Causers themselves can do: So that, of all Wonders, this yet is the greatest to me: But it may be easily gathered hence, how these Men intend to govern, who have used me thus. And if it be my hard Fate to fall together with the Liberty of this Kingdom, I shall not blush for my self, but much lament the future Miseries of my People, the which I shall still pray God to avert, whatever becomes of me.

During the time of these Restraints he betook himself to Meditation, and then composed that most excellent Book, entituled, Εικων Βασιλικη or, *The Portraicture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings.*

The Parliament send Visitors to *Oxford.*

About the month of *June* last, the Parliament sent Visitors to the University of *Oxford*, but their Authority was not submitted to by the Members thereof, who alledged, that they could not acknowledge any Visitors but the King or his immediate Substitute, without manifold Perjuries: but about the 27th of *April* this year, the Earl of *Pembroke*, being lately before by Vote or Ordinance of the two Houses, made Chancellor of the University, resorted thither with some others that were with him made Visitors, & being arm'd with the Authority of a Vote of the Lords and Commons to expel all such Masters, Fellows, and Officers of Colledges, as refused to submit to their power, the next day after his arrival, he went to *Christ-Church* Colledge, and there by force removed the Dean and all the Canons and Students that did not comply with him, and take the Covenant, and put others in their places, and

1648. *Oxford* visited by the new Chancellor.

in the like manner he proceeded in the Colledges of *All-Souls*, St. *Mary Magdalen*, and *New-Colledge*, and in all other Colledges and Halls, by displacing those that did not submit, and putting others in their Places. 1648.

This Summer the King, though a Prisoner, was as formidable as ever since the beginning of his Troubles, and many of the more moderate of his Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joyned in Arms against him, began to look upon his Estate with Consideration, and they & others attempted by Force to try their Fortunes on his behalf: And first, an Insurrection was made in *London*, where some Apprentices in *Moor-Fields* set upon a part of the Trained-Bands who were there keeping Guard, and over-powered them, by which Success their Numbers hourly increased, and they divided themselves into two or three Bodies, one whereof (which was the most considerable) having born before them an Ensign which they took from the Trained-Bands, march'd towards *White-Hall*, but being without any Arms but Sticks, a Troop of Horse from the *Mews*, charged and dispersed them; yet at night they joyned again, and surprized *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, and shut up the Gates thereof, and seized a Drake-piece from the Lord Mayors House, which they planted within *Ludgate*, being animated hereunto by some of the Army, to make their Conquest of them more remarkable: The morning following, they laboured to get Arms, and brake open some Salemens Houses of Ammunition, and mastered the Magazine at *Leaden-Hall*, crying out in a tumultuous manner, *For God and King Charles*; but the next day General *Fairfax* entred *Aldersgate* with two Regiments, and marched to *Leaden-Hall-Street*, and there charged this undisciplin'd multitude, who after a short Skirmish, were utterly dispersed, with little or no loss to the Assailants. An Insurrection of the *London* Apprentices.

In *South-Wales*, about this time, Colonel *Poyer*, Governour of *Pembroke* Castle, refused to yield up his Charge (though commanded thereunto) but the better to countenance his Intention, his first Pretences were, to have the Arrears of him and his Soldiers paid to him; but this produced some expostulatory Letters betwixt him and the Parliament, and in the mean time he fortified the Castle, and stored it with Provision for a Defence, and Major-General *Laughorn*, for the same Reason refused to disband his Men, and so both resolved to run the same Fortune. *Laughorn* surprized *Tenby* Castle with the Parliament-Commissioners therein; and for the Support of their Soldiers, they raised Contribution from the neighbouring Parts and declared for the King, to whom one Colonel *Powel*, a valiant Soldier of that Countrey, joyned. Colonel *Horton* was sent by *Fairfax*, Commander in chief against them, with thirty Companies of Horse and Foot, who sent out Adjutant-General *Fleming* to charge them, who when he came near, went to gain a Pass from *Poyer*, which he found quitted to his hands, and going on improvidently, he fell into an Ambuscade which *Poyer* had laid, whereby his Men were disordered, and he with some few of them compelled to shelter in a neighbouring Church, but perceiving himself unable to hold it out, he died (as 'tis thought) by his own Sword, and *Poyer* and *Laughorn* refused to submit to the Parliament.

1648. and the rest were taken Prisoners: This Success was attended with the Surprize of *Chepstow* Castle, which was taken by Sir *Thomas Keymish* for the King in the Governour's Absence. And now *Fairfax* thought a greater Force was required than those with *Horton* to reduce *South-Wales*, and therefore *Cromwel* himself was ordered to march with a strong power into that Country; but when the News of his advance came to *Laugborn*, he thought it best to fight *Horton* before his coming, and the other as willingly marched to meet him, and near S. *Fragows* on the eighth of *May*, the two Armies came in sight of one another, *Laugborn* had many more than the other, but not well armed nor disciplined, and for that he did not so soon Expect *Horton*, the Conquest was the easier; for as soon as his Men were charged, after a little Resistance, *Horton*'s Men obtained a Victory, in which they killed and took 1500 Officers, and 3000 Common Soldiers, *Laugborn* himself and *Powel* escaped by Flight. Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* entred *Wales* shortly after this, and stormed *Tenby* Castle, which yielded upon Mercy, and *Chepstow* Castle was retaken by Colonel *Fowr*, and from thence he marched to besiege *Pembroke* Castle: Sir *John Owen*, whilst *Cromwel* besieged *Pembroke* Castle, got together some Forces in *North-Wales*, for the King, which the Sheriff would have suppressed, but being too weak, was defeated and taken Prisoner by him; but shortly after the same Fortune befel *Owen* himself, by the Forces of Major-General *Mitton*. *Pembroke* Town and Castle held out couragiously for a long time, but at length were so distressed, that they willingly would have surrendred, if they could have had any other Conditions, than to yield upon discretion; and to force them thereunto, *Cromwel* gave a furious Assault to the Place, which the Besieged resolutely endured: But upon News that Duke *Hamilton* was preparing to march into *England* with an Army of *Scots*, he became inclinable to give them better Terms, and thereupon the Town and Castle was delivered up to him, *July* 13*th*. on these Terms, (*viz.*) *Powel*, *Laugborn*, and *Poyer*, and three other principal Actors to submit to the Parliaments Mercy: the other Commanders, Knights and Gentlemen, to depart the Kingdom within six Weeks, for two Years; the rest to return to their respective Dwellings, and the Townsmen to enjoy their Freedom and Liberties. Those that submitted to Mercy, were afterwards tryed as Traytors, notwithstanding the Prince's Letter in their behalf to General *Fairfax*: But this cruel Favour was extended towards them, that they should cast Lots for their Lives, and so only *Poyer* suffered.

Chepstow Castle taken for the King.

Laugborn defeated by *Horton*. *Tenby* Castle stormed by *Cromwel*, and *Chepstow* Castle retaken.

Sir *John Owen* routed by Major-General *Mitton*.

Pembroke Town and Castle delivered up to *Cromwel*.

April 23. The Duke of *York*, disguised in Women's Apparel, made his Escape from St. *James*'s by Water, and landed at *Dort* in *Holland*, by help of one Mr. *Bamfield*, sent over purposely on that design by the Queen.

The Duke of *York* escaped to *Holland*.

Whilst some by Arms were endeavouring to free their Countrey, others attempted by Petitions in a mild way to obtain that by Favour, which would not without great hazard and effusion of Blood be procured by Force: The County of *Essex* was the first that began, who supplicated the Parliament, *That the Army might be paid and disbanded, and the King admitted to a personal Treaty.* *Surrey* followed and desired the like, but in higher Terms, and being numerous, a Quarrel was made with the Soldiers of *Westminster* who came to keep Guard against them; Words were the first Weapons used, but from thence they came to Blows, and some hurt was done on both sides, but Night parted the Fray: The City of *London* succeeded next, and petitioned to the same Effect, and also requested, That those Prisoners who stood committed for their former Difference when the Parliament went to the Army, might be released, as shortly after they were: and upon the Cities constant Profession to adhere to the Parliament, their *Militia* was restored, and Major-General *Skippon* was appointed Major-General thereof, and of all the Forces within the late Lines of Communication; the Lieutenant of the *Tower* put in by the Army, was also discharged, and Mr. *West* a Citizen, surrogated in his Place; and because Alarms of Insurrections came from all Parts, the General was easily intreated to draw off all the Forces he had from *White-Hall* and the *Mews*, and any other parts of *London*, or the late Lines of Communication, upon the City's Promise to order a Guard for the Parliament, which they readily performed, and settled six hundred pounds yearly on their Major-General for his Entertainment.

1648. Petitions brought to the Parliament, from *Essex* and other Counties.

The *Kentish* Men finding those of *Surrey* so ill treated when they came in a peaceable manner to Petition the Parliament, resolved to make their Demand with Swords in their Hands, and to that purpose a numerous Body of them were drawn together, against whom the Lord *Fairfax* (for so he was now by his Father's Death) marched with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the *Kentish* Men were Ten thousand, but unhappily they parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle, upon strong Assurances from *London*, that the City would oppose the Passage of the Army, if they should attempt it. Which notwithstanding, the Army Advanced, and Major *Husbands* gained a Pass at *Northfield*, and took some Prisoners; *Fairfax* followed, marching in a full body, expecting the *Kentish* (who hovering in sight of him) would have engaged, but they were not prepared for it, and so without any Resistance, he came near *Maidstone*, in which the *Kentish* Men were drawn up into a Body, and had planted some great Guns, and barricado'd the Avenues of the Town.

The *Kentish* men in Arms.

Fairfax having his Army by this time encreased to Ten thousand, on the second of *June* at seven a Clock at Night stormed the Town twice, and was both times repulsed, but the third time he got Entrance, yet then the Fight was more perillous than before, whilst the Assailants had to do not only with those who manned the Streets, but were also galled with continual Shot from the Houses, getting all by Inches, nor could they master the Town till after six hours Fight, and much loss on their own side: But of the *Kentish* Men, two hundred were slain, and above one thousand and three hundred taken Prisoners, with four hundred Horse and eight Pieces of Ordnance, and good Booty; and presently upon this, *Rochester* was also quitted

1648. Routed at *Maidstone* by General *Fairfax*.

ted to the General's Mercy: many of the Kentish Men after this defeat kept still in a Body, and marched toward *London*, and Rendezvoused upon *Black-Heath*, whither some resolute Persons repaired to them from *London*, and the Earl of *Norwich* at the head of them, gave them the best encouragement he could; but the Kentish Men perceiving their Succours to come short of what they expected, they quitted their Commanders apace, and returned home; *Norwich* with Five hundred Men, crossed over *Greenwich* Ferry into *Essex*, in which County the Committee-men were already secured by some that were for the King there, and Sir *Charles Lucas* having gotten together Two thousand Horse and Foot, joined with *Norwich*, who seized the Earl of *Warwick*'s Armory, and possessed themselves of *Colchester*, which now became a seat of War, and the Country people flocked in unto them, and many also came from *London*, and the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Loughborough* from *Hertfordshire*, but General *Fairfax* leaving Colonel *Rich*, and Colonel *Hewson* to take in those places which held out in *Kent*, which himself had not time to reduce, crossed over into *Essex* after the Enemy, and came before *Colchester*, which he immediately surrounded with a potent Army. Neither were the endeavours for the King only confined to the Land, but a considerable Party of the Navy Royal encouraged by Captain *Batten*, formerly Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick*, was put into the power of the Prince of *Wales*, to be used for the King's service; and with these the Prince with his Brother, Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Brainford*, the Lords *Hampton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby*, and *Capel*, with others of Quality came into *Yarmouth* Road, he had on board about Two thousand Soldiers, and there he would have landed, but hearing of Colonel *Scroop*'s coming against him with a Party of Horse and Foot more in number, he sailed from thence to the *Downs* in *Kent*, seizing what Merchants Ships and Goods he could meet withal; *Deal* Castle was at this time besieged, for relief whereof the Prince would needs attempt something, and therefore he set 500 Men ashore, who at first charged handsomely, but being overnumbred, were beaten, and several of them were slain and taken, but the rest got on board again. Soon after this, *Sandwich*, *Deal*, and *Weymare* Castles were yielded up, and the whole County of *Kent* fully subdued. Whilst the Prince Anchored in the *Downs*, the States of *Scotland* invited him to them, and engaged the Publick Faith of that Kingdom for his well-being in Honour, Freedom, and Safety with them, or with their Army then in *England*, and to remove from them, or their Army, when, or whither he pleased. But he having written to the House of Lords for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain summoned the Earl of *Warwick* (Admiral for the Parliament) to submit to him as his next Captain-General under the King, and beginning to stand in need of Provision, went with his Fleet into *Holland*.

Colchester besieged.

Part of the Navy revolt to Prince *Charles*.

A Party of his, landing in *Kent*, are beaten.

The States of *Scotland* invite the Prince of *Wales* to them.

The Earl of *Holland* takes up Arms for the King.

But the Earl of *Holland* being commissioned from the Prince, raised a fresh Insurrection, just as it were in view of the Parliament at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, his chief Associates were the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother the Lord *Francis Villiers*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*. *July* 2d. they rendezvoused near *Kingston*, and had Five hundred Horse, and some Foot upon the Heath there, and from thence they marched to *Darking*, and would have possessed *Rygate*, but were prevented; for Colonel *Rich* and Major *Gibbons* marched towards them, and thereupon they retreated towards *Kingston*, and being closely pursued, they sent away their Foot before to secure their Retreat to the Town, and made a stand between *Ewel* and *Nonsuch* Park, where the pursuers overtook and engaged them; the Fight was short and sharp, wherein the Lord *Francis Villiers* (refusing Quarter) was slain, with a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and others, and the rest put to flight, and many Prisoners of note were taken; the Earl of *Holland* got into *Kingston*, but staid not long there, but fled with all speed to Saint *Neots* in *Huntingtonshire*, where he was totally subdued, and taken by Colonel *Scroop*, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle, and *Dalbier* was there lodged, but the Duke of *Buckingham* retired to *Wales*, *Lincolnshire*, and escaped beyond Sea; *Colchester* yet held out courageously, making frequent Sallies upon the Besiegers with indifferent Success, and good hopes of Relief from the North; for the Parliament of *Scotland* had been ever since the Second of *March*, and were much disgusted at the English Proceedings, in reference to the King, which was not a little encreased by the report of their Commissioners now returned, so that now they found that the Parliament of *England* made their Votes Oracles concerning the payment of the Monies due upon account of their Auxiliary Armies, both in *England* and *Scotland*, and on the four and twentieth Day of *July* passed an Ordinance to establish the Presbyterian Government in *England* and *Ireland*, (viz.) under Classical, Provincial, and Parochial Assemblies; yet all would not serve, for they had framed a Committee of Danger, to consult of their Affairs in relation to *England*, the major part whereof being of *Hamilton*'s Faction, Voted a War. And the *Scots* published a Declaration, wherein they proposed:

1648.

He is routed, and the Lord *Francis Villiers* slain.

The Earl taken at St. *Neots*.

An Ordinance for establishing the Presbyterian Government in *England*.

That the King may come to London, *or some of his Houses near, and that with safety.*

That reparation be made for his coming away, or satisfaction by punishing them that did it.

That the Army under the L. *Fairfax be disbanded.*

That Presbytery be settled, and Sectaries punished.

That all Members of the House be restored.

The *Scots* Declaration.

These Actings drew many of the King's Party from the Northern parts to *Appleby*, and *Wetton*, a Captain in the English Army marched to them with his Troop, and Fifty Foot, and two Companies of Foot landing out of *Ireland* at *Chester*, and marched thither also: Moreover *Berwick* was surprized by some Royalists, and Sir *Thomas Glenham* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* raised Forces for the King in *Westmorland* and *Cumberland*, with which they seized on *Carlisle*, and with them joined Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with some Horse being Commissioned to be General of the English Forces for the King, with which now encreased to Three thousand he quelled about the Northern Counties.

Kent and *Carlisle* surprized.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made General of the English Forces for the King.

July the thirteenth, a Scotch Army under Duke *Hamil-*

1648. *Hamilton* entred *England*, the Van was brought up by the Duke himself, the main Body by Major General *Middleton*, and the Rear by the Earl of *Calender*, these joyned with *Langdale*, and fell upon Major-General *Lambert* near *Appleby*, and forced him to retire into the Town, from thence he retreated to *Kirkby-Stephen*, and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his Forces behind him to defend the Castle, which was believed would be taken *August* 7. by Sir *Philip Musgrave*. Colonel *Boynton* Governour of *Scarborough* Castle, declared for the King, and *Pomfret* Castle was taken by Major *Morel*; so *Tinmouth* Castle, Lieutenant-Colonel *Henry Lilburn* declared for the King, but the Castle was suddenly retaken by Sir *Arthur Haslerig*.

The *Scots* enter *England* under Duke *Hamilton*, and joyn with *Langdale*.

The Scots Army defeated by Lieutenant-General Cromwel.

The Scots Army stayed some time at *Kendal* in *Westmorland*, and Major-General *Lambert*'s Army encreased daily with additional Forces, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* having quieted *Yorkshire*, marched to join with him, and in his way took *Pomfret* Town, but not the Castle; *Hamilton* left *Kendal*, and marched into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*, which the English Army resolved to hinder, and therefore marched to *Preston*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with their Forces, reported to be twenty thousand strong, *Cromwel* and *Lambert* now joyned, were reckoned to have Five thousand Horse and Dragoons, and Seven thousand Foot. *August* the 17th both Armies faced one another, Major *Smithson* commanded the Forlorn of the *English*, who charged furiously on the *Scots* Van, and routed them, and charged the whole Army, and so the Battle joyned on a Moor two Miles East of *Preston*, and the fight was very hot for two Hours, and then the *Scots* gave ground, which encouraged the *English* to pursue them, and that so fiercely, that they were forced to divide, one part being a Body of Three thousand Horse, moved toward *Lancaster*, and was followed and dispersed by Colonel *Twisleton* and Colonel *Thornlow*, (who took multitudes of them Prisoners;) and the other part, Horse and Foot, marched over the River *Ribble*, whom the Main of the *English* Army followed, and at *Ribble* Bridge the *Scots* made a stand, defending the Pass stoutly for two Hours, even to the Push of Pike, but were then constrained to retire. The next Morning the *Scots* drew up on a Hill on the side of *Preston*, whence being forced by the *English*, they fled in great disorder to *Wiggon*, which they plundered, and the next Morning after, marched towards *Warrington*, (the *English* pursuing all the way;) near *Warrington* the *Scots* taking advantage of a Pass, [illegible] another half, but were again beaten with [illegible] Thousand Men, and were pursued to [illegible] where the Foot, in number [illegible] defended by the Horse, laid down their Arms and submitted to Mercy; *Hamilton* got away with Three thousand Horse to *Nantwich*, where the Country being up in Arms, seized upon most of them; Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* marched towards *Cheshire*, to meet *Monroe*, who was marching with a Reserve of *Scots*, giving order [illegible] the Parliament Commanders in their Countries to follow the flying *Scots*, the Forces of whom Major-General *Middleton*, who commanded a Body of Horse, was defeated and taken Prisoner, and the rest dispersed: *Hamilton* himself was met with at *Uttoxeter*, and made to submit to mercy by the Lord *Gray* of *Groby*, who took the Prisoner to *Ashby de la Zouch*; in this Days Fight, the [illegible] took more Prisoners than their whole Army amounted to. The *Scots* Ensigns, Cornets, and Colours taken, were after-ward hung up in *Westminster-Hall*; Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was apprehended in an Inn: *Cromwel* improved his Success, and came to *Berwick*, to look out *Monroe*, supposed to be about five thousand strong: but the true Presbyterian Party in *Scotland* having now recovered the Sword, ordered him to return, which he obeyed more for fear of the *English*, than obedience to them, and joyning with the Earl of *Lanerick*, both together they made Eight thousand Horse and Foot; to oppose whom, the Anti-Hamiltonians provided an Army, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was Commander in Chief, and *David Leslie* Lieutenant General; but being too weak to fight them, *Cromwel* entred *Scotland* by their invitation, and to smooth his way, he published the following Declaration:

1648. *Hamilton* taken Prisoner by the Lord *Gray* of *Groby*.

Cromwel enters *Scotland*.

His Declaration.

Whereas we are marching with the Forces of the Parliament of England *into the Kingdom of* Scotland, *in pursuance of the remainder part of the Enemy that have invaded this Kingdom of* England, *and the Garrisons of* Berwick, *and* Carlisle. *These are to declare, That if any Officer or Soldier under my command, shall take or demand any Money, or shall take any Horse, Goods, or Victuals without Order, or shall abuse the People in any sort, he shall be tried and punished with Death, by a Court Martial.*

To him *Argyle*, *Dundee*, *Lowrin*, and other of the Scotch Nobility repaired, and contracted with him for subduing the publick Enemy: and so much feared was he in *Scotland*, that the following Agreement was consented to by them:

First, *That the Army under* Argyle, *and the other under* Lanerick *and* Monroe, *with all the Forces in any of the Garrisons in* Scotland, *be disbanded, and* Barwick *and* Carlisle *be delivered to the English.*

Secondly, *That the settlement of Religion at home, and promoting Reformation abroad, be ordered by the determination of the General Assembly, and all Civil differences be referred to a Parliament speedily to be called.*

Thirdly, *That no Party that were in the last Engagement against* England, *but the new Parliament, or the General Assembly.*

And so he returned into *England*, after he had been invited to *Edenburgh*, to Feasts and Banquets, and highly caressed by the States of *Scotland*, with all expressions of Honour. And in *Yorkshire*, as he marched homewards, he was desired to reduce *Scarbrough* and *Pomfret* Castles, which was then promised, but not till some time after effected. *Colchester* had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such a scarcity of Provision, that the besieged had not Horse-flesh enough to serve them one day (that being the Food which they had fed on almost a fortnight, and not purchased without much Blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses,) and now perceiving all hopes of Succour utterly frustrated, they were necessitated to yield upon these Conditions following:

That the Common Soldiers to depart with Life; and the Officers to remain at the General's disposal, and be

to

1648. Colchester yielded upon Conditions.

to exempt from mercy whom he pleased; the remainder to be remitted to the Parliaments Mercy, and the Town to raise Fourteen thousand pound to preserves it from Plunder.

The Prisoners of Quality were the Earl of *Norwich*, *Capel*, and *Loughborough*, eleven Knights, twelve Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, and sixty five Gentlemen, the private Soldiers were about three thousand; three of the Knights were condemned to die by a Court-Marshal (*viz.*) Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoin* a *Florentine*; but the last was Reprieved because a stranger, and the other two shot to Death, the first having (as the General said in his Letter to the Parliament) falsified his word with him; the second directed the shooting of poysoned Bullets, against the Laws of Arms.

Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle* shot to Death. This was alledged but never proved.

And so General *Fairfax*, after much loss of time and men, and difficult Service for a quarter of a year, took possession of the Town of *Colchester*, *August* the 27*th*. after which he marched up and down the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Hartford* to settle Peace, and visit the Garrisons, and then returned to St. *Albans*, his Head Quarters. And thus we have briefly described the Military Actions of this year; and whilst the Army was busied in fighting, the Parliament were taken up with Petitions from the several Counties for a Treaty with the King; the City of *London* among the rest had preferred one, and withal desired, as in one before, the release of their imprisoned Citizens, which were the Aldermen *Langham* and *Bunch*, and Serjeant *Glyn* their Recorder: to which the Houses readily consented and likewise Repealed their Orders against the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, and the Lords, *Berkley*, *Hunsdon*, *Maynard*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and the eleven Members; for they became very well inclined to Peace with the King, now they were freed from the insolency of the Army by their distance from them, and a Treaty was resolved on, and the Earl of *Middlesex*, Sir *John Hipsley*, and Mr. *Bulkley* were sent to the King, to let him know this their Resolution; who returned with his ready Compliance thereunto; upon which the Parliament voted,

Petitions from City and Country for a Treaty with the King.

The Vote of Non-Addresses recalled.

That the Votes of Non-Addresses should be recalled.

That such Persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty, be admitted.

That he be in the same state of freedom as at Hampton-Court, *with such Servants as he desired.*

That five Lords and ten Commons be chosen Commissioners to Treat with the King, and the place to be Newport *in the Isle of* Wight. *And that the King be admitted to invite the* Scots *thereunto, to Treat only concerning that Kingdom.*

Which Votes were sent down to the King, who was to Treat personally with these Commissioners, (*viz.*) the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Pembroke* and *Middlesex*, and the Lord *Say*, for the House of Lords; and the Lord *Wain-man*, *M. Pierpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Sir *John Pots*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr. *Bulkley*, for the House of Commons; and with these were joyned Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Glyn*.

The Commissioners sent with Propositions to the King.

Munday, *September* the eighteenth, the Treaty began: The Propositions were in number eleven.

The First was for calling in all the King's Declarations, which he assented to, with this Proviso, *That neither of this Concession, nor any other of his, advantage should be taken, unless the whole were concluded.* 1648.

The Second Proposition was, concerning the Settlement of the Church, in reference to which he condescended to settle the Directory, and to pass an Act to confirm the Assembly, and to establish the Presbyterian Government for three years, reserving Liberty to himself and his Party to use the old Form: But would not agree to the utter abolishing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the selling of their Lands.

The Third Proposition was, for settling the Militia in the hands of the Parliament for twenty years solely, to which he assented.

Likewise to the Fourth, for making void the Cessation of Ireland, *and remitting the Government of it, both Civil and Military, to the Two Houses at* West-minster.

And to the Fifth and Sixth, for nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away the Great Seal, and for payment of publick Debts.

The Seventh Proposition concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament proposed great severity; the King moderated thus, he who contented that they should be Fined, and prohibited access to Council or Court without the Parliaments consent; that they should be deprived for three years of their right of Sitting in Parliament, and brought to Trial (if the Two Houses should think fit) to suffer according to the merit, whereof they should be legally Convicted: But he would by no means hear of branding them with Treason, nor taking away their Lives or Possessions from any, but such as after a Legal Trial should be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land.

The Eighth, for impowring the Parliament to confer all Officers of the Kingdom, and the chief Magistrates for twenty years, he agreed to: And to

The Ninth, For confirming the new Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions sealed by it: And to

The Tenth, for ratifying all Privileges, Grants, and Charters, and Immunities to the City of London, *power to dispose of the Tower, and their own Militia to be confirmed to them: and the Citizens to be exempted from Military Service out of the Liberties of the City, unless at the Parliament's Appointment.*

The last was for total extirminating of the Court of Wards, which was also consented to, so as an Hundred thousand pounds might be yearly paid to the King by way of compensation for it.

The Earl of *Ormond* had gotten back into *Ireland*, and raised Forces there in opposition to the Parliament by the King's Commission: but the King assured the Commissioners, That if the Treaty should take effect, the *Irish* Affairs should be managed at the Discretion of the Houses only.

The King having thus far complied with the Parliament, they likewise at his desire Voted:

1648. *That he be in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, according to the Laws.*

Secondly, That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the Deductions for such Forts and Garrisons as were of old accustomed to be maintained.

Thirdly, That we have Compensation of the Court Wards.

Fourthly, That an Act of Oblivion be passed with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed on by both Houses.

Some thought now, that the King and Parliament would have united, but it was too late for those that might have saved the King before, if they would, to pretend to help him now, when it was out of their power. But whilst the King was Treating for Peace at the Isle of *Wight* with the Commissioners of Parliament, the Officers of the Army were contriving at *Windsor* the Destruction of both, and many private meetings were had both there and at *London*, by the Levellers and some of their Independent friends, about a Frame of Government to be represented to them, the result whereof was,

The Officers of the Army have many meetings about a new frame of Government.

That some Persons should be chosen by the Army to represent the whole Body, and that the well-affected in every County (for so they distinguished the Party) should chuse one Person to represent them, and those to meet at the Head-Quarters.

That these Persons ought not to exercise any Legislative Power, but only to draw up the Foundations of a just Government, and to propound them to the well-affected People in every County to be agreed to; which Agreement should be above Law, and therefore the Bounds, Limits, and Extent of the Peoples Legislative Deputies in Parliament, contained in the Agreement, should be drawn up into a Formal Contract, to be mutually Signed by the well-affected People, and their said Deputies upon the days of their Elections respectively.

To prevent Confusion, the Parliament may not be by Force immediately Dissolved, but the day of its Dissolution be inserted in the Agreement, by vertue whereof it should be Dissolved.

That this way of Settlement should be mentioned in a Remonstrance from the Army.

When these Proposals were transmitted to the Army, the matter thereof was very well approved of the chief Officers; then Colonel *Harrison* told the Agents imployed to them:

Colonel *Harrison's* Speech to the Agents.

That they could not stay so long from going to London, as to perfect an Agreement for such a Settlement, and without their speedy going (said he) we are unavoidably destroyed; we fully understand that the Treaty betwixt the King and the Parliament is almost concluded upon, at the conclusion whereof we shall be commanded by the King and Parliament to Disband, the which if we do, we are unavoidably destroyed for what we have done already; and if we do not Disband, they will by Act of Parliament Proclaim us Traitors, and declare us to be the only hinderers of setling Peace in the Nation, and then we shall never be able to Fight with both Interests of the King and the Parliament. So that he and the Officers with him declared, the first thing the Army was to do, was, *to cut off the King's Head, and force and throughly purge (if not Dissolve) the Parliament.* The Agents did not disapprove of this horrid Resolution, but prefsed against the doing it without first giving security to the Nation (to use their own words) for the future Settlement of their Liberties and Freedoms, especially in frequent, free and successive Representatives. The dire effects of these Councils will follow in the sequel of this History: In prosecution whereof, the Army sent up a Petition to the Parliament to try their Tempers. 1648.

The Army petition for Justice against the King.

For a scrutiny to be taken for a discovery of the Contrivers and Actors in the late bloody Wars, and that speedy Justice should be done upon them. That the same fault may have the same Justice and Punishment in the Person of the King or Lord, as in the Person of the poorest Commoner: that such as speak or act in the Kings behalf (tho he be acquitted of shedding Innocent Blood) be proceeded against as Traitors. When this would not do, they framed their Remonstrance in bolder Terms, which they sent to the Parliament by six Officers inclosed in a Letter from the General, dated *November* the 16th.

Their Remonstrance to the same effect.

Requiring, That the King be brought to Justice as the capital cause of all the evils of the Civil War.

Secondly, That a peremptory day be set for the summoning the Prince of Wales, *and Duke of* York, *and if they refused to come, to declare them incapable of Government or Succession; and to stand Exiled as Traytors; and if they render themselves, yet to be proceeded against for satisfaction, and the Revenues of the Crown be Sequestred.*

Thirdly, That publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.

And lastly, They concluded, desiring their Arrears, with the old pretence of easing the Country of free Quarter; and request that a period may be put to this Parliament, and a care taken to Elect new Representatives, and that no King should be admitted for the future, but upon Election of, and upon trust for the People, to be limited by the Representatives, &c.

In the mean time, General *Fairfax* commanded Colonel *Hammond* by his Letters to deliver up his Charge of the King's Person to Colonel *Ewer*, by whom the King was conveyed out of the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst Castle* the 30th. of *November*. But the Parliament declared their ill Resentment of this Action, and Voted, *That the seizing upon the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner unto* Hurst Castle, *was without the Advice and Consent of the Houses.*

Col. *Ewer* put in place of *Hammond.*

And thus the Treaty was violently broken off, yet the Lords Voted the King's Concessions a sufficient ground for Peace, and forthwith adjourn'd, and the Major part of the Commons Voted the same: But the Army being now come up to *London*, and Quartered at *White-Hall*, St. *James's*, the *Mews*, and several Villages near, they resolved to hinder these Proceedings, and therefore discharged the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Parliament, and ordered Colonel *Pride's* and *Rich's* Regiment to supply their places, by whom above forty Members coming to the House, were seized and committed to Guards in several Inns in *Westminster*, and the parts adjoyning; and not satisfied with this, they accused Major-General *Brown*, and ninety odd Members, for inviting in the *Scots* the last Summer, and therefore required they might be excluded the House: At these Proceedings, the

Divers Members of Parliament excluded by the Army.

Commons

1648. Commons (being displeased) Adjourned for four or five days, in which space the Army was busied in compleating their Model of Government, wherein it was amongst other things proposed:

The Parliament adjourn.

The Model of Government proposed by the Army.

That the present Parliament should be dissolved the last of April *next: And that the Representatives of the whole Nation should consist of three hundred persons, half which number should suffice to make an Act of Law, and that in the Intervals of Parliament a Council of the State should Govern.*

The Parliament new moulded by the Army, meet again.

And this Declaration, together with half a score of Modifications, they styled, *The Agreement of the People*; which was afterwards presented to the House of Commons, by Sir *Hardress Waller*, and sixteen Officers, when the House new-moulded by the Army, met again, (for besides those that they forced out, a great number absented themselves) and to testifie their Submission to the Army, they restored the Votes of Non-Addresses, and Repealed those which approved of the King's Concessions; and Voted, *That no Message be received from the King upon pain of Treason; That the General should take care of his Person; and that the Council of War should draw up a Charge of Treason against him*; which manifested that impious Intention to destroy him, which before they had determined: but before this open and avowed acting, some secret practices were designed upon his Life, as appeared in the Letters and Informations of one *Dawett* and *Osburn* against Capt *Rolph*, who commanded a Company of the Guards about the King, whom *Osburn* particularly accused to have projected his Death by Poison or Pistol, and not without the privity of Col. *Hammond*, and some Chiefs of the Army that incited him thereunto: and tho' great endeavours were used to obstruct any proceedings in the business, yet the clamour of People was so great, that they were forced to commit him to Prison, and subject him to Tryal; but by the stickling of some of the prevailing Party in his behalf, the Indictment against him was found *Ignoramus* by the Grand Jury of *Hampshire*, at *Southampton* or *Winchester*, by the Advice of *Maynard*, of Council with him, because there was but one Witness to each Fact, as in cases of Treason there ought to have been two.

Their Votes.

Secret practices to take away the King's life.

The King removed from *Hurst* Castle.

December 10th. the King was brought from *Hurst Castle* with a strong Guard to *Winchester*, next day to *Farnham*, and the next day to *Windsor*: In the mean time the two Houses differed among themselves; the Commons asserted, That it is Treason for the King to Levy War against the Common-wealth, and drew up an Ordinance for his Tryal as a Traitor; and the Lords denied that the King can commit any Treason against the Commonwealth, and therefore rejected the Ordinance of the Commons, and declared, *That no Act of the Commons is binding without their consent*; and Adjourned for a Fortnight; upon which the Commons Voted, *That all Members and others appointed to act in any Ordinance with Peers, are impowered and enjoyned to sit, act, and execute, notwithstanding the Peers joyned not herein*; and so earnest were both the Commons and the Army about the King's Tryal, that the Queen desiring to see her Husband before his Arraignment, could not obtain a Pass for her secure coming and returning.

The Two Houses Clash.

Jan. 6th. the Ordinance for the King's Trial was turned into an Act of the Commons alone, and ingrossed, and Proclamation was made two days after in *Westminster Hall*, *Cheapside*, and the old *Exchange*, for Witnesses to come in against him, and Commissioners were appointed about it; and now a Suborned Faction in the City petitioned the House for Justice against the King: And *Hilary* Term beginning *January* 23d. was Adjourned till fourteen days after, to give place to the Proceedings against him.

1648.

Jan. 19. the King was brought from *Windsor* to St. *James's* House, and all things were prepared for his fatal Tragedy, in which the Commons proceeded, notwithstanding the dissent of the House of Lords, and the Remonstance of the Parliament of *Scotland*, now convened against it: The Act of Parliament which directed the Trial of the King appointed a new Tribunal, called the *High Court of Justice*, who were impowred to Convene, Hear, Judge, and Execute *Charles Stewart*, King of *England*. His Title in Writs they abrogated, and ordered the Great Seal of *England* to be broken, and a new Seal to be made, with the Cross for *England*, and the Harp for *Ireland* thereon, and these words, *The Great Seal of England*, and on the Reverse, the Picture of the House of Commons Sitting, with these words, *In the first year of Freedom by Gods Blessing restored*, 1648.

The King is brought to Saint *James's*

A High Court of Justice erected for the Trial of the King.

A New Great Seal made.

Thus this Great, tho' the Unfortunate Prince, Monarch of three Mighty Kingdoms, was now, through the inscrutable Providence of the Omnipotent Disposer of all things, subjected to the miserable condition of a calamitous Prisoner to his own Subjects, by whom he was Tried, Condemned, and lastly beheaded, under a Form of Justice. Some of the more *immediate* and inconsiderable Actors in this horrid Murther, passed the hands of the Executioner, as you will see hereafter: but the more *Remote* and *Eminent Regicides*, who only can be said to have killed the *King*, have escaped their Judgment in this World, being to receive their Doom in the World to come.

Of his Taxations.

KIng *James* dying, left his Son a large Dominion, but a poor Exchequer, which was the occasion that his Taxations were more frequent than before in his Father's Reign.

In his first year, the Parliament at their first Session granted him two Subsidies from Protestants and four from Popish Recusants, and from the Clergy three; and till the Parliament took order therein, he continued the Levies as in his Father's time, of Tonnage, Poundage, and other Sums by way of Impost upon Merchandise Imported and Exported.

In his second year he engaged in a War with *France*, and for the Relief of *Rochel*, he Raised near Two hundred thousand pounds by Loan.

In his third year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, they gave him five Subsidies.

In his sixth year, he revived an ancient †Custom or Usage, by which all that were qualified by the Law for Knight-hood, were to take upon them that Order, or to make Fine for respite of the same, whereby an Hundred thousand pound was brought into the Exchequer.

† See Coke's Second Book of Institutes, *fol.* 593. Statute de militibus.

In his ninth year, by the advice of his Attorney-General, and other his Council learned in the Laws,

1648. *Hamilton* entred *England*, the Van was brought up by the Duke himself, the main Body by Major General *Middleton*, and the Rear, by the Earl of *Calender*, these joyned with *Langdale*, and fell upon Major-General *Lambert* neer *Appleby*, and forced him to retire into the Town, from thence he retreated to *Kirby-Steven*, and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his Forces behind him to defend the Castle, which was besieged and taken *August* 7. by Sir *Philip Musgrave*. [illegible] declared for the King, and *Pontefract* Castle was taken by Major *Morris*; [illegible] Castle, Lieutenant-Colonel *Henry Lawson* declared for the King, but the Castle was suddenly retaken by Sir [illegible]

The *Scots* enter *England* under Duke *Hamilton*, and joyn with *Langdale*.

The *Scots* Army defeated by Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*.

The Scots staid some time at *Kendal* in *Westmorland*, and Major-General *Lambert*'s Army encreased daily with additional Forces, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* having quieted *Wales*, marched to join with him, and in his way took *Pontefract* Town, but not the Castle; [illegible] left *Kendall*, and marched into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*, which the English Army resolved to hinder, and therefore marched to *Preston*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with their Forces, reported to be Twenty thousand strong. *Cromwel* and *Lambert* now joyned, were reckoned to have Five thousand Horse and Dragoons, and Seven thousand Foot. *August* the 17th. both Armies faced one another, Major-General *Lambert* commanded the Forlorn of the English, who charged furiously on the *Scots* Van, and routed them, and Armed the whole Army, and to the Battle joyned on a *Moor* two Miles East of *Preston*, and the fight was very hot for two Hours, and then the *Scots* gave ground, which encouraged the *English* to pursue them, and that so fiercely, that they were forced to divide, one part being a Body of Three thousand Horse, moved toward *Lancaster*, and was followed and dispersed by Colonel *Twisleton* and Colonel *Thornlow*, (who took multitudes of them Prisoners;) and the other part, Horse and Foot, marched over the River *Ribble*, whom the Main of the *English* Army followed, and at *Ribble* Bridge the *Scots* made a stand, defending the Pass stourly for two Hours, even to the Push of Pike, but were then constrained to retire. The next Morning the *Scots* drew up on a Hill on the side of *Preston*, whence being forced by the *English*, they fled in great disorder to *Wigan*, which they plundered, and the next Morning after, marched towards *Warrington*, (the *English* pursuing all the way;) near [illegible] the *Scots* having advantage of a Pass, [illegible] another half, but were again beaten with [illegible] Thousand Men, and were pursued to the very Bridge, where the Foot, in number 4000. being deserted by the Horse, laid down their Arms, and submitted to Mercy; *Hamilton* got away with Three thousand Horse to *Nantwich*, where the Country being up in Arms, seized upon most of them; Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* marched towards *Cumberland*, to meet *Monroe*, who was marching with a Reserve of *Scots*, giving order to the Parliament Commanders in those Counties to follow the flying *Scots*, by some of whom Major-General *Middleton* was commanded Post with Horse, was defeated and taken Prisoner, and the rest dispersed: *Hamilton* himself was met with at *Uttoxeter*, and made to submit to mercy by the Lord *Gray* of *Groby*, [illegible] Prisoners [illegible] in this Days Fight, the [illegible] more Prisoners than their whole Army amounted to. The *Scots* Ensigns, Cornets, and Colours taken, were afterward hung up in *Westminster-Hall*. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was apprehended in an Inn; *Cromwel* improved his Success, and came to *Durham*, to look out *Monroe*, supposed to be about Ten thousand strong: but the stricter Presbyterian Party in *England* having [illegible] the Sword, ordered him to return, which he obeyed more for fear of the *English*, than Affection to them, and joyning with the Earl of *Lanerick*, both together they made Eight thousand Horse and Foot; to oppose whom, the Anti-Hamiltonians provided an Army, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was Commander in Chief, and *David Lesly* Lieutenant General; but being too weak to fight them, *Cromwel* entred *Scotland* by their invitation, and to smooth his way, he published the following Declaration:

1648. *Hamilton* taken Prisoner by the Lord *Gray* of *Groby*.

Cromwel enters *Scotland*.

His Declaration.

Wherein we are marching with the Forces of the Parliament of England *into the Kingdom of* Scotland, *the Parliament of the remaining part of the Enemy in the Commonwealth of* England, *and the Committee of the Garrisons of* Berwick, *and* Carlisle, *hereby are to declare, That if any Officer or Soldier under my command, shall take or demand any Money, or shall take any Horses, Goods, or Victuals without Order, or shall abuse the People in any sort, he shall be tryed and punished with Death, by a Court Martial.*

To him *Argyle*, [illegible], *Lowen*, and other of the Scotch Nobility repaired, and contracted with him for subduing the publick Enemy: And so much feared was he in *Scotland*, that the following Agreement was consented to by them:

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Secondly, *That the settlement of Religion at home, and promoting Reformation abroad, be ordered by the determination of the General Assembly, and all Civil differences be referred to a Parliament speedily to be called.*

Thirdly, *That no Party that were in the last Engagement against* England, *be of the new Parliament, or of the General Assembly.*

And so he returned into *England*, after he had been invited to *Edenburgh*, to Feasts and Banquets, and highly caressed by the States of *Scotland*, with all expressions of Honour. And in *Yorkshire*, as he marched homewards, he was desired to reduce *Scarbrough* and *Pomfret* Castles, which was then promised, but not till some time after effected. *Colchester* had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such a scarcity of Provision, that the besieged had not Horse-flesh enough to serve them one day (that being the Food which they had fed on almost a fortnight, and not purchased without much Blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses,) and now perceiving all hopes of Succour utterly frustrated, they were necessitated to yield upon these Conditions following:

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to

1648. Colchester yielded upon Conditions.

to exempt from mercy whom he pleased; the remainder to be remitted to the Parliaments Mercy, and the Town to raise Fourteen thousand pound to preserves it from Plunder.

The Prisoners of Quality were the Earl of *Norwich*, *Capel*, and *Loughborough*, eleven Knights, twelve Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, and sixty five Gentlemen, the private Soldiers were about three thousand; three of the Knights were condemned to die by a Court-Marshal (*viz.*) Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoyne*; but the last was Reprieved because a Stranger, and the other two shot to Death, the first having (as the General said in his Letter to the Parliament) falsified his word with him; the second directed the shooting of poysoned Bullets, against the Laws of Arms.

Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle shot to Death. *This was alledged but never proved.

And so General *Fairfax*, after much loss of time and men, and difficult Service for a quarter of a year, took possession of the Town of *Colchester*, *August* the 27*th*. after which he marched up and down the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Hartford* to settle Peace, and visit the Garrisons, and then returned to St. *Albans*, his Head Quarters. And thus we have briefly described the Military Actions of this year; and whilst the Army was busied in fighting, the Parliament were taken up with Petitions from the several Counties for a Treaty with the King; the City of *London* among the rest had preferred one, and withal desired, as in one before, the release of their imprisoned Citizens, which were the Aldermen *Langham* and *Bunch*, and Serjeant *Glyn* their Recorder: to which the Houses readily consented and likewise Repealed their Orders against the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, and the Lords, *Berkley*, *Hunsdon*, *Maynard*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and the eleven Members; for they became very well inclined to Peace with the King, now they were freed from the insolency of the Army by their distance from them, and a Treaty was resolved on, and the Earl of *Middlesex*, Sir *John Hipsley*, and Mr. *Bulkley* were sent to the King, to let him know this their Resolution; who returned with his ready Compliance thereunto; upon which the Parliament voted,

Petitions from City and Country for a Treaty with the King.

The Vote of Non-Addresses recalled.

That the Votes of Non-Addresses should be recalled.

That such Persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty, be admitted.

That he be in the same state of freedom as at Hampton-Court, *with such Servants as he desired.*

That five Lords and ten Commons be chosen Commissioners to Treat with the King, and the place to be Newport *in the Isle of* Wight. *And that the King be admitted to invite the* Scots *thereunto, to Treat only concerning that Kingdom.*

Which Votes were sent down to the King, who was to Treat personally with these Commissioners, (*viz.*) the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Pembroke* and *Middlesex*, and the Lord *Say*, for the House of Lords; and the Lord *Wain-man*, M. *Pierpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Sir *John Pots*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr. *Bulkley*, for the House of Commons; and with these were joyned Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Glyn*.

The Commissioners sent with Propositions to the King.

Munday, *September* the eighteenth, the Treaty began: The Propositions were in number eleven.

The First was for calling in all the King's Declarations, which he assented to, with this Proviso, That neither of this Concession, nor any other of his, advantage should be taken, unless the whole were concluded. 1648.

The Second Proposition was, concerning the Settlement of the Church, in reference to which he condescended to settle the Directory, and to pass an Act to confirm the Assembly, and to establish the Presbyterian Government for three years, reserving Liberty to himself [illegible] in the third form; but would not agree to the utter abolishing of the Episcopal Government, nor the selling of their Lands.

The Third Proposition was, for settling the Militia in the hands of the Parliament for twenty years solely, to which he assented.

Likewise to the Fourth, for making void the Cessation of Ireland, *and remitting the Government of it, both Civil and Military, to the Two Houses at* Westminster.

And to the Fifth and Sixth, for nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away the Great Seal, and for payment of publick Debts.

The Seventh Proposition concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament proposed great severity; the King moderated thus, he was contented that they should be Fined, and prohibited access to Council or Court without the Parliaments consent; that they should be deprived for three years of their right of Sitting in Parliament, and brought to Trial (if the Two Houses should think fit) to suffer according to the merit, whereof they should be legally Convicted: But he would by no means hear of branding them with Treason, nor taking away their Lives or Possessions from any, but such as after a Legal Trial should be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land.

The Eighth, for impowring the Parliament to confer all Officers of the Kingdom, and the chief Magistrates for twenty years, he agreed to: And to

The Ninth, For confirming the new Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions sealed by it: And to

The Tenth, for ratifying all Privileges, Grants, and Charters, and Immunities to the City of London, *power to dispose of the Tower, and their own Militia to be confirmed to them: and the Citizens to be exempted from Military Service out of the Liberties of the City, unless at the Parliament's Appointment.*

The last was for total extinguishing of the Court of Wards, which was also consented to, so as an Hundred thousand pounds might be yearly paid to the King by way of compensation for it.

The Earl of *Ormond* had gotten back into *Ireland*, and raised Forces there in opposition to the Parliament by the King's Commission: but the King assured the Commissioners, That if the Treaty should take effect, the *Irish* Affairs should be managed at the Discretion of the Houses only.

The King having thus far complied with the Parliament, they likewise at his desire Voted:

1648. *That he be in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, according to the Laws.*

Secondly, That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the Deductions for such Forts and Garrisons as were of old accustomed to be maintained.

Thirdly, That we have Compensation of the Court Wards.

Fourthly, That an Act of Oblivion be passed with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed on by both Houses.

Some thought now, that the King and Parliament would have united, but it was too late for those that might have saved the King before, if they would, to pretend to help him now, when it was out of their power. But whilst the King was Treating for Peace at the Isle of *Wight* with the Commissioners of Parliament, the Officers of the Army were contriving at *Windsor* the Destruction of both, and many private meetings were had both there and at *London*, by the Levellers and some of their Independent friends, about a Frame of Government to be represented to them, the result whereof was,

The Officers of the Army have many meetings about a new frame of Government.

That some Persons should be chosen by the Army to represent the whole Body, and that the well-affected in every County (for so they distinguished the Party) *should chuse one Person to represent them, and those to meet at the Head-Quarters.*

That these Persons ought not to exercise any Legislative Power, but only to draw up the Foundations of a just Government, and to propound them to the well-affected People in every County to be agreed to; which Agreement should be above Law, and therefore the Bounds, Limits, and Extent of the Peoples Legislative Deputies in Parliament, contained in the Agreement, should be drawn up into a Formal Contract, to be mutually Signed by the well-affected People, and their said Deputies upon the days of their Elections respectively.

To prevent Confusion, the Parliament may not be by Force immediately Dissolved, but the day of its Dissolution be inserted in the Agreement, by vertue whereof it should be Dissolved.

That this way of Settlement should be mentioned in a Remonstrance from the Army.

When these Proposals were transmitted to the Army, the matter thereof was very well approved of the chief Officers; then Colonel *Harrison* told the Agents imployed to them:

Colonel *Harrison's* Speech to the Agents.

That they could not stay so long from going to London, *as to perfect an Agreement for such a Settlement, and without their speedy going* (said he) *we are unavoidably destroyed; we fully understand that the Treaty betwixt the King and the Parliament is almost concluded upon, at the conclusion whereof we shall be commanded by the King and Parliament to Disband, the which if we do, we are unavoidably destroyed for what we have done already; and if we do not Disband, they will by Act of Parliament Proclaim us Traitors, and declare us to be the only hinderers of setling Peace in the Nation, and then we shall never be able to Fight with both Interests of the King and the Parliament.* So that he and the Officers with him declared, the first thing the Army was to do, was, *to cut off the King's Head, and force and throughly purge* (if not Dissolve) *the Parliament.* The Agents did not disapprove of this horrid Resolution, but prest against the doing it without first giving security to the Nation (to use their own words) for the future Settlement of their Liberties and Freedoms, especially in frequent, free, and successive Representatives. The dire effects of these Councils will follow in the sequel of this History: In prosecution whereof, the Army sent up a Petition to the Parliament to try their Tempers. 1648.

The Army petition for Justice against the King.

For a scrutiny to be taken for a discovery of the Contrivers and Actors in the late bloody Wars, and that speedy Justice should be done upon them. That the same fault may have the same Justice and Punishment in the Person of the King or Lord, as in the Person of the poorest Commoner: that such as speak or act in the Kings behalf (till he be acquitted of shedding Innocent Blood) be proceeded against as Traitors. When this would not do, they framed their Remonstrance in bolder Terms, which they sent to the Parliament by six Officers inclosed in a Letter from the General, dated *November* the 16th.

Their Remonstrance to the same effect.

Requiring, That the King be brought to Justice as the capital cause of all the evils of the Civil War.

Secondly, That a peremptory day be set for the summoning the Prince of Wales, *and Duke of* York, *and if they refused to come, to declare them incapable of Government or Succession, and to stand Exiled as Traytors; and if they rendred themselves, yet to be proceeded against for satisfaction, and the Revenues of the Crown be Sequestred.*

Thirdly, That publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.

And lastly, They concluded, desiring their Arrears, with the old pretence of easing the Country of free Quarter; and request that a period may be put to this Parliament, and a care taken to Elect new Representatives, and that no King should be admitted for the future, but upon Election of, and upon trust for the People, to be limited by the Representatives, &c.

In the mean time, General *Fairfax* commanded Colonel *Hammond* by his Letters to deliver up his Charge of the King's Person to Colonel *Ewer*, by whom the King was conveyed out of the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst Castle* the 30th. of *November*. But the Parliament declared their ill Resentment of this Action, and Voted, *That the seizing upon the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner unto* Hurst Castle, *was without the Advice and Consent of the Houses.*

Col. *Ewer* put in place of *Hammond.*

And thus the Treaty was violently broken off, yet the Lords Voted the King's Concessions a sufficient ground for Peace, and forthwith adjourn'd, and the Major part of the Commons Voted the same: But the Army being now come up to *London*, and Quartered at *White-Hall*, St. *James's*, the *Mews*, and several Villages near, they resolved to hinder these Proceedings, and therefore discharged the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Parliament, and ordered Colonel *Pride's* and *Rich's* Regiment to supply their places, by whom above forty Members coming to the House, were seized and committed to Guards in several Inns in *Westminster*, and the parts adjoyning; and not satisfied with this, they accused Major-General *Brown*, and ninety odd Members, for having in the *Scots* the last Summer, and therefore required they might be excluded the House. At these Proceedings, the

Divers Members of Parliament excluded by the Army.

Commons

1648. Commons (being displeased) Adjourned for four or five days, in which space the Army was busied in compleating their Model of Government, wherein it was amongst other things proposed:

The Parliament adjourn.

The Model of Government proposed by the Army.

That the present Parliament should be dissolved the last of April *next: And that the Representatives of the whole Nation should consist of three hundred persons, half which number should suffice to make an Act of Law, and that in the Intervals of Parliament a Council of the State should Govern.*

The Parliament new moulded by the Army, meet again.

And this Declaration, together with half a score of Modifications, they stiled, *The Agreement of the People*; which was afterwards presented to the House of Commons, by Sir *Hardress Waller*, and sixteen Officers, when the House new-moulded by the Army, met again, (for besides those that they forced out, a great number absented themselves) and to testifie their Submission to the Army, they restored the Votes of Non-Addresses, and Repealed those which approved of the King's Concessions; and Voted, *That no Message be received from the King upon pain of Treason; That the General should take care of his Person; and that the Council of War should draw up a Charge of Treason against him*; which manifested that impious Intention to destroy him, which before they had determined: but before this open and avowed acting, some secret practices were designed upon his Life, as appeared in the Letters and Informations of one *Dawet* and *Osburn* against Capt *Rolph*, who commanded a Company of the Guards about the King, whom *Osburn* particularly accused to have projected his Death by Poison or Pistol, and not without the privity of Col. *Hammond*, and some Chiefs of the Army that incited him thereunto: and tho' great endeavours were used to obstruct any proceedings in the business, yet the clamour of People was so great, that they were forced to commit him to Prison, and subject him to Tryal; but by the stickling of some of the prevailing Party in his behalf, the Indictment against him was found *Ignoramus* by the Grand Jury of *Hampshire*, at *Southampton* or *Winchester*, by the Advice of *Maynard*, of Council with him, because there was but one Witness to each Fact, as in cases of Treason there ought to have been two.

Their Votes.

Secret practices to take away the King's life.

The King removed from *Hurst* Castle.

December 10th. the King was brought from *Hurst Castle* with a strong Guard to *Winchester*, next day to *Farnham*, and the next day to *Windsor*: In the mean time the two Houses differed among themselves; the Commons asserted, That it is Treason for the King to Levy War against the Common-wealth, and drew up an Ordinance for his Tryal as a Traitor; and the Lords denied that the King can commit any Treason against the Commonwealth, and therefore rejected the Ordinance of the Commons, and declared, *That no Act of the Commons is binding without their consent*; and Adjourned for a Fortnight; upon which the Commons Voted, *That all Members and others appointed to act in any Ordinance with Peers, are impowred and enjoyned to sit, act, and execute, notwithstanding the Peers joyned not herein*; and so earnest were both the Commons and the Army about the King's Tryal, that the Queen desiring to see her Husband before his Arraignment, could not obtain a Pass for her secure coming and returning.

The Two Houses Clash.

Jan. 6th. the Ordinance for the King's Trial was turned into an Act of the Commons alone, and ingrossed, and Proclamation was made two days after in *Westminster Hall*, *Cheapside*, and the old *Exchange*, for Witnesses to come in against him, and Commissioners were appointed about it; and now a Suborned Faction in the City petitioned the House for Justice against the King: And *Hilary* Term beginning *January* 23d. was Adjourned till fourteen days after, to give place to the Proceedings against him. 1648.

Jan. 19. the King was brought from *Windsor* to St. *James's* House, and all things were prepared for his fatal Tragedy, in which the Commons proceeded, notwithstanding the dissent of the House of Lords, and the Remonstance of the Parliament of *Scotland*, now convened against it: The Act of Parliament which directed the Trial of the King appointed a new Tribunal, called the *High Court of Justice*, who were impowred to Convene, Hear, Judge, and Execute *Charles Stewart*, King of *England*. His Title in Writs they abrogated, and ordered the Great Seal of *England* to be broken, and a new Seal to be made, with the Cross for *England*, and the Harp for *Ireland* thereon, and these words, *The Great Seal of England*, and on the Reverse, the Picture of the House of Commons Sitting, with these words, *In the first year of Freedom by Gods Blessing restored*, 1648.

The King is brought to Saint *James's*

A High Court of Justice erected for the Trial of the King.

A New Great Seal made.

Thus this Great, tho' the Unfortunate Prince, Monarch of three Mighty Kingdoms, was now, through the inscrutable Providence of the Omnipotent Disposer of all things, subjected to the miserable condition of a calamitous Prisoner to his own Subjects, by whom he was Tried, Condemned, and lastly beheaded, under a Form of Justice. Some of the more *immediate* and inconsiderable Actors in this horrid Murther, passed the hands of the Executioner, as you will see hereafter: but the more *Remote* and *Eminent Regicides*, who only can be said to have killed the *King*, have escaped their Judgment in this World, being to receive their Doom in the World to come.

Of his Taxations.

KIng *James* dying, left his Son a large Dominion, but a poor Exchequer, which was the occasion that his Taxations were more frequent than before in his Father's Reign.

In his first year, the Parliament at their first Session granted him two Subsidies from Protestants and four from Popish Recusants, and from the Clergy three; and till the Parliament took order therein, he continued the Levies as in his Father's time, of Tonnage, Poundage, and other Sums by way of Impost upon Merchandise Imported and Exported.

In his second year he engaged in a War with *France*, and for the Relief of *Rochel*, he Raised near Two hundred thousand pounds by Loan.

In his third year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, they gave him five Subsidies.

In his sixth year, he revived an ancient †Custom or Usage, by which all that were qualified by the Law for Knighthood, were to take upon them that Order, or to make Fine for respite of the same, whereby an Hundred thousand pound was brought into the Exchequer.

† See Coke Second Book of Institutes, *fol.* 592. Statute de militibus.

In his ninth year, by the Advice of his Attorney-General, and other his Council learned in the Laws,

1648. Laws, ſeveral Writs were iſſued under the Great Seal of *England*; for the charging of the Ports, Towns, Cities, boroughs, and Counties of this Realm reſpectively, to provide and furniſh Ships for the Defence of the King and Kingdom, whereby great Summs were Raiſed. And in a Parliament holden in *Ireland*, the Deputy obtained ſome Subſidies for the Payment of the Army of that Realm, and the increaſe of his Majeſties Revenue there.

In his ſixteenth year, the Earl of *Strafford* obtained of the *Iriſh* Parliament the Grant of four Subſidies: and the Convocation of Biſhops in *England*, gave him an ample Benevolence of four Shillings in the pound for ſix years to be aſſeſſed, on all the Clergy in *England*, towards the carrying on a War with *Scotland* then begun.

And in the ſame year, the Parliament of *England* then Aſſembled, granted to him four entire Subſidies for relief of his Army then raiſed againſt the Scots, and for Relief of the Northern parts of the Kingdom, then much Burthened by an Army of the Scots quartering in thoſe Parts, who impoſed great Taxes on the Inhabitants where they lay for their Maintenance.

In his ſeventeenth year, the ſame Parliament granted two Subſidies for the further relief of his Majeſties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom: and likewiſe a Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage, and other ſums of Mony payable upon Merchandiſe exported and imported, from the twenty fifth of *May* to the fifteenth of *July* following; and when that Act was expiring, they granted another for the ſame Duties from the fifteenth of *July* to the tenth of *Auguſt* following; and by five other ſubſequent Acts, the Parliament granted the like Subſidy and Impoſition upon Merchandiſe to the third of *May*, 1642. And the ſaid ſeventeenth year, ſeveral ſumms of Money were by Act of Parliament charged on perſons according to their Ranks, Dignities, Offices, Callings, Eſtates and Quality, by way of Pole, for the ſpeedy Disbanding two Armies then in the bowels of the Kingdom.

This year alſo a Contribution and Loan was granted for the Relief of *Ireland*, where a bloody Rebellion had broken forth the year before.

And in his eighteenth year, an Act paſſed for Raiſing and Levying of Moneys for the neceſſary Defence and great Affairs of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the payment of Debts undertaken by the Parliament.

Theſe were all the Taxations either by Loan or otherwiſe Raiſed by Royal Authority during the King's Reign. But the War which the Parliament Raiſed without his Authority and againſt it, was Supported and Maintained by great and vaſt Summs of Money illegally Levied on the Subjects by Contribution, Aſſeſsments and Exciſe, which cannot be properly here inſerted; and we wiſh the memory of ſuch unjuſt Proceedings, may be for ever effaced.

Of the Laws made in his Reign.

HAving under the head of Taxations ſet down ſuch Acts of Parliament as granted Money to the King, we ſhall herein make no further mention of them in the enumeration of the other Laws enacted during the Reign.

In the Parliament holden in his firſt year, an Act was made for puniſhing abuſes on Sundays; And, 1648.

An Act to enable the King to make Leaſes of Lands parcel of his Dutchy of *Cornwal*; And,

An Act for eaſie obtaining Licenſes of Alienation, and in the Pleadings in the Exchequer or elſewhere; And,

An Act for reſtraining of ill behaviour in Inns and Ale-houſes.

In his Third year,

The Petition of Right was Enacted, and the ſeveral Statutes following, (*viz.*) An Act for Reformation of divers Abuſes committed on the Lord's-day, commonly called Sunday.

An Act to reſtrain the paſſing or ſending any to be Popiſhly bred beyond the Seas.

An Act for the better ſuppreſſing unlicenſed Ale-houſe-keepers.

An Act for Continuance and Repeal of divers Statutes.

An Act for Eſtabliſhing of the Eſtates of the Tenants of *Bromfield* and *Yale*, in the County of *Denbigh*, and for the Tenures, Rents, and Services thereon reſerved, according to a late compoſition made for the ſame.

In the 16*th*. 17*th*. and 18*th*. years of his Reign, the Laws hereafter mentioned were made, whereof ſuch of them as are ſince Repealed, we note with Rep. and ſuch as being but temporary Laws, and were ſince expired, we note Exp.

An Act for preventing of Inconveniencies happening by the long intermiſſions of Parliament, Exp.

An Act whereby the Lord Admiral, and others by his Authority, may raiſe and impreſs Mariners, Sailors, and others, for the preſent guarding of the Seas, and neceſſary Defence of the Realm, Exp.

An Act concerning the Limitations, and abbreviation of *Michaelmas* Term.

An Act declaring, That this Parliament ſhall not be Diſſolved, Prorogued, or Adjourned, but by Act of Parliament, Exp.

An Act for Regulating the Privy-Council, and taking away the *Star-Chamber*-Court.

An Act for Repeal of a Branch of a Statute *Primo Elizabethæ*, concerning Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

An Act for declaring the late Proceedings touching Ship-Money unlawful and void, and all Records and Proceſs concerning the ſame.

An Act againſt divers Incroachments and Oppreſſions in the Stannery Courts.

An Act for the certainty of Forreſts, and the Metes and Bounds of the Forreſt.

An Act for confirmation of the Treaty of Pacification between *England* and *Scotland*, with the Commiſſions and Articles thereupon, Exp.

An Act by which the Office of Clerk of the Market is allowed, and Regulated, and falſe Weights and Meaſures informed.

An Act for the prevention of Vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood.

An Act for bringing in of Gun-powder and Salt-peter from foreign parts, and for the free making of Gunpowder in this Realm: There were two Acts Paſſed ſucceſſively for the better Raiſing and Levying of Mariners, Sailors and others, for guarding the Seas, Exp.

An

1648. An Act was passed also for relief of Captives taken by Turkish and other Pirates, Exp.

An Act declaring, That Persons in Holy Orders shall not exercise certain Temporal Powers and Authorities, Rep.

An Act was also passed, for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in *Ireland*. And,

An Act for adding to, and explaining certain Clauses therein. And,

An Act by which Corporations and Bodies Politick are enabled to take the benefit of an Act for reducing of the Rebels in *Ireland*. And,

An Act for the further advancement of an effectual and speedy reduction of the Rebels in *Ireland*.

Moreover, besides the above-mentioned Statutes made in the 16*th*. 17*th*. and 18*th*. Years of this King, which were of publick concernment, there were several other Acts made of a more private Nature, the Titles whereof were:

An Act for the Attainder of *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, Rep.

An Act to enable the Marquis of *Winchester* to grant Estates for three Lives, or Twenty one Years, of Lands in the County of *Southampton*, reserving the old Rents.

An Act for naturalizing of *Dorothy Spencer*, Daughter of *Henry* Lord *Spencer*, Baron *Spencer* of *Wormleighton*.

An Act for enabling of the Sale, and Leasing of Lands for payment of the Debts of *Thomas* Earl of *Winchester*.

An Act for the settling and estating upon the Lady *Elizabeth* Countess Dowager of *Exeter*, her Heirs and Assigns for ever, the soil of the Hospital of St. *Leonards*, within the Town of *Newark* upon *Trent*, in the County of *Nottingham*, with the dwelling House, and other Buildings thereupon built, and of certain Closes and Grounds, parcel of the Possessions of the said Hospital, and for the settling of divers Lands and Tenements of better value, being the Inheritance of the said Countess, to be added to the Possessions of the said Hospital for ever, in lieu of the same.

An Act for making the Chapel of *Hool* in the County of *Lancaster*, a Parish Church, and no part of the Parish of *Croston*.

An Act for *John Eggar*'s Free-School within the Parish of *Alton* in the County of *Southampton*.

An Act for settling of certain Mannors, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, on *Katharine* Countess Dowager of *Bedford*, *William* now Earl of *Bedford*, *John Russel*, and *Edmond Russel* Esquires, Sons of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, deceased.

An Act for the confirmation of His Majesties Letters Patents to the Town of *Plymouth*, and for dividing the Parish, and building a new Church there.

An Act for the alteration of the Estate and Tenure of some Lands within the Parish of *Fulham* in the County of *Middlesex*, held of the Lord Bishop of *London*, as of the Mannor of *Fulham*.

An Act to settle the Mannor of *Belgrave*, and other Lands in the County of *Leicester*, to and upon *William Byrch* Esquire; his Heirs and Assigns, for and towards payment of the Debts of *William Davenport*, Esquire, deceased.

An Act to enable Sir *Alexander Denton*, Knight, to sell the Mannor of great *Barford*, and *Barford* St. *Michael*, and other Lands in this present Act mentioned for the payment of his Debts, and preferment of his younger Children. 1648.

An Act for the altering of a Messuage called *Durefm House*, alias *Durham House*, and certain Stables, part of the Possessions of the Bishop of *Duresm*, situate in the Parish of St. *Martin in the Fields*, in the County of *Middlesex*, unto the Right Honourable *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, and his Heirs, and a Yearly Rent of Two hundred Pounds a Year to the said Bishop of *Duresm* and his successors, in lieu thereof.

Affairs of the Church in His Time.

THE King was a Zealous Protestant, according to the Profession of the Church of *England*; for the Peace and Defence whereof, he laboured much all the time of his Reign, though the malice and ignorance of the Enemies thereof, much obstructed his Pious Endeavours.

In his first Year some Differences were revived about the Tenets of *Arminius*, which began in the latter end of his Father's Reign, and were heightned by the Commons House of the Parliament then newly Assembled, the Members whereof generally favoured the oppugners of those Points; and the Controversie was the more remarkable, because it divided the Bishops themselves; but those of that Order, that were reputed *Arminians*, did not own themselves to be such, but maintained, That what they held, was ever the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, contained in the Seventeenth Article thereof, and the like was affirmed by those that opposed those Tenents, so that both made claim to that Article; and about the exposition thereof, and the consequences from thence derived, the Peace of the Church was not a little disquieted: to put some stop to this growing Evil, a Conference was this Year kept in *York-House*, betwixt Dr. *Buckbridge* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Dr. *White* Dean of *Carlisle*, on the one side, and Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Coventry*, and Dr. *Preston* on the other, about these Points, and chiefly about the possibility of one elected, to fall from Grace; and the success of this, and of another in the same kind, answered neither the intention nor expectations of such as procured them; but the King taking notice of these Arminian Controversies, by his Declaration a while after published, forbad any in Preaching or Writing, to meddle with those high Points, as tending more to Destruction than Edification of the People.

A Conference at *York-house* for ending the Controversies of *Arminians* and *Calvinists*.

The King's Declaration against meddling with these Controversies.

In his fourth Year, at the Confirmation of Mr. *Richard Montague*, to be Bishop of *Chichester*, which was in *Bow-Church*, according to the usual custom in such Cases, all Persons were summoned to appear, to shew cause why the Elect there present should not be confirmed; whereupon one *William Jones* a Stationer of *London*, excepted against Mr. *Montague*, as unfitting for the Episcopal Office, because lately questioned by the Parliament for a Book he had writ, wherein they said were many dangerous Opinions of Arminianism and Popery; yet upon examination thereof, some sharp and invective Expressions were the greatest Offences in it: but Exceptions were taken at the Exceptions of

Bishop *Mountague* at his Consecration excepted against.

Jones,

1648. *Jones*, though the reason thereof appears not otherwise than what is alledged in the Record by Dr. *Rives* (Substitute at that time for the Vicar-General) *Quod nullo modo se unquam comperuit, nec aliquid in hac parte juxta Juris exigentiam duceret, excipere, vel opponere*, so that the Bishop was confirmed, and immediately after, he sued out a Pardon, under the Great Seal of *England*, for all Errors before committed, either in Speaking, Writing, or Printing, whereof he might hereafter be questioned.

The Contest between the Jesuites and Secular Priests.

In the same Year one *Richard Smith* a Secular Popish Priest, titular Bishop of *Calcedon*, *in partibus infidelium*, acted and exercised Episcopal Jurisdiction in *Lancashire*, with his Mitre and Crosier, conferring Orders on divers Priests, and in granting and administring Confirmation, which much disturbed the Peace of the Church of *England*, and made disorders amongst their own Party: for *Nicholas Smith* a Jesuite wrote bitterly against him, urging, That a Bishop over the English Catholicks was useless in times of Persecution (as he called it) there being but two peculiar Performances of a Bishop, (*viz.*) Ordination and Confirmation; for the former, it might be supplyed by foreign Bishops, since the English Priests were most bred abroad; and for the latter, he offered out of *Thomas Aquinas* and other Divines, that by Commission from the Pope, a Priest, though no Bishop, might confirm; he added likewise, that a Bishop was burthensome to the English Church, considering that the present pressures of those of that Religion needed now no unnecessary Expences.

These and the like Objections were answered by Dr. *Kellison*, Rector of the English Colledge at *Doway*, and many other Secular Priests, which occasioned great Animosities, between the Regular and Seculars; but the King to shew his dislike of the Bishop's presumptions, by his Proclamation, promised an Hundred Pounds, to be paid to any that should apprehend him, besides all the Profits that accrewed to the Crown, from the Person who entertained him, which frighted him into *France*, as was mentioned before in the History.

Bishop *Davenant* questioned, and *Thorn* and *Ford* expelled the University for offending against the King's Declaration.

In his Sixth Year *Davenant*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, was questioned for breach of the King's Declaration, by falling on some points in his Sermon before the King, touching the Arminian Controversies which were forbidden therein; but by his modest and discreet Answers, he was acquitted; though in the same Year, *Thorn* and *Ford*, two Masters of Arts of *Oxford*, were expelled the University for being judged Offenders against the same Declaration.

The Controversie about the Sabbath revived.

In his Ninth Year the Sabbatarian Controversie was revived by one *Theophilus Bradbone* a Minister of *Suffolk*, which first began in the Year 1595. occasioned by a Book put forth that Year, by one Dr. *Bound*; for before that time (as in *Geneva* at this Day) no civil Recreations were denied to any of the People, at such times as they were not exercised in their publick Devotions at Church; in *Bound*'s Book, these following Opinions were maintained.

The sum of Doctor *Bound*'s Book concerning the Sabbath.

1. *That the Commandment of sanctifying every seventh Day, as in the Mosaical Decalogue, is moral and perpetual.*

2. *That whereas all other things in the Jewish Church were taken away (Priesthood, Sacrifices and Sacraments) this Sabbath was so changed, that it still remaineth.*

3. *That there is great reason why we Christians should take our selves as straightly bound to rest upon the Lord's Day, as the Jews were upon their Sabbath, it being one of the moral Commandments; for before all were of equal Authority.*

4. *The rest upon this Day, must be a certain and singular rest, a most careful exact, and precise rest, after another manner than Men are wont to rest.*

5. *Scholars on that Day are not to study the Liberal Arts, nor Lawyers to consult the Case, nor peruse their Evidences.*

6. *Sergeants, Appariters, and Summers to be restrained from executing their Offices.*

7. *Judges not to examine Causes for the conservation of the Peace.*

8. *That ringing of more Bells than one that Day is not to be suffered.*

9. *No solemn Feasts, nor Wedding-dinners to be made on that Day (with permission notwithstanding of the same to Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of Quality.)*

10. *All honest Recreations and Pleasures lawful on other Days (as Shooting, Fencing, Bowling,) on this Day to be forborn.*

11. *No Man to speak or talk of Pleasures, or any other worldly matter.*

The Doctrine was at first very well received, because of the Piety of such Persons as maintained it in their publick Writings; but a while after it was opposed, as galling Men's Necks with a Jewish Yoke, against the Liberty of Christians; and further, it was urged, that Christ as Lord of the Sabbath had removed the Rigor thereof, and allowed Men lawful Recreations.

That this Doctrine puts an unequal lustre on the Sunday, on set purpose to eclipse all other Holy-days, to the derogation of the Authority of the Church, and that this strict observance was set up out of Faction to be a Character of difference to brand all for Libertines who did not entertain it; so that Archbishop *Whitgift* called in all such Books as were written on this Subject. But *Bradbone* who revived this Matter, at this time was questioned for it, by the High Commission Court, whose well tempered severity so prevailed upon him, that submitting himself to a private Conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own Principles, he became a Convert, conforming himself quietly to the Church of *England* ever after.

Bradbone retracts his Opinion of the Sabbath.

Just in this conjuncture of time the King being troubled with Petitions on both sides by the strict and the more moderate Observers of the Lord's Day, thought good to follow his Father's Royal Example upon the like occasion in *Lancashire*, where in his Progress in the Fourteenth Year of his Reign, taking notice that some Preachers perswaded the People to so rigorous Observation of the Sabbath, that it was unlawful therein to dress Meat, to sweep their Houses, kindle the Fire, or the like, and that the Popish Priests took advantage thereby to pervert many to Popery, perswading them that the Protestant Religion was so rigorous, that no lawful Liberty was allowed therein, the Year after he set forth a Declaration to this effect;

A Declaration for tolerating Sports on the Sabbath day.

That for his good Peoples lawful Recreation, His pleasure was, that after the end of Divine Service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful Actions, such as Dancing either of Men

1648. ... Games, Whitsun-ales, or Morris-Dances, and setting up of May-Poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impeachment or hurt of Divine Service, and that Women shall not use to carry Rushes to the Church for strewing of it, according to their old Custom: withal prohibiting all unlawful Games to be used on the Sundays, as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, and Common-playing (*at all times in the meaner sort of People prohibited.*)

Impropriations in *Ireland* restored to the *Church* and the 39 *Articles* received.

In his Twelfth year, by the procurement of *Laud* Bishop of *London*, all such Impropriations in *Ireland* as were in the Crown, were by the King restored to the Church, and at a Convention in that Kingdom, concurrent with a Parliament then in being, the 39 Articles of the Church of *England* were there received for all to subscribe thereunto.

In his Thirteenth year the same Bishop of *London*, being some time before translated to the See of *Canterbury*, and himself a Stickler for the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, urged his Metropolitan Visitation more vigorously than before, press conformity thereunto, which occasioned many differences in the Church about Divine Worship, (*viz.*) about the Holiness of Churches, bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, and the manner of Adoration in God's House, which last was by the Conformists practised to be towards the Communion Table, as the most remarkable place of God's presence; others would not admit of the Name of *Table*, but have it *Altar*; and then a great Controversie was raised about the placing of it, some would have it constantly fixed with the sides North and West, ends North and South, and a gradual advance next the East Wall of the Chancel, citing a Canon; and the practice of the King's Chapel, for the same; whilst others pressed Queen *Elizabeth*'s Injunctions, (allowing it at other times to stand in the Chancel) but to be set in the Body of the Church when the Sacrament is celebrated thereon: Many were the Books writ pro and con of these matters, to the great Rent and Division of the Church; and such heat about this *Altar*, and other differences on both sides was kindled, that had almost sacrificed their mutual Charity thereon: Amongst the Writers in the Controversie of this time, there were Three that writ most bitterly against Bishops, and the established Discipline of the Church, Mr. *Henry Burton* a Minister, *John Bastwick* a Doctor of Physick, and Mr. *William Prynne* a Barrister of *Lincoln's-Inn*, who were severely censured for their Offences, as hath been before mentioned in the History of this King's Reign.

Differences about Ceremonies.

In the same year, or the year after, the Book of Service, or new Liturgy was sent into *Scotland* to be used in that Kingdom, the Circumstances whereof, and the miseries thereby occasioned, are likewise related in the foregoing History.

In his Fourteenth year, on the Thirteenth of *April*, a Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and with the Parliament a Convocation began, but the Parliament being after a Month dissolved, the King nevertheless continued the Convocation under the Title of a *Synod*, which was authorized under the Great Seal of *England*. The Acts of this Synod were of force any time in use, so that we shall here only insert the Titles of the 17 Canons that passed therein.

1. *Concerning the Regal Power.* 1648.
2. *For the due keeping of the day of His Majesties most happy Inauguration.* The Acts of the Synod.
3. *For suppressing of the growth of Popery.*
4. *Against Socinianism.*
5. *Against Sectaries.*
6. *An Oath enjoyned for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.*
7. *A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.*
8. *Of Preaching for Conformity.*
9. *The Book of Articles of Inquiry to be used at all Archidial Visitations.*
10. *Concerning the prosecution of the Clergy.*
11. *Chancellors.*
12. *Chancellors not to censure any of the Clergy in sundry Cases.*
13. *Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest.*
14. *Concerning the Consecrations and disposing of them.*
15. *Touching concurrent Jurisdiction.*
16. *Concerning Licences to marry.*
17. *Against vexatious Citations.*

As to the Oath concluded on in the Synod, which was a Subject of so much discourse at that time, and after in the succeeding Parliament, that the Members of the Synod and the whole Episcopal Clergy suffered much thereby, it is here set forth at large according to the true tenor thereof.

The Oath concluded on by the Synod.

I A. B. *do swear, That I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to Salvation: And that I will not endeavour by my self, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the Faith of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ.*

† The Oath much cavilled at.

As soon as these Canons were published, various were mens censures upon them, and many exceptions were raised against them, because they were generally condemned as illegally passed, to the prejudice of the Fundamental Liberty of the Subject, though their Power was justified by the opinions of the Judges of the Realm, Learned Council in the Laws; but against the Oath many exceptions were made, some of which we shall here.

For these and other Reasons.

1. Because the [illegible] did leave the Oath so loose, that neither the makers nor the takers thereof understood the same.

Secondly, These words were disliked (*viz.*) (*We will never give consent to alter this Church-Government,*) as if the Laws were intended to abridge the Liberty of King and State in future Parliaments and Convocations. Goodman, Bishop of *Gloucester*, the day before the ending of the Synod,

1648. repaired to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and acquainted him, that he could not in his Conscience subscribe these new Canons, whereupon he was by the King committed to the *Gate-house*, and it appeared afterward that he scrupled some passages about the Corporeal Presence.

Bishop *Goodman* committed to the *Gate-house*.

In *Scotland* the Differences were so great about the *Service Book* and Liturgy, that the King raised an Army to reduce them to Obedience; but from this Beginning many and great Calamities ensued in the Church and State, in the ensuing remaining years of this King's Reign.

The *Lyturgy*, and shortly after *Episcopacy* it self, were both abrogated by those that usurped the Government of the Kingdom; and (which is the more to be lamented) many Ministers of the Gospel in *England*, who were reputed Learned and Pious men, and had conformed to the Established Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, to the scandal of Religion, joyned with those that opposed the King's just Authority, and the Laws, and by their Preachings and Writings stirred the people to an unlawful and unnatural War, on pretence of Reformation of Religion, insisting, That the Guns and Swords but Prayers and Tears ought to be the Arms of the Church; and then came in that Flood of Errors that does yet too much obscure the Beauty thereof; for hitherto, though some Differences arose in Discipline, yet so far was there unity wrought in us, that the Ministers in the common Grounds of Religion, and of the Ministry were all one, and all preached one Truth and Substance [illegible] shall not further enlarge [illegible] will make matter for another History [illegible] to describe.

Works of Piety done by this King, and others in his Reign.

Pembroke-College in Oxford built and endowed.

PEMBROKE College in *Oxford* was erected, and built in the place where formerly *Broadgates* Hall stood, at the charge of *Thomas Tisdale* of *Gyrrington* in the County of *Oxford*, who gave five thousand pound thereunto; and *Richard Wightwick*, Rector of *East Ilse* in *Berkshire*, gave to it Lands of the yearly value of an hundred pounds; and presently upon King *James* in the latter end of his Reign gave his License for the building that College, and granted to it a Charter of Mortmain of [illegible] hundred pounds a year; but the College was [illegible] the first year of this King's Reign, and he gave to it the perpetual Patronage of [illegible] Church of *Warrington* adorning.

An Arabick Professorship erected and endowed there.

Dr. Lud. Bruce, founded a Lecture Professorship in the University of *Cambridge*, and gave an hundred pounds [illegible] thereunto for ever; and Sir *Thomas* [illegible] Learned and worthy Citizen [illegible] time Lord Mayor of *London*, erected [illegible] endowed an Arabick Professorship in the same [illegible]

Oriel-Coll. in *Oxford* new built.

Anthony Blencow, [illegible] Provost of *Oriel-College* in *Oxford*, gave twelve hundred pounds towards the re-edifying of the Front of that College, and by his Example some other Benefactors did so largely contribute, as now build the whole College, which was a very old and decayed Building, [illegible] handsome a uniform Pile as any in that or [illegible] University in *Europe*.

The Queen [illegible] to this King, of her great [illegible] Love to Learning,

procured of [illegible] perpetual Patronage of several [illegible] granted to [illegible] and out of his [illegible] Inhabitants of [illegible] and [illegible] gave [illegible] Fellowships in [illegible] and *Pembroke* College in *Oxford*, [illegible] natives of those Islands.

The King and Queen great Benefactors to *Jesus* and Queen's *College* in *Oxford*.

Sir William Paddy, [illegible] in Physick, gave two perpetual [illegible] College in *Oxford*, [illegible] the Chapel thereof, and endowed [illegible] Reading-Men and Chaplains, to [illegible] thereof; and *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, built a new Court in the same [illegible], a very elegant Fabrick, and was otherwise a good Benefactor thereunto; he also enlarged the publick University Library, and purchased to it at a great Price, many Manuscripts of the Eastern Languages; and by that Example, Sir *Kenelme Digby*, a Worthy and Learned Knight, gave a numerous Collection of Choice and Excellent Books to it.

A new Court in St. *John's* in *Oxford* built by Archbishop *Laud*.

Clare-Hall in *Cambridge* new built.

The ancient Hall of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and many Lodgings there, were built at the Charges of *Benedict Oley*, Professor of the University, and Fellow thereof, and some other Benefactors procured chiefly by his Solicitation, for so much of it, as handsome a Building as any in *England*.

St. *Paul's* Repaired.

The King was very solicitous to repair the ancient Cathedral Church of S. *Paul* in *London*, which was much decayed with Age, and advised with Archbishop *Laud*, and some others of his Council, upon effectual, Pious and Noble a Purpose, which was after some time followed on, and he himself at his own Charge repaired some part thereof, and by his Encouragement Sir *Paul Pindar*, a Worthy and worthy Citizen and many others contributed largely thereunto, so that the Work went on very fast, and had not the Civil War made an Interruption of it, in few years all the Church would have been made the most Magnificent Structure of *Europe*.

Mr. John Eyre erected and endowed a Free-School in the Parish of *Alton* in *Hampshire*, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament.

A new Church built at *Plymouth*. The like at *Edenbourgh*.

The King also, by his Letters Patents, gave power to the Town of *Plymouth* to erect a new Church there. The Citizens of *Edenburgh* in *Scotland* also built a new Church in that City called the *Trone*, and covered it with Plates of Copper; and one *Herial* a Citizen of that City, erected an Hospital there, which is one of the most Beautiful Buildings in that Kingdom. There were many Free-Schools besides those here mentioned, and many Alms-houses erected in several parts of *England* and some Bridges; but we have not now sufficient Information thereof, as to make mention of them in this place, but by what has been here expressed, we may see the pious and charitable effects of the just Security and Peace of the first fifteen years of the King's Government, which is all the time he reigned freely and without opposition.

Of Casualties happening at this Time.

IN his first year, the Plague broke out in *London*, more dangerously than in the beginning of his Father's Reign, insomuch that the King was fain

The *Plague* breaks out in *London*.

1648. fain to adjourn the Parliament, becauſe of the thin appearance of the Members by reaſon of the Contagion.

Earthquakes! In his ſecond Year, was great Earthquakes in many parts of the Kingdom.

A Star appears at Noon a little after Prince *Charles* his birth. In his ſeventh Year, *May* the 29th. a Star appeared viſibly at Noon, the Sun ſhining clear, at what time the King rode to St. *Paul's* Church to give thanks for the Queen's ſafe Delivery of her ſecond Son Prince *Charles*.

The great Fire at *London-Bridge*. In his eighth Year, a Fire brake out on *London-Bridge*, by which moſt of the Houſes which were built upon it, (which when they were all ſtanding, made up a very beautiful Street) were burnt down to the Ground.

A ſad Accident at *Dowglas* in *Scotland*. In his ſixteenth Year, the Earl of *Haddington* in *Scotland*, having recovered ſome pieces of Ordnance which the Garriſon of *Berwick* had ſeized at *Dunce*, return'd back to *Dowglas*, where ſitting merry at Dinner, with about twenty Knights and Gentlemen, on a ſudden the Magazine of Powder that lay in a vaulted Room, took fire by accident, whereby the Earl and his Company were blown up.

A Pond in *Cambridge* blood red. The ſame Year likewiſe, a Pond in *Cambridge* became red as Blood, the Water whereof being taken up in Baſons, retained ſtill the ſame colour. Many Sights alſo were ſeen in the Air, as Armies fighting one againſt the other, which were looked upon as the ſad preſages of the enſuing Wars: Neither is that ſtrange Thunder and Lightning unworthy of mention which hapned at *Withcombe* in the County of *Devon*, in the fourteenth Year of his Reign, where a Ball of Fire was ſeen to come into the Church in the time of Divine Service, whereby three Perſons were killed, and threeſcore and two hurt, divers of whom had the Linings of their Cloaths burnt, though their outward Garments were not ſo much as ſinged, and moſt of the Seats were turned upſide down, and the Pillars, Steeple, and Church, more endamaged than the Expence of Three hundred Pounds could repair.

Strange Thunder at *Withcombe*.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth King of *France*, whoſe Marriage was ſolemnized in the Year 1625. being the firſt Year of his Reign: He had Iſſue by her, four Sons, and as many Daughters; the eldeſt Son born before the time, was baptiſed *Charles*, and lived not above two Hours: His ſecond Son born *May* the twenty ninth, 1630. was alſo named *Charles*, and afterwards created Prince of *Wales*. And in the Year 1660. Reſtor'd (after many Years ſeclusion in Forreign Countries) with the univerſal Congratulation of his Subjects, to his Father's Throne, happily bleſt with the Regal Vertues of ſo Illuſtrious a Monarch: His third Son was born *Octob.* the 13th. 1633 and was baptiſed *James*, and created Duke of *York*, a Prince of invincible Courage, and Heroick Valour, as his Actions in *France* and *Flanders*, yet freſh in memory, have given ſufficient Teſtimony: His Fourth and laſt Son was born the twentieth of *July*, 1640. and Chriſtened *Henry*, afterwards created Duke of *Glouceſter*: He, ſince his Brother's happy Reſtauration, deceaſed on the 13th of *September*, 1660. thereby bereaving the World of thoſe fair hopes which had been generally conceived of his Noble and Princely Endowments. His eldeſt Daughter *Mary*, was born *November* the 4th. 1631. and afterwards married to *William* of *Naſſaw*, Prince of *Orange*, by whom he had one Son named *William*, Heir and Succeſſor to his Father in his Dignities; ſhe quickly followed her Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter*, *viz.* the 24th. of *December*, 1660. her loſs being very much bewailed, eſpecially by any who had relation to her Service, as being a Princeſs of univerſal Goodneſs, Charity, and Bounty. His ſecond Daughter *Elizabeth* was born the 28th. of *December*, 1635. She died at *Carisbrook* in the *Iſle of Wight*, *September* the 8th. 1650. of meer Grief (as it is not without reaſon believ'd) for her Father's unfortunate Death: And his third Daughter *Anne* was born the 17th. of *March*, 1636. who alſo died very young. His fourth and laſt Daughter, was born *June* the 16th. 1644. at *Exeter*, from whence ſhe was brought to St. *James's*, but afterwards conveyed into *France* by her Governeſs the Lady *Dalkeith*; ſhe was married to the Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Lewis* the Fourteenth, the preſent King of *France*; a Princeſs ſhe was of incomparable Beauty, and Gallantry of Spirit.

1648.

Of His Death and Burial.

HIS Death was ſtrange and unparalell'd; we read of many Kings who came to violent Ends, but never any that was ſo formally and ſolemnly murdered, by a publick Trial and Execution, which was done in the manner following.

The Trial of His Majeſty. On *Saturday*, *January* the 20th. 1648. the wicked *High Court of Juſtice*, ſate in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, whereof *John Bradſhaw* of *Grays-Inn* was Preſident, he had a Mace and Sword carried before him, and twenty habited like Gentlemen for his Guard, under the Command of one Colonel *Fox*, (formerly a Braſier or Tinker.) When the pretended Court was ſate, and *O Yes* made, and ſilence commanded; the Act of the Commons for erecting the ſaid Court was read, in theſe Words:

Bradſhaw Preſident of the *High Court of Juſtice*.

The Commons Act for erecting the *High Court of Juſtice* for Trial of the King.

Whereas it is notorious, That Charles Stuart *the now King of* England, *not content with the many incroachments which his Predeceſſors had made upon the People in their Rights and Freedom, hath had a wicked deſign to ſubvert the antient and fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation, and in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and that beſides all evil ways to bring his deſign to paſs, he hath proſecuted it with Fire and Sword, and levied and maintained a Civil War in the Land againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, whereby this Country hath been miſerably waſted, the Publick Treaſure exhauſted, Trade decayed, thouſands of People murdered, and infinite of other Miſchiefs committed; for all which high Offences, the ſaid* Charles Stuart *might long ſince have been brought to exemplary and condign Puniſhment: Whereas alſo the Parliament well hoping that the reſtraint and impriſonment of his Perſon, after it hath pleaſed God to deliver him into their Hands, would have quieted the Diſtempers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially againſt him, but found by ſad Experience, that ſuch remiſſneſs ſerved only to encourage him and his Complices in the continuance of*

1648. *their evil Practices, and raising new Commotions, Rebellions, and Invasions: for prevention of the like and greater Inconveniences, and to the end no chief Officer or Magistrate may hereafter presume Traiterously and maliciously to imagine or contrive the enslaving or destroying of the English Nation, and to expect impunity; Be it Enacted and Ordained by the Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, and it is hereby Enacted and Ordained, That* † J. B. O. C. M. G. J. M. G. I.

†Here the Commissioners names were inserted.

shall be, and are hereby appointed Commissioners and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying, and Judging of the said Charles Stuart; *and the said Commissioners, or any Twenty or more of them shall be, and are hereby authorized and constituted an* High Court of Justice, *to meet at such convenient times and places as by the said Commissioners, or the Major part, or Twenty or more of them under their Hands and Seals shall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the great Hall, or Palace-yard of* Westminster, *and adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the said High Court, or the Major part thereof, meeting shall hold fit, and to take order for the charging of him the said* Charles Stuart *with the Crimes above-mentioned, and for the receiving his personal Answer thereunto, and for examination of Witnesses upon Oath (if need be) concerning the same; and thereupon, or default of such Answer, to proceed to final Sentence, according to Justice, and the merit of the Cause, and to be executed speedily and impartially. And the said Court is hereby Authorized and required to chuse and appoint all such Officers, Attendants and other Circumstances, as they, or the Major part of them shall in any sort judge necessary or useful for the orderly and good managing of the Premisses; and* Thomas *Lord* Fairfax *the General, with all Officers of Justice, and other well-affected Persons, are hereby Authorized and required to be aiding and assisting unto the said Commissioners in the due execution of the Trust hereby committed unto them; Provided that this Act, and the Authority hereby granted, do continue for the space of one Month from the date of the making hereof, and no longer.*

After the reading of the Act, the Court was called, and the Commissioners, whose Names are here inserted, appeared, and answered to their Names; there were many more nominated in the Act, but because they acted not in this infamous Court, we shall forbear to record their Names to Posterity.

The Commissioners and Judges of the Court.

Oliver Cromwel, *Lieutenant-General of the Army.*
Henry Ireton, *Commissary-General.*
Sir Hardress Waller, *Colonel.*
Valentine Walton.
Col. Tho. Harrison.
Col. Edward Whalley.
Col. Thom. Pride.
Col. Isaac Ewer.
Col. Richard Ingoldsby.
† Sir Henry Mildmay.
Thomas *Lord* Grey, *Col.*
† William *Lord* Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer.
Sir John Bouchier.
† Sir James Harrington.
† Robert Wallop, *Esq*;
William Henningham, *Esq*;
Isaac Pennington, *Alderman of London.*
Henry Martin, *Esq*;
Col. Will. Purefoy.
Gilbert Millington, *Esq*;
Col. John Barksted.
John Blackstone, *Esq*;
Sir William Constable, *Knight.*
Col. Edward Ludlow.
Col. John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesy.
Robert Titchbourn, *Alderman of London.*
Col. Owen Roe, *of London.*
Col. Robert Lilburne.
Col. Andrian Scroop.
Col. Rich. Dean.
Col. John Okey.
Col. John Hewson.
Col. William Goff.
Cornelius Holland, *Gent.*
John Carew, *Esq*;
John Jones, *Esq*;
Miles Corbet, *Esq*;
Francis Allen, *Goldsmith.*
Peregrine Pelham, *Esq*;
Thomas Challoner, *Esq*;
Col. John Moore.
William Say, *Esq*;
John Allured, *Esq*;
† *Col.* Francis Lassels.
Henry Smith, *Esq*;
† James Challoner, *Esq*;
Humphrey Edwards, *Esq*;
Gregory Clement, *Esq*;
John Fry.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Serjeant John Bradshaw.
Col. Edm. Harvey.
Col. John Venne, *of London,*
Thomas Scot.
Thomas Andrews, *Alderman of London.*
William Cawley, *Esq*;
Col. Anthony Stapely.
John Downs, *Esq*;
Col. Thomas Horton.
Col. Thomas Hammond.
John Lisle, *Esq*;
Nicholas Love, *Esq*;
Vincent Potter.
Augustine Garland, *Esq*;
John Dixwell, *Esq*;
Col. George Fleetwood, *Com. Buck.*
Simon Main, *Esq*;
Col. James Temple.
Col. Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave, *Esq*;
Col. Thomas Wayte.

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Of these Commissioners John Bradshaw *was chosen* President *of the* Court, *as was before-mentioned. And there were several Officers which appear'd.*

Counsellors to draw up and prosecute the Charge.

Dotillaus, *Doctor of the Civil Law.*
Ask. } *Two Counsellors at Law, whereof*
John Cook. } Cook *was made the* States Solicitor-General *for this Employment.*

Serjeant

1648. *Serjeant* Danby, *the Younger, Serjeant at Arms.*
Daniel Braughton, } *Two Clerks attending.*
John Phelps. }
Wallford, }
Radly, }
Pain, } *Messengers and Door-keepers.*
Powel, }
Hull. }
Mr. King, *Cryer of the Court.*

The Court being thus sate and called over, the King was brought to the Bar by Colonel *Hacker*, with Halberdeers, the Mace of the Court conducting him to his Chair within the Bar where he sate, and then the President *Bradshaw* said to the King:

Charles Stuart *King of* England, *The Commons of* England *assembled in Parliament being sensible of the great Calamities brought upon this Nation, and of the innocent Blood-shed (which are referred to You as the Author of it) according to that Duty which they owe to God, the Nation, and Themselves, and according to that Power and fundamental Trust reposed in them by the People, have constituted this* High Court of Justice, *before which you are now brought, and you are to hear your Charge, upon which the Court will proceed.*

Solicitor Cook. My Lord, In behalf of the Commons of *England*, and of all the People thereof, I do accuse *Charles Stuart* here present, of High-Treason, and Misdemeanours, and I do in the Name of the Commons of *England* desire the Charge may be read unto him.

The King. *Hold a little.*

President. Sir, the Court commands the Charge to be read, afterward you may be heard.

The Charge was read as followeth:

The Charge read.

That the said Charles Stuart, *being admitted King of* England, *and therein trusted with a limited Power to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise, and by his Trust, Oath, and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the People, and for the Preservation of their Rights and Liberties, yet nevertheless out of a wicked Design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical Power, to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; and to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of mis-government, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom were reserved on the Peoples behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive Parliaments or National Meetings in Council, He, the said* Charles Stuart, *for accomplishment of such Designs, and for the protecting of himself and his Adherents, in his and their wicked Practices, to the same end hath Traiterously and Maliciously levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein Represented.*

Particularly, upon or about the Thirtieth day of June, *in the Year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and two, at* Beverly *in the County of* York; *and upon, or about the thirtieth Day of* July, *in the Year aforesaid, in the County of the City of* York; *and upon, or about the twenty fourth day of* August *in the same Year, in the County of the Town of* Nottingham, *(when, and where he set up his Standard of War;) and also on, or about the twenty third day of* October, 1648. *in the same Year at* Edge hill, *and* Keinton-field, *in the County of* Warwick; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the same Year, at* Brainford, *in the County of* Middlesex; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* August, *in the Year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and three, at* Caversham-bridge, *near* Redding, *in the County of* Berks; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* October, *in the Year last mentioned, at, or near the City of* Gloucester; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the Year last mentioned, at* Newberry, *in the County of* Berks; *and upon, or about the One and thirtieth day of* July, *in the Year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and four, at* Cropredy-Bridge, *in the County of* Oxon; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* September, *in the Year last mentioned, at* Bodmin, *and other places near adjacent, in the County of* Cornwall; *and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of* November, *in the Year last mentioned, at* Newberry *aforesaid; and upon, or about the Eighth day of* June, *in the Year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and five, at the Town of* Leicester; *and also upon the Fourteenth day of the same Month, at* Naseby field, *in the County of* Northampton. *At which several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this Land, at several other times within the Years afore-mentioned: And in the Year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and six, He, the said* Charles Stuart, *hath caused and procured many thousands of the free People of the Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections within this Land, by Invasions from forreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil Ways and Means; He, the said* Charles Stuart, *hath not only maintained and carried on the said War both by Land and Sea, during the Years before-mentioned, but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the said War against the Parliament, and good People of this Nation, in this present Year, One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the Counties of* Kent, Essex, Surry, Sussex, Middlesex, *and many other Counties and Places in* England, *and* Wales, *and also by Sea; and particularly, He, the said* Charles Stuart, *hath for that purpose given Commissions to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other Persons, many such, as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed for the safety of the Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their Trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commission, for the continuing and renewing of War and Hostility against the said Parliament and People, as aforesaid: By which cruel and unnatural Wars, by Him, the said* Charles Stuart, *levied, continued, and renewed as aforesaid, much innocent Blood of the Free People of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast Expence and Damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation.*

And for further prosecution of his said evil Designs, He, the said Charles Stuart, *doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters, both English and Forreigners, and to the Earl of* Ormond, *and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters, associated with him, from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement, and on the behalf of the said* Charles Stuart.

All

1648. *All which wicked designs of War, and evil Practices of him the said* Charles Stuart, *have been and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the personal Interest of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Family, against the publick Interest; common Right, Liberty, Justice, and Peace of the People of this Nation, by, and for whom He was intrusted, as aforesaid.*

By all which it appeareth, That He, the said Charles Stuart *hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Contriver of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby. And the said* John Cook, *by protestation (saving to himself on the behalf of the People of* England, *the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge against the said* Charles Stuart, *and also of replying to the Answers which the said* Charles Stuart *shall make to the Premisses, or any of them, or any other Charge that shall be so exhibited) doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the said People of* England, *Impeach the said* Charles Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of* England: *And pray, That the said* Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *may be put to Answer all and every the Premisses, that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentences, and Judgment may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.*

The King smiled often during the reading of the Charge, especially these Words, *Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy of the Common-wealth.*

President. Sir, You have now heard your Charge. You find that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court in behalf of the Commons of *England*, that you Answer to your Charge, which the Court expects.

King. *I would know by what Power I am called hither; I was not long ago in the* Isle of Wight, *how I came there, is a longer Story than I think fit at this time for me to speak: But there I entred into a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much Faith as is possible to be had of any People in the World: I treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and Treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say, but that they did very nobly with Me: We were upon a Conclusion of the Treaty: Now I would know by what lawful Authority* (there are many unlawful Authorities, Thieves and Robbers on the High-way) *I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer. Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and what Sins you bring upon your own Heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land, think well upon it, I say, before you go on from one Sin to a greater; therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to Answer. In the mean time, I shall not betray my Trust: I have a Trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful Descent; I will not betray it to Answer to a new unlawful Authority.*

Bradshaw, Pres. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority: which Authority requires you in the name of the People of *England*, of whom you are elected King, to answer them.

King. *I deny that.*

Bradshaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court they must proceed.

King. *I do tell them so,* England *was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom, for near these Thousand Years: Therefore let me know, by what lawful Authority I am called hither, I do stand more for the Liberty of my People, than any here that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority, and I will answer, otherwise I will not answer.*

Bradshaw. Sir, How really you have managed your trust, is known; your way of Answer is to interrogate the Court, which beseems not you in this Condition; you have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. *Here is Lieutenant-Colonel* Cobbet, *ask him if he did not bring me from the* Isle of Wight *by Force; I do not come here as submitting to the Court; I will stand as much for the privileges of the House of Commons rightly understood, as any Man here whatsoever; I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty on the Publick Faith? Let me see a lawful Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or by the Constitutions of the Kingdom. I will not betray my Trust, nor the Liberties of the People: I am sworn to keep the Peace by that Duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the last breath in my Body. As it is a Sin to withstand lawful Authority, so it is to submit to a Tyrannical, or any otherwise unlawful Authority.*

Bradshaw. The Court expects your final Answer, and will adjourn till Monday next: We are satisfied with our Authority that are your Judges, and it is upon God's Authority and the Kingdoms, and that Peace you speak of, will be kept in doing Justice, and that's our present Work.

So the Court adjourned, and the King was conducted back: They had so contrived it, that divers schismatical Soldiers and Fellows were placed round about the Court to cry *Justice, Justice,* when the King was remanded, thinking all the rest of the People would have bleated to the same Tune, but they (almost all) cried God bless him, and were (some of them) well cudgelled by the Soldiers, for not reviling and exclaiming after the mode of the Army; yet the Court took no notice hereof: so far was His Majesty already forejudged and condemned to Suffering.

Monday, *January* the 22*th.* The King was brought again to his Tryal.

The Second Day's Tryal of his Majesty.

Solicitor Cook. *May it please your Lordship, I did at the last Court, in behalf of the Commons of* England, *exhibit, and give into this Court a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of* England, *and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, He was not then pleased to give an Answer, but instead of answering, did dispute the Authority of this High Court: My humble Motion to this High Court in behalf*

1648. behalf of the Kingdom of England is, That the Prisoner may be invited to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation; which, if he shall refuse to do, That the matter of Charge may be taken pro confesso, and the Court may proceed accordingly to Justice.

Bradshaw. Sir, You may remember, at the last Court you were told the Occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read against you, &c. You heard likewise what was prayed in behalf of the People, That you shall give an Answer to that Charge, and we were then required to make [illegible] the Authority of this Court, and told you [illegible] not by what Authority you were brought hither. Upon diverse times propound your Questions, and there as often answered, That it was by Authority of the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for those High and Capital Misdemeanors, wherewith you then were charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into consideration what you then said, they are fully satisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied therewith too: And they do require, that you do give a positive and particular Answer to their Charge exhibited against you; they expect you should either confess or deny: If you deny, as is offered in the behalf of the Kingdom, it is made good against you. Their Authority they do avow to the whole World, and the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied therein, and you are to rest satisfied in it; and therefore you are to give a positive Answer.

King. *When I was here last, as true, I made that Question, and said, if it were only my own particular Case, I would have satisfied my self with the Protestation I made here the last time, against the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tryed by any Superiour Jurisdiction upon Earth: but it is not my Case alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberties of the People of* England, *and (do you present what you will) I stand more for their Liberties than [illegible]; for if Power without Law may make Laws, and may alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in* England *that can be sure of his Life, or any thing that he calls his own: Therefore when I came hither, I did expect particular Reasons to know by what Law, what Authority you proceed against me here, and therefore I am unable to [illegible] what to say to you in this Particular, because (the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative (often) is very hard to do); I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can: All Proceedings against any Man whatsoever*——

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you: What you do is not agreeable to the Proceedings of any Court of Justice. You are about to enter into argument and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an High Delinquent; you may not dispute the Authority of this Court, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to submit to it, &c.

King. *Under favour, I do plead for the Liberty of the People of* England *more than you do; and therefore, if I should impose a Belief upon any Man without Reasons given, it were unreasonable.*

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you: You may not be permitted, you speak of Law and Reason, and there is both against you: Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, is the Reason of the Kingdom, and they are those that have given you that Law, according to which you should have Ruled and Reigned: Sir, It will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your Contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. *I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent; but by all the Laws that ever I heard, all Men may put in Demurrer against any Proceedings, as Illegal; and I do demand that: If you deny that, from any Reason.*

Bradshaw. Sir, Neither you, nor any Man are permitted to dispute that Point, you are concluded: You may not demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court; if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer: They sit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predecessors, and You are responsible to them.

King. *I deny that; shew me one President.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you; this Point is not to be debated by you: If you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. *I say, Sir, by your favour, That the Commons of* England *were never a Court of Judicature; I would know how they came to be so?*

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth:

Charles Stuart, King of *England*, You have been accused on the Behalf of the People of *England*, of High Treason, and other High Crimes, the Court hath determined that you ought to answer the same.

King. *I will answer the same so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.*

Bradshaw. If this be all you say; then Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. *I do require, that I may give my Reasons why I did not Answer; and have one time for that.*

Bradshaw. Sir, It is not for Prisoners to require.

King. *Prisoners, Sir, I am not an ordinary Prisoner.*

Bradshaw. The Court have affirmed their Jurisdiction; if you will not answer, we shall give Order to Record your Fault.

King. *You never heard my Reasons yet.*

Bradshaw. Sir, Your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. *Shew me that Jurisdiction where Reason is not to be heard.*

Bradshaw. Sir, We shew it you here: The Commons of *England*. And the next time you are brought, you will know more of the Pleasure of the Court, and, it may be, their final Determination.

King. *Shew me where ever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.*

Bradshaw. Serjeant, take away the Prisoner.

King. *Well, Sir, Remember that the King is not suffered*

Here the King was by Bradshaw interrupted.

1648. *suffered to give in his Reasons for the Liberty and Freedoms of all his Subjects.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to have Liberty to use this Language: how great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all *England* and the World judge.

King. *Sir, Under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I stood for. I defended my self with Arms, I never took up Arms against the People, but for the Laws.*

Bradshaw. The Command of the Court must be obeyed, no Answer will be given to the Charge.

So the King was guarded forth to Sir *Robert Cotton's*, and the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, *Tuesday* Twelve a Clock.

The third days Trial of his Majesty.

Tuesday, January 23d. The Court sate again. Seventy Three Commissioners of those before named were present.

The King brought into the Court, sits down.

Solicitor Cook. 'May it please your Lordship, 'my Lord President, this is now the Third time 'that by the Grace and Favour of the Court, the 'Prisoner hath been brought to the Bar, before 'any Issue joyned in this Cause. My Lord, I did 'at the first Court exhibit a Charge against him, 'containing the Highest Treason that ever was 'wrought on the Theatre of *England*, That the 'King of *England*, trusted to keep the Law, that 'had taken an Oath so to do, that had Tribute 'paid him for that end, should be Guilty of a 'wicked design to subvert and destroy our Laws, 'and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Go'vernment, and in defiance of the Parliament 'and their Authority, set up his Standard for 'War against the Parliament and People: And I 'did humbly pray in behalf of the People of *Eng*'land, That he may speedily be required to make 'an Answer to the Charge. But, my Lord, in'stead of making any Answer, he did then dis'pute the Authority of this High Court; your 'Lordship was pleased to give him a further day 'to put in his Answer, which day being yester'day, I did humbly move, that he might be re'quired to give a direct and positive Answer, ei'ther by denying, or confessing of it; But, my 'Lord, he was pleased to demur to the Jurisdi'ction of the Court, which the Court did then 'over-rule, and command him to give a direct 'and positive Answer. My Lord, besides this 'great delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move 'your Lordship for speedy Judgment against 'him: I might press your Lordship upon the 'whole, That according to the known Rules of 'the Laws of the Land, if a Prisoner shall stand 'contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in 'an issuable Plea, *Guilty or not Guilty*, of the charge 'given against him, whereby he may come to a 'fair Tryal, that by an implied confession it may 'be taken *pro confesso*, as it hath been done to those 'who have deserved more Favour than this Pri'soner at the Bar hath done. But besides, My Lord, 'I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the 'whole Fact, That the House of Commons, the 'Supream Authority and Jurisdiction of the 'Kingdom, they have declared, That it is noto'rious, that the matter of the Charge is true, as it 'is in Truth, my Lord, as clear as Crystal, and 1648.
'as the Sun that shines at Noon-day, which, if 'your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, 'I have notwithstanding in the Peoples behalf, 'several Witnesses to produce, and therefore I 'do humbly pray, (and yet I confess, it is not 'so much I, as the innocent Blood as hath been 'shed: (the cry whereof is very great) for Ju'stice and *Judgment*) and therefore I do humbly 'pray, that speedy Judgment be pronounced a'gainst [illegible]. Sir, [illegible] that is moved by the Co[illegible] of the Kingdom against you; you [illegible] and over again, That it is not fit for any other Man to dispute the Jurisdiction of the Supream and Highest Authority of *England*, from which there is no Appeal, and concerning which there must be no dispute: yet you did persist in such carriage, as shews you have no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court that constituted this *High Court of Justice*. Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not being thus authorized by the Supream Court of *England*) to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in Justice, and according to the Rules of Justice, take advantage by these delays, and proceed to pronounce *Judgment* against you; yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalf, I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto this charge that is against you, in plain Terms, (for *Justice* knows no respect of persons) you are to give your positive and final Answer in plain English, whether you be *Guilty or not Guilty* of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

King. *When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of England, I was interrupted, I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely or not.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You have had the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, That having such a Charge of so high a nature against you, your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to Answer to your Charge; when you have once Answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best defence you can: But Sir, I must let you know from the Court (as their Commands) That you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other Discourses, till such time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the Matter charged upon you.

King. *For the Charge I value not a Rush, it is the Liberty of the People of England that I stand for, for me to acknowledge a New Court that I never heard of before, I that am your KING, that should be an Example to all the People of England, to uphold Justice, to maintain the Old Laws, indeed, I do not know how to do it: you spoke well the first day that I came here, (on Saturday) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the Liberties of my People; the same Obligation you speak of, I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to him and to my People, to defend as much as in me lies, the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom, therefore until that I may know that this is not against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I can put in no particular*

Answer,

1648. *Answer; if you will give me time, I will shew you my Reasons, and this* ———

Here the King was interrupted.

Here being interrupted, The King said again, *By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me: How I came here, I know not: there's no Law for it to make your King your Prisoner. I was in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, made to me by the Two Houses of the Parliament, that was the Representative of the Kingdom, and I had almost made an end of the Treaty when I was hurried away, and brought hither, and therefore* ———

And here again.

Bradshaw. Sir, You must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. *By your favour, Sir.*

Bradshaw. Nay Sir, By your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those Discourses; You appear as a Delinquent, You have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they Command you to give your positive Answer.

Clerk. Do your Duty.

King. *Duty Sir!*

The Clerk then reads.

'*Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, you are accused in behalf of the *Commons of England*, of 'divers High Crimes and Treasons, which Charge 'hath been read unto you; The Court now re-'quires you to give your positive and final An-'swer by way of Confession or Denial of the 'Charge.

King. *Sir, I say again to you, so that I may give satisfaction to the People of* England *of the clearness of my Proceedings, not by way of Answer, not in this way, but to satisfie them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a New Court against their Priviledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, you must excuse me.*

Bradshaw. Sir, This is the Third time that you have publickly disavowed this Court, and put an affront upon it, how far you have preserved the Priviledges of the People, your actions have spoken; but truly, Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their Actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom: But, Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court. *Clerk*, Record the default; and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again. So the King went forth with his Guards, and the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, the *Cryer* (as at other times) crying, *God bless the Kingdom of England.*

The 4th. and last days Tryal of His Majesty.

Saturday, 27th. of *January*, 1648. The Court sat again in *Westminster-Hall*, the President was in his Scarlet Robes, after him 67 Commissioners answered to their Names; the King came in, in his wonted posture with his Hat on, a company of Soldiers and seditious Persons were placed about the Court to cry for *Justice*, *Judgment*, and *Execution*; the people not daring to cry, *God bless Him*, for fear of being again beaten by the Soldiers.

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, It is well known to all or most of you here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented and brought before this Court to make Answer to a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes exhibited against him in the Name of the People of *England*, to which Charge being required to Answer, He hath been so far from Obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him Reasoning, and debated unto the Authority of the Court, and to the Highest Court that appointed them to Try and Judge him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Answer, he still continued contumacious, and refused to submit to Answer. Hereupon the Court (that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the Trust reposed in them, nor that any mans wilfulness prevent Justice) they have considered of the Charge and of the Contumacy, and of that Confession which in Law doth arise on that Contumacy. They have likewise consider'd the notoriety of the Fact charged upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole Matter, they are resolved, and have agreed upon a *Sentence* to be pronounced against him; but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved to hear him: Yet, Sir, thus much I must tell you before-hand (which you have been minded of at other Courts) that if that which you have to say, be to offer any debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the Root, that is, the *Power and Supream Authority of the Commons of England*, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But, Sir, if you have any thing to say in Defence of your self concerning the Matter charged, the Court hath given me in command to hear you.

1648.

King. Since I see that you will not hear any thing of debate, concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call dearer to me than my Life, which is my Conscience and mine Honour: And if I had respect to my Life more than the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for my Life, for by that, at least wise, I might have delayed an ugly *Sentence*, which I believe will pass upon me; therefore certainly, Sir, as a Man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the world (if that true zeal to my Country had not over-born the care that I have for my own preservation) I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now Sir, I conceive that a hasty *Sentence* once passed, may sooner be repented of, than recalled; and truly, the self same desire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at last desire, that I having something to say that concerns both, I desire before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons, this delay cannot be prejudicial to you; whatsoever I say, if that I say be no Reason, those that hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have to say. If it be Reason, and really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am sure it is very well worth the hearing;

1648. therefore I do conjure you, as you love that which you pretend (I hope it's real) the Liberty of the Subject, and Peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any Sentence passeth; but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do protest that your fair shews of Liberty and Peace are pure shews, and that you will not hear your King.

The President said, *This was a declining the Jurisdiction of the Court, and delay*: yet the Court withdrew for half an Hour, advised upon it, and sat again.

Bradshaw said to the King, *That the Court had considered what he had moved, and also their own Authority.*

The return from the Court, said he, *is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and they are Judges appointed by the Highest Authority, and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Justice, and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence, and to Judgment, that is their Unanimous Resolution.*

The King pressed again and again, that he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, with great earnestness, and was as often denied by *Bradshaw*: at last the King desired that this Motion of his, might be entered.

Bradshaw began in a long Speech to declare the Grounds of the Sentence, much aggravating the King's Offences, and misapplying both Law and History to his present purpose.

When *Bradshaw* had done speaking, *Broughton* the Clerk read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment to this effect.

The Sentence against his Majesty.

'That whereas the Commons of *England* in 'Parliament had appointed them an *High Court* 'of *Justice*, for the Tryal of *Charles Stuart* King of 'England, before whom he had been three times 'convened, and at the first time a Charge of High 'Treason and other high Crimes and Misdemeanors was read in behalf of the Kingdom of *England*, &c. which Charge being read unto him, 'as aforesaid, He the said *Charles Stuart* was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to 'do, and so expressed the several passages at his 'Tryal in refusing to Answer; for all which 'Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, 'That he the said *Charles Stuart*, as a Tyrant, 'Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy, shall 'be put to death, by severing of his Head from 'his Body.

After the Sentence read, the President said, *This Sentence now read and published, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgement and Resolution of the whole Court.*

Here the whole Court stood up, as assenting to what the President said.

King. *Will you hear me a Word, Sir?*

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to be heard after the sentence.

King. *No Sir?*

Bradshaw. No Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your Prisoner. 1648.

King. *I am not suffered to speak, expect what Justice other people will have.*

The King not being admitted to reply, was taken by his Guards to Sir *Robert Cotton's* House and the Court rose; as he passed down the stairs the Soldiers scoffed at him, and cast the smoak of their Tobacco (a thing very distastful to him) in his face, and strewed the Pipes in his way, and one more insolent than the rest, spit in his face, which he in great patience took no further notice of, than to wipe the spittle away; and as he passed further, hearing some of them by the instigation of their Officers cry out *Justice, Justice and Execution*, he said, *Alas poor Souls! for a piece of Money they would do so for their Commanders.*

A Committee is appointed to consider the time and place for the King's Execution.

The Court after the Judgment given, went into the Painted-Chamber, and appointed Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Ireton*, *Harrison*, *Dean* and *Okey* to be a Committee to consider of the time and place for the Execution: the King hearing thereof, requested an Officer of the Army to go to them, to desire that he might see his Children before his death, and that Doctor *Juxon*, the Bishop of *London*, might be admitted to assist him in his private devotion, and receiving the Sacrament; both which were granted to him upon a motion to the Parliament.

The King at his Tryal (as you have read) pressed earnestly to have his Reasons heard against the Jurisdiction of the Court, but was often denied; but that the weight of them may not be suppress, for a further manifestation of the impiety of his Unjust Judges, we shall here insert them faithfully Transcribed out of the Original Copy under the King's own hand.

The Reasons the King intended to have given at his Tryal against the proceedings of the Court.

Having already made my Protestations not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call me (who am your King) in Question as a Delinquent, I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion more than to refer my self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned: but the Duty I owe to God, in the preservation of the true Liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: for how can any free-born Subject of *England* call life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, If Power without right daily maketh new, and abrogate the old Fundamental Law of the Land, which is now to be the present case; wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me concerning these grounds, which hinder me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*, for I will not (like you) without shewing a Reason seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.

There is no Proceeding just against any man but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the Municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this days proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law; for

1648. for on the contrary, the Authority of Obedience unto Kings, is clearly warranted, and ſtrictly Commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament, which if denied, I am ready inſtantly to prove, and for the Queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, *That where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who can ſay unto him, what doſt thou?* Eccleſ. 8.4. Then for the Laws of the Land, I am no leſs confident, that no Learned Lawyer will affirm, that an Impeachment can lie againſt the King, they all going in his Name: and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Beſides, the Law upon which you ground your Proceedings, muſt either be old or new, if old, ſhew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when: but how the Houſe of Commons can ereſt a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelf, (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as ſtrange, that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without King or Houſe of Lords, to any that have heard ſpeak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *England*'s Commiſſion could grant your pretended Power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Plowman, if you demand not his free conſent, nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent at leaſt of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatſoever quality or condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek, ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee, that I ſpeak not for my own Right alone, as I am your King, but alſo for the true Liberty of all my Subjects, which conſiſts not in ſharing the power of Government, but living under ſuch Laws, and ſuch Government as may give themſelves the beſt aſſurance of their Lives and Propriety of their Goods. Nor in this caſe, do I forget the Privileges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this days proceeding doth not only violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt breach of their publick Faith (I believe) that ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houſes; for all the pretended Crimes laid againſt me, bare Date long before the late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houſes agreement thereunto, I was ſuddenly ſurprized, and hurried from thence as a Priſoner, upon which account I am againſt my will brought hither, where ſince I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own juſt Right; but for any thing I can ſee, the Higher Houſe is totally excluded.

And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too well known, that the major part of them are detained or deterred from ſitting, ſo as if I had no other, this were ſufficient for me to proteſt againſt the lawfulneſs of your pretended Court.

Beſides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the leaſt in my thoughts; and what hopes of Settlement is there ſo long as Power Reigns without Rule of Law, changing the whole Frame of that Government under which the Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hundred years (nor will I ſay what will fall out in caſe this lawleſs, unjuſt proceeding againſt Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the King my Father, and my Self, unto the beginning of theſe unhappy Troubles, and will have cauſe to doubt, that they ſhall never be ſo happy under any new. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed my power hath totally changed the Ancient Government. 1648.

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons why I cannot ſubmit to your pretended Authority without violating the Truſt which I have from God, for the Welfare and Liberty of my People; I expect from you either clear Reaſons to convince my Judgment, ſhewing me that I am in an Error; (and then truly I will readily anſwer) or that you will withdraw your Proceedings.

The Report from the Perſons before-named to conſider of the Time and Place of the Executing the Sentence againſt the King, was on *Monday* the 29*th*. of *January* delivered in the Painted Chamber to the Commiſſioners then preſent in theſe words, *That it is the Opinion of the Committee, that the open Street before* White-Hall *is a fit place, and that the King be there Executed to morrow.*

The Court approved of this Report, and Ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpoſe, which was preſently Ingroſſed, and Signed, and Sealed by all the Commiſſioners preſent, in theſe words, (*viz.*)

At the High Court of Juſtice for Trying, and Judging *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, *January* the 29*th*. 1648.

The Title of the VVarrant for Executing the King.

Whereas Charles Stuart *King of* England *is, and ſtandeth Convicted, Attainted, and Condemned of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, and Sentence upon* Saturday *laſt was Pronounced againſt him by this Court to be put to Death by ſevering his Head from his Body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done. Theſe are therefore to will and require you, to ſee the ſaid Sentence Executed in the open Street before* White-Hall, *upon the morrow being the* 30*th*. *day of this inſtant Month of* January, *between the hours of ten in the Morning, and five in the Afternoon of the ſame day, with full Effect, and for your ſo doing, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. And theſe are to require all Officers and Soldiers, and other the good People of this Nation of* England, *to be aſſiſting unto you in this Service: Given under our Hands and Seals,* &c.

John Bradſhaw, &c.

To Col. Francis Hacker.
Col. Hunks, *and Lieutenant-Colonel* Phayer.

This was Signed and Sealed by all the Commiſſioners whoſe names are before expreſſed, except ſuch of them who are mark'd with this note. (†)

But of thoſe that Signed and Sealed the Warrant, it muſt be remembred, that Colonel *Richard Ingoldsby*'s Hand and Seal was againſt his conſent put to it by *Oliver Cromwell*; but his early diſ-

1648. claiming of the Fact, and his active and successful endeavours for the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second to his Crown and Kingdoms, not only obtained his Pardon, but the King's Favour with it, and the Dignity of Knight of the *Bath*, which was conferred on him at the ensuing Coronation.

Col. *John Hutchinson* also for his Conjunction with General *Monk* to reduce this Kingdom to its ancient Government, and his hearty Repentance for what he had done in consenting to, and and acting in this impious Sentence, obtained his Pardon for it.

The same day that the Warrant was Signed and Sealed, the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Lady *Elizabeth* were brought to the King, whom he most joyfully received, and giving his Blessing to the Princess, *He bid her remember to tell her Brother James, when ever she should see him, that he should look no more upon* Charles *as his Elder Brother only, but be obedient to him as his Sovereign: And that they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies:* And then said unto her, *Sweetheart, you will forget this; No,* said she, *I shall never forget it while I live:* and pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon his Knee, said, *Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head* (upon which words the Child looked very wishfully on him) *Mark Child what I say, They will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King; But, mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your Brothers,* Charles *and* James *does live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads* (when they can catch them) *and cut thy Head off too at last; and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them.* At which the Child sighing said, *I will be torn in pieces first* ——— which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth's *own Hand.*

What the King said to me the 29th. of *January* last, being the last time I had the happiness to see him, 'He told me He was glad I was come, and 'although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me, which he had not 'to another, or leave in Writing; because he 'feared their Cruelty was such, as that they 'would not have permitted him to write to 'me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my 'self for him, for that would be a glorious Death 'that he should die, it being for the Laws and Li- 'berties of the Land. He bid me read Bishop *Andrews*'s Sermons, *Hooker*'s Ecclesiastical Polity; 'and Bishop *Laud*'s Book against *Fisher*, which 'would ground me against Popery. He told me 'he had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God 'would forgive them also, and commanded us, &c 'to forgive them. He bad me tell my Mother, 'that his thoughts had never strayed from her, 'and that his Love would be the same to his last 'wicheh. He commanded me and my Brother to 'be Obedient to her; and bad me lend his Bles- 'sing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with 'commendation to all his Friends. So, after he 'had given me his Blessing, I took my Leave.

'Further, he commanded us all to forgive those 1648.
'People, but never to trust them; for they had 'been most false to him, and to those that gave 'them Power, and he feared also, to their own 'Souls. And desired me not to grieve for him, 'for he should die a Martyr, and that he doubted 'not but that the Lord would settle his Throne 'upon his Son, and that we should all be happier 'than we could have expected to have been if he 'had lived. With many other things which at present I cannot remember.'

On Tuesday the 30th. of *January*, which was the Fatal day on which the King was put to Death, the Bishop of *London* did in the Morning read Divine Service in his Presence; to which Duty the xxvii. Chapter of St. *Matthew*, being the History of our Saviour's Passion, was appointed by the *Church-Calendar* for the second Lesson: but, he supposing it to have been selected on purpose, thanked him afterwards for his seasonable choice. But the Bishop modestly declining those undue thanks, told him that it came by course to be read on that day, which very much comforted his Majesty, who proceeded to the remaining Duties of receiving from the Bishop the Holy Sacrament, and the other preparations for his approaching Passion.

His Devotions being ended, about ten a clock he was brought from St. *James*'s to *White-Hall* by a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying, and Drums beating (through the Park) part marching before, and part behind, with a private Guard of Partisans about him, the Bishop on the one hand, and Col. *Tomlinson* (who had the charge of him) on the other, bareheaded. The Guards marching a slow pace, as on a solemn and sad occasion to their ill-tuned Drums. He bid them go faster, (after his usual manner of walking was) saying, *That he now went before them to prepare for an Heavenly Crown, with less solicitude than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.*

Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long Gallery in *White-Hall*, where he used formerly to Lodge. There finding an unexpected delay in being brought upon the Scaffold, which they had begun but that Morning, He past the most of that time (having received a Letter from the Prince in the interim by Mr. *Seymour*) in Prayer.

About Two of a Clock His Majesty (refusing to Dine) eat only a bit of Bread, and drank a glass of Claret; and about an hour after, Col. *Hacker*, with other Officers and Soldiers, brought him with the Bishop and Colonel *Tomlinson*, through the Banquetting-House to the Scaffold, whereto the Passage was made through a Window. A strong Guard of several Regiments of Horse and Foot were placed on all sides, which hindred the near approach of his miserable and distracted Subjects (who for manifesting their Sorrow, were most barbarously used) and the King from speaking what he had designed to their Ears: Whereupon finding himself disappointed, he omitted much of his intended Speech, but having viewed the Scaffold (which had been driven hast to serve

him

1648. him down to the Block by Ropes, if that he should have resisted) and the Ax (of whose edge he was very careful) having minded one present, of touching it with his Cloak.

Being upon the Scaffold, he looked very earnestly upon the Block, and asked Colonel *Hacker* if it could be no higher: and then spoke thus, (directing his Speech chiefly to the Bishop and Colonel *Tomlinson*.)

The King's Speech upon the Scaffold.

I Shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word to you here. Indeed I could have held my Peace very well, if I did not think, that holding my Peace would make some men think, that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the Punishment. But I think it is my Duty to God first, and then to my Country, to clear my self both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my Innocency, and in truth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this; For all the World knows that I did never begin a War with the Two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to Witness, unto whom I must shortly make an Account, that I did never intend to encroach upon their Privileges; They began upon me, it is the Militia they began upon: they confessed the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me. And to be short, if any body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declaration, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I. So as for the guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope that God will clear me. I will not (for I am in Charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the Two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments between them and me, have been the cause of all this Bloud-shed: so that as I find my self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too; yet for all this, God forbid I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say Gods Judgments are just upon me: Many times he doth pay Justice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary: I will say this, That unjust Sentence that I suffered to take effect, is punished by an unjust Sentence upon me: So far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent Man. Now to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is a good man that will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular that have been the chief cause of my Death, who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that particular, I pray God, with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their Charge; and withal, that they may take the way to the Peace of this Kingdom, for my Charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last Gasp, the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all my Soul, (†I see there are some here that will carry it further) that they endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom. Sirs, I must shew you, both how you are out of the way, and put you in the way. First, you are out of the way, for certainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, of no Conquest, certainly this is an ill way for Conquest, in my Opinion, it never just cause, and a good and just cause, either for Matter of Money, or a just Title, and there it is beyond the first Quarrel, that makes that unjust at the end, that was just at first: for if there be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pyrate said to Alexander, That he was a great Robber, himself was but a petty Robber. And so, Sirs, I think, for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the way, believe it, you shall never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due, (that is, my Successor) and the People their due, I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church, according to Scripture (which is now out of Order.) And to set you in a way particularly, now I cannot, but only this, a National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every Opinion is freely heard. For the King, indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it. For the People, truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whomsoever: But I must tell you, that their Liberty and Freedom consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own; it is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clear different things; and therefore until you do that, I mean that you put the People into that Liberty, as I say, they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, it was for this that now I am come hither, for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I need not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray to God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the Martyr of the People. In truth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer, I will only say this to you, that I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have a little better disgested this than I have said, and therefore I hope you will excuse me; I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God you take those courses, that are the best for the good of the Kingdom, and your Salvation.

Bishop. (Tho' your Majesties Affections may be very well known to Religion) yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat thereof for the World's satisfaction.

King. *I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it; in truth, Sirs, my Conscience in Religion I think is very well known to all the World, and therefore I declare before you all that I die a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father, and this honest man I think will witness it.*

Then speaking to the Executioner, he said, *I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my hands* ——— *let that be your Sign.* ———

Then he called to the Bishop for his Night-Cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop: Then the King turning to the Bishop, said, *I have a good Cause and a Gracious God on my side.*

Bishop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is Turbulent and Troublesome, it is a short one: but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way: It will carry you from Earth to Heaven;

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*Pointing to the Bishop.

† Observing one to write.

1648. Heaven; and there you will find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.*

Bishop. You are exchanged from a Temporary, to an Eternal Crown, a good Exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, *Is my Hair well*, and took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to the Bishop, saying, *Remember.*

Then he put off his Doublet, and being in his Vast-coat, he put his Cloak on again; then looking upon the Block, he said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. *When I put my hands out this way*, stretching them out—— —— *Then do your Work.*

After that, having said two or three words (as he stood) to himself, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, he laid his neck upon the Block: and then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King (thinking he had been going to strike) said, *Stay for the Sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty.

And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow, severed his Head from his Body; the Head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the People, which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpose, and conveyed into his Lodgings at *White-Hall*; and from thence it was carried to his House at St. *James's*, where his Body was Embalmed and put in a Coffin of Lead, and laid there a fortnight to be seen by the People: and on *Wednesday* seven-night after, his Corps Embalmed and Coffined in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the Care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Capt. *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers, Capt. *Preston*, and *John Joyner* (formerly Cook to his Majesty,) who with others in Mourning, accompanied the Herse that night to *Windsor*, and placed it in that which was formerly the King's Bed-Chamber: whence it was next day removed into the Dean's Hall, and from thence by the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Marquis of *Dorchester*, and the Earl of *Lindsey*, conveyed to S. *George's* Chapel, and the Corps there Interred in the Vault, (as is supposed) of King *Henry* the VIII. and Queen *Jane*, with this Inscription upon the Coffin,

CHARLES KING OF ENGLAND,
MDCXLVIII.

Of his Personage and Disposition.

THis Unfortunate Prince was of a comely Person, a firm and vigorous Health, a Body indefatigable. He was a great Lover, and as great a Master of all Manly Exercises; and yet withal no less skilled in the Graces and Entertainments of a Court. So Temperate in his Pleasures, that he was never known guilty of any Excess. In his Devotions, Constant, Regular, and Intent. His Love to the Order, and to the Religion of the Church of *England*, was so eminent, that he Seal'd and Confirm'd it with his Blood; and at the same time, what he could not support with his Arms, he asserted with his Pen, beyond all contradiction. His presence of mind, in all Extremities, was seen both in the Field, and upon the Scaffold. He was the best of Husbands, and (perchance) the best of Men. His general Insight in Arts and Sciences, both Liberal and Mechanical, was wonderful; nor was any Prince better instructed in the Principles of Government. His unhappiness was, that sometimes he trusted to other mens Counsels rather than his own; and put so much power into his Enemies hands, in hope of gaining them, that he was no longer in condition to defend himself. In effect, He was too *Good a Man* to be a *Happy Prince*; and rather betrayed by his own tenderness, than subdu'd by the force of his Adversaries, as appear'd by the ill use which was made of it in several Treaties, Councils, and Battels. The *Rebellion* was in it self *Barbarous*; but the *Formalities* of proceeding against him, by *Arraignment*, *Trial*, *Sentence* and *Execution*, fill'd all Christendom with *Indignation* and *Horror*; and his Blood cries yet aloud for Vengeance upon the *Promoters*, as well as the *Instruments* of that *Execrable Murder*.

Of Persons of Note in his Time.

FOr the first Fifteen years of this King's Reign, there was little Employment for Military men at home; but there were great numbers of his Majesties Subjects in the Service of Foreign Princes and States: as Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *John Burroughs*, *Ruthen*, *Lesly*, *Fleetwood*, *Douglas*, *Hamilton*, and many other Commanders of great Renown. In the following Troubles, among several thousands of the Nobility and Gentry, that Eminently served the Crown, there were the Marquisses of *Newcastle* and *Montross*; the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Rochester*, *Northampton*, *Bristol*, *Carnarvan*, *Lichfield*; the Lords *Francis Villars*, *Aspley*, *Capel*, *Goring*, *Hopton*, *Bellasis*, *Gerrard*, *Langdale*: Sir *Henry Gage*, Sir *Richard* and Sir *Bevil Grenvil*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*; Colonel *Charles Cavendish*, Major-General *Harry*, &c. whose Names and Actions are already honourably Recorded in the Memorials of those Times. There was also *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, who (tho' unduely and most invidiously cut off) was not yet inferiour unto any Man of his time, either for his Faith to his Prince, or Abilities both Military and Civil. He left the Inheritance of his Vertues, as well as of his Honour and Fortune, unto his Son *William*, who doubled his Paternal Glories and his own, by Marrying (the worthy Daughter of two incomparable Parents) *Henrietta Maria*, the Daughter of *James* Earl of *Derby*, and *Charlotte* the Daughter of *Claude Duc de la Tremoille*, and *Charlotte* of *Nassau*, Daughter to *William* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*; an Illustrious Couple; and of whom we shall speak the more in this place, because the Story hath said little of them elsewhere.

James Earl of *Derby*, was one of the first with his Majesty at *York*, after the *London-Tumults*; from whence he was ordered back again into Lancashire, to prepare for the King's Reception; upon a Resolution taken for the setting up of the

Standard

1648. *Standard Royal at* Warrington. Immediately upon his return he muſter'd the County, on the Three Heaths, by *Berry*, *Ormskirk* and *Preſton*; where he had an appearance of at leaſt 20000. Men on each Field; intending the ſame courſe likewiſe in *Cheſhire* and *North-Wales*, (by vertue of his Commiſſion of Lieutenancy.) But in this *interim*, the place was changed from *Warrington* to *Nottingham*, to the great diſappointment of the King's Friends in thoſe parts; and the no leſs encouragement of his Enemies, (to ſay nothing of ſeveral Indignities (put more particularly) upon the Earl himſelf, by the contrivance and ill Will of ſome Great Ones deeply intereſſed in this Affair.) The Standard being now ſet up at *Nottingham*, and the Countries not coming in ſo frankly as was expected, the King by an Expreſs deſired his Lordſhip forthwith to raiſe what Men he could, and come up to him: whoſe Anſwer was, That he would do his beſt, but that the Caſe was much altered of late, a great part of the Country being reſolved now to ſtand Neuter, and others joyning with the Rebels, had already ſeized upon *Manchester*. This notwithſtanding, his Lordſhip, among his own Tenants, Dependents, and private Friends, raiſed three Regiments of Foot, and three Troops of Horſe, cloathed and armed them at his own charge; and then poſted to the King at *Shrewsbury*, for his Majeſties Orders how to diſpoſe of them. The King commanded him to return, and preſently make tryal of one ſmart aſſault upon *Manchester*, and whether he maſter'd the Town or no, to march up then to the Camp. Hereupon the Earl repaired to his Troops, drew up before the Town, and ſummoned it; and upon their refuſal to treat, directed an Aſſault at Four next Morning, not doubting to carry it. But that very Night he was commanded away, and in two days brought up his Three Regiments, and Three Troops to his Majeſty; which being diſpoſed of to other Officers, his Lordſhip was deſired to haſten back, and take the beſt care he could of the Country. Upon his Return, the Parliament did (now a Second time) offer his Lordſhip the largeſt terms imaginable, if he would either joyn with them, or quit the King's Service; but his Anſwer was to this effect, *When I turn Traytor, I may hearken to theſe Propoſitions, but till then, let me have no more of theſe Papers, at the peril of him that brings them.* By this time the Enemy had Garriſon'd *Lancaſter* and *Preſton*, and in a manner commanded the whole Country; when his Lordſhip bethought himſelf of defending his own houſe at *Latham*, and, altho' diveſted of his Arms and Magazine, did yet make a ſhift (with the aſſiſtance of his Friends) to cut off Three Companies at *Houghton-Common*, and after that, to take in *Lancaſter* and *Preſton* by ſtorm: in the former, leading on his Men himſelf with a half Pike in his hand (after one Repulſe) to the Second Aſſault, that did the Buſineſs: and *Manchester* had in probability followed, if both his Auxiliaries and his own Forces too, had not been call'd away in the very nick of time when he was ready for the Attempt. Soon after this, upon information that the Enemy had a deſign upon the *Iſle of Man*, he was ordered thither for the ſecurity of that place. And thither he went, having firſt made ſome neceſſary proviſions of Men, Monies and Ammunition, for the protection and defence of his incomparable Lady, to whoſe charge he committed his Children, and his other *Engliſh* Concerns: and moſt particularly, the care of his Honour, in defending the Houſe till his Majeſty might ſend Relief, which he hoped would not be long firſt. 1648.

The Counteſs of *Derby* being left alone in the Houſe, not as yet fortified, the Enemy look'd upon it now as their own already, little expecting from a Woman, a Stranger, and a Place ſo unprovided (as they ſuppoſed that to be) any conſiderable reſiſtance. So that a Commiſſion was preſently obtained for the reducing of it: which being made known to the Lady, ſhe furniſhed her ſelf with Men, Arms and Ammunition, with all the diligence and ſecrecy poſſible. The men being generally raw and unexperienced, ſhe cauſed them to be Liſted, and Trained under Six Captains; *viz.* Capt. *Farrington*, *Charnock*, *Chiſenhall*, *Rawſthorne*, *Ogles*, and *Molineux Radcliffe*, who were to receive Orders from Capt. *Farmer*, (as Major of the Garriſon) and he from her Ladyſhip. Matters were carried ſo private, that the Enemy was advanced within Two miles of the Houſe, not ſo much as dreaming of any other oppoſition than from her own Servants. *Febr.* 28th. 1644. there came to the Lady from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* a Trumpet, and with him a perſon of Quality, to deſire a Conference. To which the Counteſs agreed, and immediately Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, and ſome Gentlemen with him were admitted; the Soldiers being firſt diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as might beſt advance the appearance and opinion of their Number and Diſcipline. Their Commiſſion was to demand the delivery of the Houſe; upon which condition they offered her an honourable and ſafe Remove, with her Children, Servants, and Goods, (Arms and Cannon only excepted) to her own Houſe at *Knowſley*, and a Protection there, from any further moleſtation; and the one Moiety of her Lord's Eſtate in *England*, for the ſupport of her Self and Children. To which the Counteſs Anſwered, That ſhe was under a double Truſt; of Faith to her Husband, and Allegiance to her Soveraign; that without their leave ſhe could not give it up, and therefore deſired a Months time for her Anſwer; which being denied, her Ladyſhip told them, that ſhe hoped, they would excuſe her, if ſhe preſerved her Honour and Obedience, though in her own Ruine. Hereupon Sir *Thomas Fairfax* departed; and upon the Queſtion whether they ſhould proceed by Storm or Siege, he gave his opinion for the latter: Which Advice was much promoted by an Artifice of one of the Earl of *Derby*'s Chaplains, (the Reverend and Ingenious Dr. *Brideokes*, now Dean of *Salisbury*,) whoſe Integrity and Prudence was of ſingular Service to that Heroical Lady in all her Extremities. Some Fourteen days after the former Conference, there came a peremptory Summons for a preſent ſurrender, and the Trumpet was diſpatched away with this ſhort Anſwer; *That the Counteſs had not as yet forgotten what ſhe ow'd to the Church of* England, *to her Prince, and to her Lord; and that till ſhe had loſt either her Honour, or her Life, ſhe would defend the place.* Upon this, Sir *Tho. Fairfax* gave order for

1648. for a formal Siege, and being himself commanded away to other service, left the management of it to Colonel *Peter Egerton*, and *Major Morgan*: the Countess on the other side, giving express Order not to fire a Gun upon the Enemy, nor to do any other Act of Hostility, until they should have made Four or Five shot at the House. 1648.

The House stands upon a Flat, being a boggy, spumous Ground. It was encompassed with a Wall of Two yards thick; without the Wall, a Mote Eight yards wide, and Two yards deep. Upon the Wall were Nine Towers, flanking one another; on each Tower six pieces of Ordnance, that play'd Three one way, and Three the other. Besides these, there was in the middle of the House a high Tower, called the Eagle Tower; and the Gate-house was also a strong and lofty Building, in the entrance to the first Court. Upon the tops of these Towers were placed the choicest Marksmen, as Deer-men, Keepers, Fowlers, and the like, who shrewdly gall'd the Enemy, and cut off several of their Officers in the Trenches.

Upon *Fairfax* his departure, the Enemy fell presently to work upon a Line of Circumvallation: but to disturb them in their Approaches, the Lady order'd a Sally of 200 men, commanded by Major *Farmer*, who, *March* 12. 1644. beat the Enemy from their Trenches, up to their Main-guard kill'd about 60 of them, and took some Prisoners, with the loss only of two men. Upon this, they doubled their Guards, and drew their Line at a great distance, but they were so plyed with Sallies, that it was Fourteen weeks time before they could finish it. After this, they ran a deep Trench near the Mote, where they raised a strong Battery, and planted upon it a Mortar-piece, that cast Stones and Granadoes of sixteen Inches Diameter. The first Granado fell close to the Table where the Lady, her Children, and the Officers were all at Dinner; shiver'd the Room, but no body hurt. The apprehension of these terrible Fire-balls, made them resolve upon a Sally, to attempt the taking of the Mortar-piece. *Molineux Radcliffe* had the Forlorn, *Chisenhall* the Body, and *Farmer* commanded the Reserve; who after half an hours sharp dispute, possess'd themselves of all their Works, nail'd and overturn'd all their Cannon, or roul'd them into the Mote, and carried off the Mortar-piece into the House, continuing Masters of their Works and Trenches that whole day; which, with their utmost pains and diligence, they laboured to fill up and destroy. During this Combat, the Countess was at her Devotions, (no less eminent for her Piety than for her Resolution) it being her constant practise to begin all these Actions with publick Prayers, and to close them with Thanksgivings. This was *April* 26th. the very day appointed for an Assault, and with Orders to put every Creature to the sword. It took the Enemy Five or Six days time to repair their Works; in which space they were thrice dislodged, and scattered by vigorous Sallies. These disasters gave Colonel *Rigby* (a malicious Enemy of the Earl of *Derby*'s) a pretence of laying the fault upon Colonel *Peter Egerton*, by which means he got a Commission himself to command in Chief; and for a proof of his Generosity, he would not suffer so much as a Midwife to pass into the House to a Gentlewoman in travail. For a matter of a Fortnight he carried on his Works without much trouble, for want of Powder in the Garrison; but that defect being supplied by a Sally, the Countess proposed a fresh Assault of all their Trenches, which was accordingly agreed upon; and *Rawsthorn* had the Forlorn, *Farmer* the Battle, and *Chisenhall* the Reserve; who, behaving themselves with their wonted Bravery, beat the Enemy from their Works, cleared their Trenches, nailed their great Guns, and kill'd 120 men, with the loss only of Three Soldiers, and Five or Six wounded. After a Four Months Siege, and the loss of above 2000 Men, (by their own confession) *Rigby* sent the Countess a huffing Summons, to which she returned an Answer becoming her Dignity and Vertue.

The Earl of *Derby* being in the *Isle of Man*, and alarmed with his Ladies distress in *Latham*, hasted forthwith to his Majesty, to beg Relief; who gave way, that Prince *Rupert* should take *Lancashire* in his way to *York*, whither he was then designed. His Highness entred *Lancashire* at *Stopford-bridge*, and *Rigby* hearing that he had forced the Pass, rais'd the Siege from *Latham*, *May* 27th. 1644. and march'd to *Bolton*, (a strong Garrison of the Enemies;) where, with the addition of other Forces to 2000 of his own, he made up a Body of 2500 Foot and 500 Horse. The Prince understanding that *Rigby* had quitted *Latham*, and was fortified in *Bolton*, marched directly thither, and gave Order for an Assault; which his people very gallantly attempted, but were yet forced to give it off the first bout, with the loss of 200 Men, the Enemy killing the Soldiers they took upon the Walls, in cold blood, before the Princes eyes. Upon a second Assault, the Earl of *Derby* desired of his Highness the Command of two Companies of his own old Foot, and the Honour of the Forlorn; which, upon his importunity, was granted him. All things being ready for a general Assault, the Town was, in less than half an hour, entred upon each Quarter; the Earl of *Derby* himself being the first man that entred it. This was *May* 28th. 1644. *Rigby* made his escape, but left 2000 of his men behind him, and was himself laid aside. There was one *Bootle* a Captain in the Town, and formerly a Porter in *Latham*, who upon leaving the House, sware voluntarily, That he would never bear Arms against the King. This Fellow being in the heat of the Storm encompassed with Soldiers, and seeing his Lord, begg'd Quarter of him; who gave him this Answer, *I will not kill thee my self, and I cannot save thee from others.* This mans death was afterwards falsly and villainously charged upon the Earl of *Derby*, by *Bradshaw* (Brother to the President) and *Rigby* at his Tryal. The Colours that were taken, the Prince sent to the Countess of *Derby*, by Sir *Richard Crane*, who received them as a singular Honour, and caused them to be hung up, as happy Remembrances of God's Mercy, and his Highness's Generosity towards her.

The Prince's next work was the reducing of *Liverpool*, and from thence he went to *Latham*, where he refreshed himself and his men for three or four days, and was entertained by the Lord and Lady of the place, answerably to his Illustrious Quality and Merit. The Prince, before his departure, give directions for the repairing and fortifying

1648. tifying of the Houſe, and at the requeſt of the Counteſs of *Derby*, gave the Government of it to Captain *Rawſthorn*, whom he made Colonel of a Foot Regiment, and two Troops of Horſe, for its defence, by whom the Place was bravely defended full two Years in a ſecond Siege; and, at length, by the King's Order delivered up; having coſt the Enemy at leaſt 6000 Men, and the Garriſon about 400, being one of the laſt places that held out for his Majeſty in *England*.

After all theſe great things done and ſuffer'd by the Noble Earl, and his admirable Lady, who were at this time in the *Iſle of Man*, the ſaddeſt, and moſt glorious part of their Story is yet behind: When their Children were perfidiouſly ſeized, and made cloſe Priſoners, and the Earl tempted with the promiſe of a peaceable Enjoyment of his Family, and Freedom at his own Houſe, and the one Moiety of his whole Eſtate, if he would deliver up the *Iſle of Man*; what could be more Honourable than his magnanimous Refuſal (even when the Cauſe it ſelf was given for loſt,) ſaying, *That he would never redeem his Children by his Diſloyalty.* When he came afterwards from the *Iſle of Man*, into *Lancaſhire*, by command to attend the King, (*Charles* the Second,) then on his march from *Scotland* to *Worceſter*, upon Aſſurance that the *Presbyterians* would joyn with the *Royaliſts*, in order to his Majeſties Reſtauration; and when he found their Miniſters obſtinately to oppoſe any Conjunction, unleſs he would take the Covenant; what could be more brave or pertinent, than his final Determination, which he delivered to them in theſe Terms, *If I periſh, I periſh; but if my Maſter periſh, the Blood of another Prince, and all the enſuing Miſeries of this Nation will lie at your Doors.*

This perfidious diſappointment of theirs, was it that put him upon his next Misfortune, his Engagement in *Wigan-Lane*, where with 600 Horſe he maintained a Fight for two Hours againſt 3000 Horſe and Foot, in a place of much diſadvantage, in which Encounter he received ſeven Shot on his Breſt-Plate, thirteen Cuts upon his Bever over a Steel-Cap, five or ſix Wounds upon his Arms and Shoulders, and had two Horſes killed under him. And yet through all theſe Difficulties he made out his way to the King at *Worceſter*, and took his part too of that unhappy Battel. Upon the Rout he was taken Priſoner by Major *Edge*, upon Condition of Quarter; and afterwards murdered by a pretended *Court of Juſtice*, contrary to the Laws of Arms and Nations. All theſe Outrages and Wrongs, he ſuffer'd with a moſt Religious Conſtancy of Mind, and his deportment ſtill the ſame; even upon the very Scaffold, and at the Block it ſelf. *Die I muſt* (ſays he) *and I thank God I am ready for it. Death would now be my Choice, had I the whole World in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me, which I care much for, but my King, my Wife, Children, and Friends, whom (I truſt) the Never-failing Mercies of my God will provide for. I beſeech God ſhew mercy to thoſe who neither had Mercy nor Juſtice for me.*

This upon the Scaffold; and then a while after, juſt before he made his Addreſs to the Block; (riſing from his Prayers) *My Soul* (ſays he) *is now at reſt, and ſo ſhall my Body be immediately. The Lord bleſs my King, and Reſtore him to his Rights in this Kingdom; and the Lord bleſs this Kingdom, and reſtore them to their Rights in their King———*

———I die for the King, the Laws of the Land, and the Proteſtant Religion, &c. In fine, never any Man had a more generous mixture in him of the Courage of a Roman, with the Faith and Reſignation of a Chriſtian. 1648.

Theſe Calamities joyned with the Infinite Affection of his ſurviving Lady, would have broken any other Heart than hers, that was ſupported by a matchleſs, and in Truth, by a miraculous Vertue. But ſhe (it ſeems) was ſtill reſerved for further Tryals, both of her Honour and Patience. Upon the Parliament's demand of the *Iſle of Man*; ſhe refuſed to deliver it without Licenſe from his Majeſty; And that very Night, a Wretch that had eaten of her Lord's Bread from a Child, and been employed as a ſervant in places of great Truſt and Advantage, having corrupted and prepared the Iſlanders for the Deſign, ſeizes his Lady and her Children, (together with the Iſland) and ſhe was kept a Priſoner without any other Relief, than what came from the Charity of her impoveriſhed Friends. And yet againſt theſe Sufferings too, ſhe ſtill held out, until ſhe ſaw the happy and much deſired Reſtauration of his Sacred Majeſty *Charles* the Second; and afterwards died *March* 22, 1664. in her Joyncure-Houſe, at *Knowſley* in *Lancaſhire*.

The moſt Famous Men of the Clergy for Learning in his time, were *Davenport* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *Andrews* Biſhop of *Winchester*, *Morton* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Hall* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Prideaux* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Uſher* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and his Succeſſor *Bramhall*, *Sanderſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Chillingworth* of *Trinity* College in *Oxford*, and Dr. *Hammond* one of the Canons of *Chriſt-Church* in the ſame Univerſity, and Mr. *Mead* of *Chriſt's* College in *Cambridge*, and Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*. But others there were of great Eminence; as *Lucius* Lord *Faulkland*, Secretary of State, a great Maſter of all ſorts of Learning; Sir *Henry Spelman*, Sir *Edward Coke* likewiſe, that famous Common Lawyer, and Mr. *John Selden* of the ſame Profeſſion, a moſt renowned Antiquary, and *Thomas Hobbs* of *Malmsbury*, that excellent Mathematician and Philoſopher, all flouriſhed in his Reign.

Nor may we omit the Poets then famous, which excell'd or equall'd all that went before, and ſhall come after; ſuch as were Mr. *Benjamin Johnſon*, Mr. *Edmund Waller*, Mr. *Thomas Carew*, Sir *John Suckling*, Mr. *Thomas Randolph*, Mr. *Thomas Carwright*, Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, and Sir *William Davenant*. The firſt whereof by his profound Learning and Judgment, ſhewed a Poet was to be as well made as born: And the latter, tho' he wanted Learning, made as high and noble Flights as Fancy could advance without it.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in his Reign.*

In his first Year, 1625.
Sir *Allen Cotton* was Mayor.
Thomas Westraw, *Ellis Crisp* died.
Jo. Pool, and *Christopher Cletherow* after, Sheriffs.

In his second Year, 1626.
Sir *Cuthbert Hacket* was Mayor.
Edward Bromfield, *Richard Fenn*, Sheriffs.

In his third Year, 1627.
Sir *Hugh Hamersley* was Mayor.
Maurice Abbot, *Henry Garraway*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year, 1628.
Sir *Richard Dean* was Mayor.
Rowland Backhouse, *William Acton* Knight and (Baronet, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year, 1629.
Sir *James Cambell* was Mayor.
Humphrey Smith, *Edmund Wright*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year, 1630.
Sir *Robert Ducie*, Baronet, Mayor.
Arthur Abdy, *Robert Cambell*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh Year, 1631.
Sir *George Whitmore* was Mayor.
Samuel Cranmore, *Henry Prat*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth Year, 1632.
Sir *Nicholas Raynton* was Mayor.
Hugh Perry, *Henry Andrews*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth Year, 1633.
Sir *Ralph Freeman*, and Sir *Tho. Mouldstone*, Mayors.
Gilbert Harrison, *Richard Gurney*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth Year, 1634.
Sir *Robert Parkhurst* was Mayor.
John Heylord, *John Cordel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh Year, 1635.
Sir *Christopher Cletherow* was Mayor.
Thomas Soame, *John Gayer*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth Year, 1636.
Sir *Edward Bromfield* was Mayor.
William Abell, *John Garret*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth Year, 1637.
Sir *Richard Fenn* was Mayor.
Thomas Atkin, *Edward Rudge*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth Year, 1638.
Sir *Maurice Abbot* was Mayor.
Isaac Pennington, *John Wollaston*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth Year, 1639.
Sir *Henry Garraway* was Mayor.
Thomas Adams, *John Warner*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth Year, 1640.
Sir *Edmund Wright* was Mayor.
John Towse, *Abraham Reynardson*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth Year, 1641.
Sir *Richard Gurney* was Mayor.
George Garret, *George Clarke*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth Year, 1642.
Isaac Pennington was Mayor.
John Langham, *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth Year, 1643.
Sir *John Wollaston* was Mayor.
John Fowke, *James Bunce*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth Year, 1644.
Thomas Atkin was Mayor.
William Gibbs, *Richard Chambers*, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth Year, 1645.
Thomas Adams was Mayor.
John Kendrick, *Thomas Foot*, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth Year, 1646.
Sir *John Gayer* was Mayor.
Thomas Cullam, *Simon Edmonds*, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth Year, 1647.
Sir *John Warner* was Mayor.
Samuel Avery, *John Bide*, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth Year, 1648.
Sir *Abraham Reynardson* was Mayor.
Thomas Vyner, *Richard Brown*, Sheriffs.
Thomas Andrews Mayor, in room of *Reynardson* sent to the Tower.

THE

The First Thirteen YEARS OF THE REIGN OF King Charles the II.

1648. KING *Charles* the First being deprived of Life on the Thirtieth of *January* One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the manner before mentioned, his Eldest Son Prince CHARLES, by unquestionable Right Succeeded to the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, in the Eighteenth Year of his Age. Proclamation and Coronation the usual Ceremonies attending Royal Successions could not now have their due course, nor are they in this Kingdom necessary Circumstances of the Monarchy; for by our Law (which admits of no Interregnum,) the Successor to the Crown has all the Royal Power from the First moment after the Death of his Predecessor. The Ruling part of the House of Commons who Usurped the Government with Violence on the Person of the late King (as hath been related) knew they could not be secure if they retired there; so that immediately thereupon they published an Act even against Kingly Government it self, expelling therein,

An Act against proclaiming the King.

That whereas several protests might be made in this Crown, and Title to the Kingly Office, to the great hazard of the Publick Peace. Be it Enacted and Ordained by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, that no person whatsoever do presume to Proclaim, Declare, Publish, or any way to promote Charles Stuart (Son of the late King CHARLES) commonly called the Prince of WALES, or any other Person to be King, or Chief Magistrate of England, or Ireland, or of any Dominions belonging to them, by colour of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other Title whatsoever, without the free Consent of the People in Parliament first had and signified by a particular Act or Ordinance for that purpose, any Law, Statute, Usage, or Custome to the contrary notwithstanding; and whosoever shall contrary to this Act Proclaim, &c. the said Charles Stuart, *shall be deemed and adjudged a Traytor, and suffer accordingly.* 1648.

Yet this Inhibition did not deter many Loyal Subjects from doing their Duty; and on the Second of *February* this year, the following Proclamation was Printed and scattered about the Streets of *London*.

A Proclamation proclaiming Prince *Charles* to be King of *England*.

We the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Free-holders, Marchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Seamen, and other Freemen of England, *do according to our Allegiance and Covenant by these presents, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and Proclaim the Illustrious* CHARLES *Prince of* WALES, *next Heir of the Blood Royal to his Father King* CHARLES (*whose late Wicked and Traiterous Murder we do from our Souls abominate, and all Parties and Consenters thereunto*) *unto by Hereditary Birth-right, and lawful Succession, rightful, and undoubted King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, and that we will faithfully, constantly, and entirely on our several Places and Callings, Defend and Maintain his Royal Person, Crown and Dignity, with our Estates, Lives, and last drop of our Blood, against all Opposers thereof, whom we do hereby declare to be Traytors and Enemies to his Majesty and his Kingdoms. In Testimony whereof, we have caused these to be published and proclaimed throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm, the First day of* February, *in the First year of His Majesty's Reign.*

God save King *Charles* the Second.

Coronation which is the next Solemnity, the exclusion of the King by the malice of his Enemies made impossible at this time to be celebrated. The Army had been before modelled

1648. suitable to these Designs of changing the Monarchy of *England* and *Ireland* to a Common-wealth; (for neither this alteration, nor the death of the late King could have been effected without a Military assistance) which was first discovered when Colonel *Pride* secluded, or terrified from sitting, near Two hundred of the Members of the Commons House of Parliament, being those who had on the Fifth of *December* before, by Vote approved of the late King's Concessions for a Peace at the *Isle of Wight*, and those that remained after this violation, complied so far with the Army herein, that after a seeming dislike of their Proceedings, they resolved and decreed, never to readmit them, and such others who had given their Negatives to the said Concessions, were likewise Ordered not to sit in Parliament, till they had entred their dissent to them.

Monarchy and the House of Lords declared useless by the Commons

The House of Peers continued yet sitting, and in regard the Commissions of the Judges were determined by the King's Death, they sent to the Commons for a Conference about that and other matters relating to the setling of the Government, but they without returning an Answer, declared the Kingly Office to be unnecessary and burthensome, and that the Lords House was dangerous and useless, and therefore to be laid aside; but that they might not be totally excluded from Government, they declared that they might be capable of Elections into the House of Commons, of which afterwards Three of them only accepted, namely the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*; but the Peers in general very much resented these Indignities put upon them by a small part of the House of Commons, and in a Protestation by them published in the name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm,

The Protestation of the House of Lords against the Proceedings of the Commons.

'They asserted their own Privileges, and the 'Fundamental Laws of the Nation, and disclaimed and protested against all Acts, Votes, Orders or Ordinances of the said Members of the 'Commons-House, for erecting of new Courts 'of Justice, to Try or Execute the King, or any 'Peer or Subject of this Realm, for altering the 'Government, Laws, Great Seal, Ancient Forms 'of Writs, or legal Process, raising new Forces, 'and imposing new Taxes, or Oaths, granting 'Commissions, or making Officers; as likewise 'against the Traiterous Murdering of the late 'King, and the dis-inheriting of his Son the 'Prince of *Wales*, and particularly against that 'Insolent and Frantick Vote (as they called it) of 'February the Sixth, concerning their abolishing 'the House of Peers as useless and dangerous, all 'which Acts, Votes, and Orders, they declared 'to be not only illegal, and therefore void, but 'likewise detestable and destructive to the Rights 'and Beings of Parliaments, the Fundamental 'Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties, 'and Properties of the People.

This made little Impression upon the Commons, and to prevent the assembling of the Lords, the Army by their appointment or connivance, set a Guard upon the Doors of their House; and in further prosecution of their former Votes against Monarchy, they formed and passed an Act for the Exheredation of the Royal Line, the Abolishment of Monarchy in this Kingdom, and the setting up of a Common-wealth; which they ordered to be Published and proclaimed in all parts of the Kingdom.

1648. An Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government.

Alderman *Reynardson*, the then Lord Mayor of *London*, a person of great Integrity and Loyalty, refused to publish this Act in *London*, and was therefore discharged from his Office, and with Three of the Aldermen that were of his Judgment committed Prisoners to the Tower of *London*, and one *Andrews* was by a Common-Hall chosen in his place, who with *Pennington*, *Atkins*, *Wollaston*, *Ireton*, *Edmonds*, and *Pack*, then Aldermen of *London*, and some others, Proclaimed this exorbitant Act in several places of the City. But this great Alteration so much amused the generality of the People, that the Parliament thought fit to give them some satisfaction, which was endeavoured by a Declaration, to shew the Reasons of their Proceedings; wherein many plausible Pretences were exhibited, the chiefest whereof imported, *A Promise of deliverance from the Bondage introduced by the* Norman *Conquests, and of maintaining the Ancient Laws* (which they extolled for their Excellency and Equality) adding, *That they might well consist with the present Government of a Republick upon some easie alterations of Form only, leaving the substance entire, and reforming the abuses thereof.* They promised likewise, *The establishment of a firm and safe Peace, the advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and the liberal maintenance of a Godly Ministery; the setling of Treaties and Alliances with Forreign Princes and States, the encouragement of Manufactures for the increase and flourishing of Trade, and the maintenance of the Poor in all parts of the Land.*

Alderman *Reynardson* the then Lord Mayor committed to the Tower. *Andrews* chosen in his place.

A Declaration for justifying their proceedings.

About the time of publishing this Declaration, to compleat the Model of their Government, they abolished all the Ancient Forms of Soveraignty, in the Style and Title of Writs, Commissions, and other publick Instruments, and ordered for the future all of them to be issued, *In the Names of the Keepers of the Liberties of* England *by Authority of Parliament*; and likewise they caused the Old Great Seal to be broken, and a New one to be made, having on one side a Red Cross and Harp, as the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inscription, THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND, and on the other the Picture of the House of Commons with these words, *viz.* IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1648. And at another Ensign of their Dominion, they appointed that all the Money which from that time was to be coyned, should, instead of the King's Impression, bear the Cross and Harp, with this Motto, GOD WITH US; Those Clauses in the First of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Third of King *James*, which adjoyned the taking the Oaths of Supremacy and allegiance to the Kings and their Successors, were repealed by them, and a New Oath was framed to be tendered to all that were to be put into a place of publick Trust, or made Freemen of Corporations; the Ancient Judicial and Legislative Power of the King, and both Houses of Parliament,

The Style of publick Writings, the Great Seal and the Stamp of Coyn altered.

1648. A Council of State Erected.

ment, they assumed to themselves; but the Executive part of Government, they committed to a Council of State erected by Act of Parliament, which consisted of Forty Persons of the Chiefs of the Army, and others of desperate Fortunes of the most Active in these Alterations.

The Parliament of *Scotland* did by their Commissioners protest against these Actings in *England*, and particularly they disclaimed the proceedings against the late King, but the *New English States* resolutely answer'd,

That they of Scotland *were at liberty to act in their own affairs, but were not to limit or impose upon others*, with many extravagant expressions to justifie their Actings; but in the close they invited them to a resemblance with themselves, saying, *That if* Scotland *thought fit to vindicate their own Freedom and Liberty, they should be ready to afford them all neighbourly assistance.*

Before this Answer could arrive in *Scotland*, the *Scots* had taken other Resolutions; for on the Third of *February* in this year, the King was proclaimed at the Cross at *Edenburgh*; The Chancellor of *Scotland* dictating to *Lyon* King at Arms, the Words of the Proclamation as followeth:

The Proclamation for proclaiming the King in *Scotland*.

The Estates of Parliament presently convented in this Second Session of this Second Triennial Parliament, by vertue of an Act of the Committee of Estates, who had Power and Authority from the last Parliament, for convening the Parliament, Considering, that forasmuch as the King's Majesty, who lately Reigned, is contrary to the Dissent and Protestation of this Kingdom, removed by a violent Death; and that by the Lord's Blessing, there is left unto us a Righteous Heir and Lawful Successor, Charles, *Prince of* Scotland *and* Wales, *now King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland; *We the Estates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *do therefore most unanimously and cheerfully in recognition and acknowledgement of his just Right, Title and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, hereby proclaim and declare to all the World, That the said Lord and Prince* Charles, *is by the Providence of God, and by the lawful Right of undoubted Succession, King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *whom all the Subjects of this Kingdom are bound humbly and faithfully to obey, maintain and defend, according to the National Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant betwixt the Two Kingdoms, with their Lives and Goods against all deadly Enemies, as their only Righteous Sovereign Lord and King. And because his Majesty is bound by the Laws of God, and the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, to Rule in Righteousness and Equity, to the Honour of God, the Good of Religion, and the Wealth of his People: It is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the Exercise of his Royal Power, he shall give satisfaction to the Kingdom in those things that concern the Security of Religion, the Union betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant; for which end we are resolved with all possible expedition, to make our humble and earnest addresses to his Majesty; for the Testification of all which, We the Parliament of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *publish this our Acknowledgement of his just Rights, Title and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, at the* Market-Cross *at* Edenburgh, *with all usual Solemnities in like cases; and ordain his Royal Name, Portraict and Seal to be used in the publick Writings and Judicatories of this Kingdom, and in the* Mint House, *as was usually done to his Royal Predecessors; and command this Act to be proclaimed at all the* Market-Crosses *of the Royal Burghs, and to be Printed, that none may pretend Ignorance.*

1648.

The *Scotch* Commissioners here, were about this time call'd home, but just at their departure, they sent an Expostulatory Declaration to the sitting Members of our Parliament, wherein they put them in mind of *all their Vows, Oaths, and Protestations for the maintenance of the King's Person and just Rights*; and upbraided to them *their shameful abjuration and infringement of them by what they had lately acted.*

The *Scots* Commissioners send the Parliament an Expostulatory Declaration.

This was so ill received by the Parliament, that they imprisoned the Messenger that brought it, and voted the Paper scandalous and seditious, and all such Persons Traytors as should joyn with, or adhere to the Subscribers; they also sent after the Commissioners, and secured them till a Copy of the Paper was sent into *Scotland*, to know if the Parliament and Estates there would own the same, upon which a Messenger was sent from *Scotland* to our States to justifie what their Commissioners had done, and to complain of the Imprisonment of them, as a thing contrary to the Law of Nations, and thereupon the Commissioners were released and returned home: but these Proceedings on either side increased the Distrust and Jealousies of each other.

They are stop'd in their journey home, and secur'd.

They are justified by a Message sent from the Estates of *Scotland*.

They are released.

In the Summer of this year, several Loyal Persons insuccessfully in many places attempted by Arms to free the last King from great oppression and imminent danger, under which he then lay, as was shewed in the History of that time; of which number the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen* were about the latter end of *February*, or the beginning of *March* following, tried and condemned by a High Court of Justice erected for that purpose, (a Copy of that fatal Original made for the destruction of the late King) of which the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel* were Executed the 9th of *March*; but the Earl of *Norwich* and Sir *John Owen* were pardoned: The Earl of *Norwich* upon an equal division of the House of Parliament in a Vote for his Life, was saved by the casting Voice of *Lenthal* the Speaker; but Sir *John Owen* had on his behalf the suffrage of many more Voices than those against him, which was reported to be done at that time in a kind of popular generosity; for that the Noblemen had all great intercession made for them by those of their Allies (in favour with some Grandees in power;) but Sir *John Owen* a Commoner coming from a remote part, had none that interceeded on his behalf.

Duke *Hamilton*, Earl of *Holland*, Lord *Capel*, are tried by a High Court of Justice.

The Earl of *Norwich* and Sir *John Owen* Pardoned.

Duke

1648. The Substance of Duke *Hamilton's* Speech before his Execution.

Duke *Hamilton* who firſt came upon the Scaffold, in his Speech declared his Affection to this Kingdom, and the Reaſon of his coming into *England* with an Army, that is to ſay, his being commanded thereunto, by the peremptory Commands of the Parliament of his own Country, which he had diſobeyed, he had ſuffered the ſame penalty he was to ſuffer here for obeying. He ſaid many things for the vindication of himſelf from the imputation of having been inconſtant in his Religion, or falſe and unfaithful in his Actions towards the King his Maſter; he ſeemed alſo to indicate a readineſs to ſerve them in what they ſo much deſired of him: namely, the diſcovery of thoſe who were the Inviters of him in, ſo that his Life might have been ſpared; with other things which concerned his condition as a dying man.

Of the Earl of *Holland*.

The next that came after him was the Earl of *Holland*, who touch'd upon the Honour of his Family, and the Nobleneſs of his Education, profeſt his ſincere and conſtant adherence to the true Proteſtant Religion, juſtified himſelf as to the matter for which he was condemned, alledging his defection from the Parliament, not to have been out of any ill deſign againſt the State or Kingdom, or any abjuration from his firſt Principles, which led him faithfully to ſerve the Parliament, whoſe Service he ſhould not have deſerted, had not the Changes and Alterations among them carried them beyond what was Reaſonable, or what perhaps they themſelves at firſt intended. He prayed God to bleſs this Kingdom, and to ſettle it in the Ancient way of Government by the King, Lords, and Commons, and wiſh'd the preſent Change might not bring confuſion upon it; he wiſh'd that the King's Poſterity might be look'd upon, and owned by the People, and re-eſtabliſht in their Native Rights without Blood-ſhed, that his Blood might be the laſt that might be ſpilt, and concluded, as he was Chancellor of *Cambridge*, with his Prayers to God for a Bleſſing upon that Univerſity.

The Subſtance of the Lord *Capel's* Speech.

The Laſt of the Three that ſuffered, was the Lord *Capel*, who having made a very able and ſubſtantial defence for himſelf, both from the ancient Laws and Privileges of the Nation, and from their own Acts and Conſults, (though all in vain) behaved himſelf at his death, like what he had ſhewed himſelf all along to be, in his reſolute acting for the King's Service, a Perſon of a high Spirit, and Heroick Fortitude, and delivered what he had to ſay, with a fearleſs and undaunted Deportment, wherein after an ample Account of his Religion, profeſſing his hearty Zeal and Devotion to the true Proteſtant Religion, as it was eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, he took the liberty to urge the unjuſtneſs of his Execution, as contrary to the Law of Arms, to Honour, and the word given him at his rendering of himſelf, againſt the Juſtice of the known Laws of the Land, and for no other cauſe, than his maintaining the Fifth Commandment: he expreſt much trouble and repentance, for having been one of thoſe that gave their Vote to the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and manifeſted to the World the high Opinion, and venerable Remembrance he had of the late King's Tranſcendent Vertue, Nobleneſs of Mind, and Ability of Parts: Next he prayed heartily for the King that now is, for his [illegible] reſtauration, long Life, and continued [illegible] recommending to the People the hopes [illegible] ſo certain in him of a moſt accompliſht [illegible] and moſt excellent Prince, from the ſeveral [illegible] experience he had of the greatneſs of his [illegible] Senſe and Underſtanding, the Honour of his Nature, and the Generoſity of his Inclinations; and ſo ſhut up all which what they, all Three [illegible] were condemned to, viz. a chearful readineſs to forgive his Enemies, and thoſe that had been the occaſion of bringing him to that place.

Several others tried and executed.

The Blood of theſe Noblemen did not ſatiate [illegible] that called the Execution of it; for ſome others were cut off about the ſame time for the like offences though not by the ſame manner of Tryal, as Lieutenant-Colonel *Morrice*, and Colonel *Blackborne*, who was hanged and quartered at *York* by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* for the ſurprizing of *Pomfret*; one *Beaumont* a Miniſter was hanged at *Pontfract*, by Sentence of a Court Marſhal; and Major *Munday* was ſhot to death at *Lancaſter* by the like Sentence. Colonel *Lanborn*, *Peyer*, and *Powel*, Three worthy endeavourers in the King's Service in *Wales*, were alſo by a Court Marſhal ſentenced to caſt Lots for their Lives, and the fatal chance falling on *Peyer*, he was ſhot to death in *Covent-Garden*.

Judge [illegible] and Sir *J. Stowel* tried at the King's Bench Bar.

Sir *John Stowel*, and Mr. *Daniel Jenkins* (a Judge formerly in *Wales*) had better fortune for being both Arraigned at the King's Bench Bar as Traytors againſt the Government, for their Loyalty to the King, though they never owned the Juriſdiction of the Court, the Judges would not give Sentence againſt them, nevertheleſs their Eſtates were ſeized, and the latter of the Two was long Impriſoned.

The Meſſengers ſent from the *Scots* to the King at the *Hague*, are driven back by Storm.

The Parliament of *Scotland* had ſent Two Gentlemen to acquaint the King, being then at the *Hague* in *Holland*, with their proceedings on his behalf, who, after being long at Sea, were beaten back by contrary Winds, ſo that he had no publick notification of what was done there, though he wanted not private advertiſement of it: they reſolved to invite him to that Kingdom, and were in preparation of Propoſitions to be ſent to him in order thereunto, but they were ſo much diverted by ſeveral diſorders in the Country, that the Progreſs in them was very ſlow.

A riſing for the King in the North of *Scotland*.

Middleton and *Monro*, two Major-Generals together with the Lord *Kinnaird*, *Gordon*, and thoſe of the Clan of *Makenzy*, being jealous that the *Covenanters* (for ſo they called the *Scots* Parliament) would impoſe ſo much upon the King, that he could not with honour and ſafety yield to them, drew many Forces together in the North of *Scotland*, and ſeized on the Town of *Inverneſs* in the King's name, expecting many others to come in to them, intending ſo to moderate the Counſels of the Eſtates at *Edenburgh*, that the King might be admitted to his Government without any prejudicious conditions. This riſing in the North was not ſo privately managed, but the *South* Parliament had Advice of it ſome time before it was put in Execution, and they thereupon made Levies of about 6000 Horſe and Foot upon other pretences, but upon the firſt Alarm, they diſpatch'd a good part towards

1648. wards them under the Colonels *Ker* and *Straughan*, who marched with ſo much expedition, that they prevented any conſiderable conjunction of Forces, and diſperſed thoſe that they had got together.

They are ſuppreſt by *Ker* and *Straughan*.

This breach in *Scotland*, and the ſuppreſſion of it, made the Governors at *Weſtminſter* believe it not unſeaſonable to make ſome Overtures to the Eſtates at *Edenburgh*, to tempt them to a breach with the King, with an Offer of their utmoſt aſſiſtance againſt him and all his Adherents; but they could not prevail.

The Reigning Faction in *England* tempt the Scots to a breach with the King.

1649. The King being now at the *Hague*, had intelligence from time to time of the Counſels of *Scotland*, and reſolved to go into *France*, that from thence he might more eaſily paſs to ſome part of his own Dominions to receive their Commiſſioners: In proſecution of which Intentions he left *Holland*, and came to St. *Germains* near *Paris*, where the Queen his Mother then was, and all the way as he paſſed both through the Cities of the United Provinces, and the Spaniſh *Netherlands*, he was very ſplendidly entertained. The Duke of *Lorain* met him on the Frontiers of *France*, and at *Campeigne* the King of *France* received him, and accompanied him to *Paris*, and from thence to St. *Germains*, where he ſtaid a few Months together with the Duke of *York*, who repaired to him out of *Holland*.

The King removes from *Holland* into *France*.

In the midſt of this proſperous Fortune of the eſtabliſh'd new Common-wealth, there was ſo great a diſturbance made by a Party in the Army, called Levellers, that if it had not been ſuppreſſed, all their Buildings had been tumbled down. For the better underſtanding whereof, we ſhall ſhew how this Name came to be applyed to them, and then briefly ſet down the Diſorders that happened.

The Original of the Levellers diſperſion and with their defeature.

They were formed out of thoſe Agitators mentioned in the Reign of the late King, and were termed Levellers upon a pretended Principle which they eſpouſed, to endeavour to obtain ſuch an equal Righteous diſtribution of Juſtice in Government to all degrees of People, that it ſhould not be in the Power of the higheſt to oppreſs their inferiors; nor ſhould the meaneſt of the People be out of capacity to arrive at the greateſt Office and Dignity in the State. This was very pleaſing to the Inferior Officers of the Army and Soldiers, but thoſe that influenced them were a more conſiderable ſort of Perſons, who to gain Power and Authority to themſelves, found out Means by heightning this Diſtemper, to arraign and diſgrace the Adminiſtration of others, and to be pleaſed with nothing that was done by the Parliament, or the Chiefs of the Army, and now the Infection was ſpread among ſome of the Superior Rank of Officers, who in a jealouſie of the aſpiring Greatneſs of *Cromwel* and *Ireton* (tho' they appeared not openly themſelves) ſpirited the private Soldiers to begin a defection in the Army upon theſe Levelling Principles.

Theſe, to countenance their Proceedings, inſinuated, that there appeared a general ſelf-ſeeking in the Magiſtrates, and chief Officers of the Army, whereby that Reformation for which they contended, was not throughly purſued as it ought, either in Spirituals or Civils. *Cromwel* endeavoured to ſuppreſs this in the beginning, and cauſed Orders to be iſſued to forbid their private Meetings; but not ſucceeding herein, ſeveral of the Soldiers were ſeized on, and tried and condemn'd at a Court Martial, and one *Lockier* a buſie Actor in the buſineſs, was ſhot to Death, and 11 Regiments were immediately by Lot drawn out to be ſent into *Ireland*. But this did rather incenſe then allay the heat; for many of the Soldiers were ſo practiſed with, as to be much diſcontented with their being allotted to the Iriſh Service; alledging, *It was a contrivance to divide them; That they were not Mercenaries, but Perſons that took Arms upon Righteous Principles of Reformation of Government, and that till they ſaw ſuch a ſettlement eſtabliſhed as might anſwer the ends of their firſt Engagements, they would not divide.* And hereupon many Regiments revolted from their Officers, and if ſome Great Ones that ſeemed to approve their Actions, had not betrayed them, the Parliaments Authority then, and the following Greatneſs of *Cromwel* had been ſubverted and prevented. 1649.

At *Burford* five thouſand Horſe and Foot of theſe Diſſenters were drawn together, and ſtaid there as they pretended, in order to a Treaty under the Faith of *Cromwel's* Word, that no part of the Army ſhould draw nearer to them, than the diſtance of ten Miles, whereby they were leſs vigilant; and in this their ſecurity, Colonel *Reynolds* (one accuſed by them to have diſcovered their Counſels) fell in upon them with a greater Body than they had, and quickly routed them, taking Nine hundred Horſe, and Four hundred Foot Priſoners, whereof one *Thompſon*, and two or three principal Leaders were immediately ſhot to Death, and the reſt by *Cromwel's* freeneſs or mediation, Pardoned. And after this, great Preparations were made to be ſent into *Ireland*.

But theſe Commotions gave the Marquis of *Ormond*, and thoſe that acted for the King under his Lieutenancy in that Kingdom, a fair opportunity of reducing it to the Obedience of the Crown, wherein he was ſo proſperous, that the King had ſome thoughts of going thither, and a Peace was made with the moſt conſiderable of the Confederate Iriſh; but contrary to their Faith and Promiſe, the Pope's Nuncio by the interpoſitions of ſome of the Popiſh Clergy, prevailed with the *Ulſter-Iriſh*, under *Owen Roe Oneal*; to refuſe to come under the King's Authority.

The Marquis of *Ormond's* diligent acting for the King's Service in *Ireland*.

Nevertheleſs, the Lord-Lieutenant with the conjunction of the ſeveral Forces under the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, Preſident of *Connaught*, the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, the Lord *Inchequin*, Preſident of *Munſter*, the Lord *Moor*, Colonel *Mark Trevor*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, the Lord *Taaf*, and General *Preſton*, had made up a very powerful Army, and had reduced to the King's Authority, all the Cities and Towns in the Kingdom, except *Dublin* and *London-derry*; and *London-derry* was beſieged by Sir *Robert Steward*, and Colonel *Audley Mervin*, with a good Brigade; and *Owen Roe*, likewiſe was by Colonel *Trevor* with his Army a little before defeated. The Lord-Lieutenant being thus ſtrengthened, determined with the whole or the greateſt part of his Army to march before *Dublin*, and came before the middle of *June*, to a Village called *Finglaſs*, about two

1649. two Miles distant from it on the North-side of the River.

Dublin besieged by the Marquis of *Ormond.*

Colonel *Michael Jones* was Governour of this City of *Dublin*, a Man of Courage, but bred to the Laws; and as he was a Person of great Capacity, (by the Experience he had gained in the active Wars of *Ireland*) he acquired a very good Knowledge and Conduct in Matters of War. The Lord-Lieutenant attempted by all fair Means he could to gain him to a compliance with the King's Affairs, but could not effect it. After a day or two, Skirmishes were very frequent between the *Dublin* Horse, and those of the Army; in which those of the City always prevailed, whereby they were much encouraged, and in one of those Skirmishes Sir *Walter Dungar* a valiant Commander of the Army was taken Prisoner, whilst they lay at *Finglas:* But the Lord-Lieutenant perceiving the station of the Army, as it then lay, inconvenient for a close Siege, drew it over the River (which was every where fordable above the Bridge) to a place called *Ramines*, and whilst he lay there, it was resolved at a Council of War, to raise some Fortifications at a place called *Baggetrath*, near the College of *Dublin* (where there was an old Castle moted) thereby to prevent any Relief to the besieged by Sea. This Design much alarm'd those in the City, and the Governour was resolved to do what he could to hinder the Fortification, and for that purpose he resolved to give Orders for some Companies to sally out to beat them from the place. The Garrison had been reinforced a little before with a Regiment of Horse, under Colonel *Reynolds*, and two Regiments of Foot, under the Colonels *Venables* and *Hunks*, and many other Parties of Horse and Foot, from the Garrisons that surrendred in several Parts of the Realm, which additional Forces, were to the number in all of Three thousand or thereabouts; besides that, with those from *England*, good store of Provisions of all sorts were put into the City, so that the Soldiers were in good Heart: The Governour was very private in his Design of the Sally, which was in this manner performed.

The Night before, he appointed all the Horse and Foot, except such as were employed on the necessary Guards, (which were to the number of 5000.) to be drawn together very early in the Morning, in the College-Green and Grounds adjacent, within the Works, without sound of Trumpet, or beat of Drum, and with their Colours and Arms trailed; and the Ports were not to be opened till the Forces were all at their Rendezvous, and Centinels were set all along the Line to prevent the going over of any to give Intelligence. After all things were thus set in Order, about Eight in the Morning, the Forlorn-Hope march'd out to *Baggetrath*, consisting of an Hundred Fire-locks, and after these, a Party of Horse followed, commanded by Colonel *Theophilus Jones* (the Governor's Brother) and Major *Meredeth*, and all the rest of the Troops and Companies went after, as fast as they could march with Order and Convenience. There was a Ditch made cross the High-way, betwixt the Town and the Castle to interrupt the Passage to it, which was guarded by a Party of Soldiers, but these were presently dispersed by the Forlorn-Hope of Fire-locks, who march'd immediately up to the Castle, and took it by Storm, putting all that were in it to the Sword. Encouraged by this Success, and some more force being come up, they advanced towards the main Camp, betwixt which, and the Castle at *Baggetrath*, they were met with by Sir *William Vaughan*, with a Party of Horse, who made some considerable resistance (and indeed all that was made;) but he was slain, and all his Party routed; and from thence they followed on to the main Camp, which was by this time in so much confusion, that they made no resistance but were discomfited, notwithstanding that the Forces from *Dublin* marched only in single Troops and Companies, having not time to draw together in Battalia. My Lord-Lieutenant endeavoured to make a stand, but being not able to prevail, he with most of the Horse retreated, and march'd off; some of the Foot that were got within the Walls of *Ramines*, made Conditions for their Lives, and had Quarter.

1649.

The Siege raised by *Jones*, with the utter defeat of the Marquis's Army.

This easie Victory was much admired, but the occasion thereof was said to proceed from the great Animosities amongst the English and Irish, in the Lieutenant's Army, whereby ensued a manifest carelessness and indifferency amongst many of them; and partly by a Consternation among the common Soldiers. Moreover, *Inchiquin* marched from them, a Fortnight after they came before the place, with a great Body of the English to secure the Province of *Munster*, where *Cromwel* (lately made Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the Parliament) was designed to land with his Army, consisting of seven Regiments of Foot, and four of Horse, and one of Dragoons.

Cromwel Lieutenant of *Ireland* for the Parliament, sent thither with an Army.

About the time that this happened, or shortly after, in the like manner Sir *Robert Steward* and Colonel *Mervin* were beaten from the Siege of *London-Derry*, by a resolute Sally out of the Town, made by Sir *Charles Coot* the Governor thereof for the Parliament. Upon the News of this good Fortune in *Ireland*, *Cromwel* with his Son-in-law *Ireton*, (next to him in Chief Command of the Irish Army,) altered their purpose of landing in *Munster*, and with all imaginable haste transported their Forces to *Dublin*, near to which City in a short time after the Victory they landed; and after a little stay to refresh the Soldiers, *Cromwel* marched the Army to the Town of *Drogedah*, which a little after the defeat near *Dublin*, had been strengthned with an Addition of Five and twenty hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse, with many stout and resolute Officers, Sir *Arthur Ashton*, heretofore Governor of *Reading* and *Oxford*, for the late King, was Governor of the place, a Person in whose Courage and Conduct great confidence was plac'd. As soon as *Cromwel* came in sight of the Town, he sent a Summons, which being refused, he immediately began his Approaches, and was very active at the Siege, making many furious onsets on the Town, with great loss to his Army; but at last he carried it by storm, and to strike a terror in the other Towns, and the rest of the Forces that held for the King, all that were found in Arms were put to the Sword; amongst which, the Governor himself and

The Siege of *London-derry*, raised by Sir *Charles Coot*, sallying out of the Town.

Cromwel takes *Drogedah* by storm, and puts all in it to the Sword.

1649. and Sir *Edmund Varney*, and the Colonels *Warren Temple*, and *Fenwick*, with many other Commanders of Note, were slain; and though the Orders of *Cromwel* were limited to such as were in Arms, yet the Rage of the Soldiers were so great, that many of the Inhabitants were slain in the heat of the Fight, without respect to either Age, Sex, or Condition.

Ireland subdued to the Parliament.

After the taking of *Drogheda*, in less than a Year, most of the Cities and Towns in *Ireland* were taken, and that whole Kingdom in a manner subdued to the Power of the Commonwealth of *England*, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, and all those that opposed their Authority were withdrawn.

The King removes from *France* to the Isle of *Jersey*.

The King, with the Duke of *York*, about the beginning of *September*, repaired to the Isle of *Jersey*, where in a few Days they safely landed with about 200 Persons in their Retinue. Upon his first Arrival, he was very solemnly proclaimed King; and after he had settled the Affairs of that Island, he had an Eye upon the Reducing the Island of *Guernsey*, which was then under the Parliaments Power: but *Castle Cornet* the chiefest Fort thereof, was under his Authority.

A very gracious Declaration, after several Instructions, was sent into the Island, but it proved ineffectual; for *Russel*, the Governour for the English Commonwealth, had got 200 fresh Men into it; and with as bad Success, Sir *John Berkley*, Colonel *Slingsby*, and some others, attempted to raise Forces for the King in the Western Parts, from whence Intelligence came to *Jersey*, that *Dartmouth*, and several other Places would be put into their Hands, and a part of the Army join with them; but the watchfulness of their Adversaries prevented all these Designs, and Sir *John* and the Colonel, as they lay privately in Sir *Charles Trevannion's* House in *Cornwall*, were by a Country Fellow discovered to the Committees of that County, and by their Command apprehended, and sent Prisoners to *Truro*.

Sir *John Berkley* and Colonel *Slingsby* apprehended in *Cornwall*.

Mr. *Windram* sent with a Message to the King at *Jersey* from the Estates of *Scotland*.

During these Transactions, the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* had been convened at St. *Johnstons*, and sate some time, where they resolved upon a Message to be sent to *Jersey* to the King, in preparation to a Treaty to be had at *Breda*; for they were unwilling (in regard of the distance and hazard of the way,) to treat in that Island: Mr. *George Windram* of *Liberton*, was on the 25th. Day of *September* dispatched with an Express to him on this Errand. But so long was he on his Journey, and the King not advised of his coming, that he became very doubtful of their Counsels in *Scotland*, and had given the Marquis of *Montrose* a Commission to make some Levies of Men to land in that Kingdom, with Orders to draw together his Friends, hoping thereby the Committee of Estates would be induced the sooner, and with more moderation, to a Treaty with him.

Mr. *Windram* landed not at *Jersey* in many Weeks after his Departure from *Scotland*; but when he came thither, the King received him very well. The Substance of his Message was:

1649. *That the King would be pleased to acknowledge for lawful, their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of that Assembly; which being obtained, they offered to Treat of the Means to re-establish Peace and Obedience to his Authority in that Kingdom.* The Substance of *Windram's* Message to the King.

This Overture admitted of great Debate in the King's Council, for as yet the desperate Condition of his Affairs in *Ireland*, and other Parts, was not known to him; some that had no good Opinion of the Scots, from their Experience of their Dealing with the late King, expected very small Fruits of a Treaty with them, and rather advised to rely upon the Endeavours of *Montrose*, and the other Confederates; but others reasoned, That these in *Scotland*, now in Power, being the most prevalent Party of that Kingdom, and having with them the Conjunction of the Kirk (by which the People of *Scotland* are always much influenced) were more likely to assist him in the obtaining the Crown of *England* (if he agreed with them) than any others, whose Designs were full of hazard and uncertainty.

The Result was, That Mr. *Windram* should return into *Scotland* with a Letter to the Committee of Estates, in the Words following:

CHARLES R.

The King's Letter to the Committee of Estates in *Scotland*.

We have received your Letters lately presented unto Us by Mr. Windram *of* Liberton, *and We accept graciously all the Expressions of Affection and Fidelity therein contained towards Us, with your tender Resentment of Our present Condition, and the just Indignation which you profess to have against the execrable Murther of our Father: And we believe that your Intentions are as full of Candor towards us, as we are, and always really have been desirous to settle a clear and right Intelligence between us and our Subjects of our ancient Kingdom of* Scotland, *which may be an assured Foundation of their Happiness and Peace for the time to come, and an effectual means to root out all the Seeds of Animosities and Divisions caused by these late Troubles, and also to re-unite the Hearts and Affections of our Subjects one to another, and of them all to Us their King and lawful Sovereign; to the end that by their Obedience to Our Royal and Just Authority, we may be put into a condition to maintain them in Peace and Prosperity, and to protect them in their Religion and Liberty, as it appertains to Us, according to our Charge and Office of a King. And as we have always resolved to contribute whatever is to be done by us to obtain these good Effects, and for the just Satisfaction of all Our Subjects in this Kingdom, We have now thought fit, upon the Return of Mr.* Windram, *to command and desire you to send unto us Commissioners sufficiently Authorized, to Treat and Agree with Us, both in relation to the Interest and Just Satisfaction, of Our Subjects there: As also concerning the Aid and Assistance, which in reason we may expect from them, to bring and reduce the Murtherers of Our late most Dear Father of happy Memory to condign Punishment, and to Recover Our Just Rights in all Our Kingdoms. And We will that they attend Us on the Fifteenth Day of the Month of* March, *at the Town of* Breda, *where We intend to be in order thereunto. And in Confidence of a Treaty, as also to make known to you, and to all the World, that We desire to be agreed, We have resolved to address these unto you, under*

1649. *the Name and Title of a Committee of Estates of our Kingdom of* Scotland; *and will and expect that you use this Grace no otherwise for any advantage to the prejudice of Us, or our Affairs, beyond what We have given this Qualification and Title for, namely, only for the Treaty, and in order to it; although We have consideration sufficient, and very important to dissuade, and oblige us to do nothing in this kind antecedently at this time. Also We hope the Confidence which we declare to have in your clear and candid Intentions towards Us, will furnish you with strong Arguments to frame in your selves a mutual Confidence in Us, which, by the Blessing of God Almighty, by your just and prudent Moderation, and by that great Desire that we have to oblige all our Subjects of that Kingdom, and by the Means of the Treaty which we attend and hope for, may be a good Foundation of a full and happy Peace, and an assured Security to this Nation for the time to come; which We assure you is wished of Us with passion; and We shall endeavour by all Means in Our Power to Effect.*

To the same effect also was a Letter to the Committee of the Kirk.

Montrose solicits Foreign Princes to send the King Aid.

Montrose in the mean time was very busie, soliciting the King of *Denmark*, the Queen of *Sweden*, and other Princes, for Money, Arms, and Men, to be employed in the King's Service; but yet he was so generous, as to write to the King, *To make an Agreement with the Estates of* Scotland, *so that he might be Honourably and with Safety restored to his Rights and Dignities; and rather than break off with them, to give consent to have him banished the Kingdom, that so he might receive no Prejudice for his Consideration.*

The King informs *Montrose* of what had passed between him and the Estates in order to a Treaty.

But the King would by no means yield to his Requests herein, declaring, That he had found him so faithful all along, and to have performed such eminent Services, both to his Father and to himself, that he could not in Justice or in Honour leave him: And by a Letter which he sent to him on the Thirtieth of *January*, he gave him a full Account of the Address to him from *Scotland*, and the Progress made towards the Treaty, according to the Tenor of his Letters, by *Windram*, wherein he informed him:

That he licensed the Authority of the Committee of Estates for this Treaty only, and that both for their own proper Satisfaction, and to make known to all the World, that he desired to bring back his Subjects to their Duty, rather by way of Sweetness and Amity, than by the rigour of Arms (if their obstinacy and the injustice of their Demands should constrain him to recover it by force) adding nevertheless, That he gave him full power to proceed very vigorously in his Entertrizes, not doubting but all his loyal Subjects of Scotland *would join themselves with him, and by that means, those that were otherwise disposed, would submit themselves to Reason in the Treaty which he now accepted, or should be forced to it by Arms.*

The Parliament forces the King to leave *Jersey* and go into *France*.

The Parliament of *England*, not willing to let the King be at quiet in *Jersey*, sent a considerable part of the English Fleet at *Portsmouth*, with Store of Provision, in order to the Attacking of that Island, which put the King upon a speedy Remove from thence to *France*; where he resided till the time appointed for the Treaty at *Breda*, drew nearly and then he repaired thither. 1649.

Sir *John Winram* made all the haste he could to *Scotland*; and as soon as the Committee of Estates, and Assembly of the Kirk, who sate apart, were met, he delivered his Message, and Letters to them from the King.

The Committee of Estates upon perusing the Letter, chose out of themselves a Sub-Committee of Nine Lords and Burgesses, to consider what was most expedient to be done therein, and to present their Opinion thereupon to the Committee of Estates, which was done; and thereupon they prepared a State of the Matters, and reported it to the Parliament in their first Meeting, which was in a while after; and the Parliament upon that Report chose a Committee of the Estates to meet with a Committee of the Kirk, to consider of all Matters in order to the Treaty, and to nominate Commissioners for it; where, after some Consultations, a Report was agreed on to be made by one part to the Committee of Estates, and by the other to the Assembly of the Kirk, and immediately the Commissioners were chosen. Those for the Estates were the Earls of *Cassils* and *Lothian*, and the Lord *Burly*, and Sir *John Hope* of *Craighall*, Lord Justice Clerk; and those from the Kirk were Mr. *John Creighton*, Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*, and Mr. *Brandy*, who were with all convenient haste dispatched to *Breda*, where they arrived a Day before the King; and the next Day after, they went to meet him at *Bergben op Zoom*, and they came thence together to *Breda* on the Sixteenth Day of *March*, where the Commissioners, after Two or Three Days of Rest to compose themselves, and receive their Visits from their Friends, were conducted to their first Audience in the Presence-Chamber by my Lord *Wentworth*, Captain of the King's Guards, who was sent with the King's Coach to receive them. The Earl of *Cassils* addressed himself to the King, in the Name of the Commissioners of Parliament, in a short Speech to this effect.

The Commissioners to treat with the King at *Breda*.

The Earl of *Cassils*'s Speech to the King, in behalf of the Commissioners of Parliament.

"That the Kingdom of *Scotland* upon his late "Message, together with the consideration of all "former Overtures with him, have now again "sent to him these Propositions, which they humbly tender to His Majesty; not that they have "thought to force him to a Compliance through "his Necessity, to his prejudice, or weary him by "Importunities; but by making their humble "Submission, in which their Desires, they hope, "will appear so reasonable and just, that he will "soon condescend unto them, which they humbly beg at his Hands. Assuring him, that by "that means he will be most powerful in the advancing and establishing his Throne; it being "the nature of his Loyal Subjects, and all truly "Noble Minds to be soonest overcome with such "Allurements. That in these humble Addresses "they did manifest to the World their Loyalty "and Constancy to him; neither was it their "purpose to flatter, but to be faithful and free; "that if he would please to condescend to what "was propounded by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, "it would make him happy, and give them "some Hopes to live at Peace under the Shadow "of the Wings of his Government.

And

1649. Mr. *Leviſton's* Speech for thoſe of the Kirk.

And as ſoon as he had ended, the Commiſſioners of the Kirk having preſented themſelves to him, Mr. *John Leviſton* made a Speech, wherein, *He preſt His Majeſty to hearken to the joynt deſires of the Eſtates and Kirk of* Scotland, *that ſo he might enjoy the Bleſſing of God, and be received by his People in Comfort and Peace, to promote the work of the Lord, and make them happy.*

After theſe Speeches, they produced their Commiſſions, and delivered their Letters, together with the Propoſitions from the Eſtates and Kirk of *Scotland.*

The Propoſitions were immediately read, which were as followeth:

Propoſitions from the Eſtates and Kirk of *Scotland* to the King.

1. "That all thoſe who have been and continue excommunicate by the Kirk of *Scotland*, "may be removed from having any acceſs to the "Court.

2. "That he would be pleaſed to declare, that he "would by ſolemn Oath under his Hand and Seal, "allow the National Covenant of *Scotland*, and "the ſolemn League and Covenant of *Scotland*, "*England* and *Ireland*, and that he would proſe-"cure the ends thereof in his Royal Station.

3. "That he would ratifie and approve all Acts "of Parliament, enjoyning the ſolemn League "and Covenant, and eſtabliſhing Presbyterian "Government, the Directory of Worſhip, the "Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſm in the King-"dom of *Scotland*, as they are already approved "by the general Aſſembly of the Kirk, and by "the Parliament of that Kingdom. And that he "would give his Royal Aſſent to the Acts of Par-"liament, enjoyning the ſame in the reſt of his "Dominions; and that he would obſerve the "ſame in his own Practice and Family, and ne-"ver make oppoſition therein, or endeavour a-"ny change thereof.

4. "That he would conſent and agree, That "all matters civil might be determined by the "preſent and ſubſequent Parliaments of the "Kingdom of *Scotland*, and all matters Eccleſi-"aſtical, by the enſuing general Aſſemblies of "the Kirk, as was formerly condeſcended and "agreed to by his late Father. After the King had "heard them, he demanded whether theſe Papers, "they had delivered to him, contained all parti-"culars which they had to propound or deſire; "whether they had power to recede from any "particular propoſed, or to be propoſed, alſo if "they had any thing to offer for the carrying on "of his Service againſt *England.*

To which they anſwered, *That they had acquainted him with the utmoſt of their Power and Inſtructions.*

A few Days after, the Treaty began, wherein the King found many difficulties in every Article; for though that which related to the prohibiting all whom the Kirk had excommunicated from acceſs to the Court, would deprive him of the Service and Attendance of the Earl of *Montroſs*, and many other of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, he thought not fit to break with them for that, not doubting when he ſhould have obtained the Kingdom, he might by degrees make them ſenſible of their miſtaken Zeal in their acting towards ſuch Perſons, and win them to a relaxion of their Rigour of that Injunction: But that which moſt preſt him, was the cauſe of Religion expreſſed in the ſeverity of thoſe Propoſitions which were required of him by ſolemn Oath, under his Hand and Seal to allow the Covenant, and to eſtabliſh the Presbyterian Government, wherein they inſiſted ſo much as to deny him the uſe of the Liturgy to his own Perſon: The King urged; *That there was no reaſon why he ſhould relinquiſh the Religion for which his Father had died a Martyr, and that whilſt he was willing to permit to his Subjects Liberty of Conſcience, it would be very inconſiſtent with their ſo earneſtly pretended Deſires of Peace and Agreement, to deny him the ſame Privilege which he was ſo ready to give them. That the Covenant by them tendred, is the Subjects Covenant to bind them to him, and not for him to take, to ſwear to himſelf, ſo that he thought it ſufficient to paſs an Act for his People to take it. He likewiſe offered to confirm the Presbyterian Government in* Scotland; *provided that he himſelf might have always Three Chaplains with him of his own Election.*

1649.

1650. The Earl of *Canworth*, and Mr. *Murray*, arrive at *Breda*, with further Inſtructions to the *Scots* Commiſſioners. *Montroſs* lands with Forces in *Scotland.*

During this Treaty, the Earl of *Canworth*, and Mr. *Murray*, arrived at *Breda* with new Inſtructions to the Commiſſioners concerning the Militia, which put a further demur to the concluſion of it; and indeed it was ſaid, The King was willing to admit of a little delay, in expectation of what he might obtain from the Endeavours of the Marquis of *Montroſs*, who was after many diſcouragements (of which ſome mention ſhall be hereafter made) about this time embarked for *Scotland*, and about the midſt of *April*, landed in the Iſles of *Orkney*, accompanied with the Lord *Trenbraught*, the Maſter of *Pitſfodder*, Sir *John Urry*, *Henry Graham* (his natural Brother) Colonel *Johnſon*, *George Drummond* of *Ballach*, and other Perſons his Friends and Confederates, with two Ships and a ſmall Frigat of 14 Guns, 1500 Arms, and 500 German Soldiers; Colonel *King* had promiſed to come up to him with ſome Horſe from *Sweden*, but did not do it; Colonel *Ogleby*, and Colonel *Cochrain*, who were truſted with certain Summs of Money for the raiſing of Men and Arms, (the one in *Amſterdam*, and the other in *Poland*) fail'd in their Duty, and converted the Money to their own uſe; and two of four Ships which he had, (wherein were about 200 German Soldiers, and many Implements of War) were caſt away upon the Rocks a little before his landing; but theſe Diſaſters which might have ſhaken a great Reſolution, abated nothing of his Courage and Magnanimity.

The Eſtates of *Scotland* had no Forces in any of theſe Iſlands, whereby he had a good opportunity to raiſe Men to form a little Army for his landing on the Main: the People were raw and undiſciplin'd, much fallen from that Courage for which the ancient Inhabitants of theſe Iſles have been fam'd; but nevertheleſs, he was forc'd to make as good a ſhift as he could with them; and whilſt he was buſied here in his Levies, the Laird of *Pluſcardy* endeavoured to raiſe two thouſand Men for his aſſiſtance in the Earl of *Seaforth's* Territories.

1649. And now having got together as many Soldiers as he desired of this sort, he left Colonel *Johnson* and *Henry Graham*, to keep *Kirkwall* in *Pomona*, the chief Isle of the *Orcades*, and transplanted all the rest of his Men to *Cathnes*, which is the utmost point of Land in the *Northwest* part of *Scotland*; here he hoped to meet *Pluscardy*, with the Two thousand Men he promised to raise, but they came not; for the Parliament of *Scotland* was so vigilant, that they sent into most places where they thought he had any correspondence, to prevent the getting Men together for him; and very suddenly after the News of his arrival was known, an Army of Seven thousand Foot, and Thirty Troops of Horse, was sent to oppose him. The Horse were commanded by *David Lesley*, and the Foot by Major-General *Holborn*, of these they sent Three hundred in the Van, under the command of Colonel *Straughan*, consisting of his own Troop, and Three Troops more, commanded by Colonel *Montgomery*, Colonel *Ker*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Hacket*, and indeed there needed no other Army; for all that *Montrose* was able to do at that time towards the strengthning himself, was little or nothing more than the taking of *Dunbeth-House*, which was soon surrendred to Colonel *Urry* upon demand, the Lord thereof being fled to *Edenburgh*: The Earl of *Sunderland* was a sore *Remora* in his way; for though he had not force enough to encounter the Marquis, yet the power and sway he bore in all those adjacent Parts about where *Montrose* had to do, both kept back the Country from coming in to him, and hindred several of the Gentry from appearing, who otherwise were inclinable enough to have given their assistance; so that *Straughan* surprizing the *Montrosians*, with the speed and unexpectedness of his appearance, and finding them much disorder'd and tir'd with seeking to recover a certain Pass, (which they fail'd of obtaining,) improved his Advantage, and after some repulse at first, redoubled with such fury upon them, that the unseason'd *Orkney* Men immediately yielded themselves, and in a short time (though not without much resolution shewn in their resistance) the Germans also. Thus was *Montrose* his vigorous and loyal undertaking for his Soveraign's Service, the labour of much Time, and carried on with incredible pains, difficulty, and danger, dissipated in a moment by a Party far inferior in number, and doubtless no whit superior in skilful and valiant Leaders (not to mention *Montrose*, who was accounted, and worthily, the greatest Captain of his Age:) such was the misfortune of this at least bravely attempted Enterprize, occasioned chiefly from the great disadvantage wherein *Montrose* his Men were set upon; and their necessities and despair of Succours and Supplies in a Country surrounded with Enemies, or perhaps from a kind of surprisal or pannick Fear, among the generality of the common Soldiers, upon an apprehension that *Lesley*'s great Army had been come up against them: However it were, so great was the defeat, that of the whole Body of the *Montrossians*, who engaged in this Battle, there escaped not above an hundred from being either taken or slain: Among the Prisoners were Sir *John Urry*, Major-General of *Montrose* his Army, the Lord *Trendraught*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Delgetie*, Colonel *Hay* of *Nougbton*, Colonel *Grey*, Lieutenant Colonel *Stuart*, with other considerable Officers: *Montrose* himself made a shift to escape for the present, by quitting his Horse, together with his Belt and his Coat with the Star, and shifting himself into an ordinary *Highlanders* Apparel. In this Fight the Royal Standard was taken, upon which was portraicted the Head of the late King lying a bleeding, and severed from the Body, and this following Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cause, O Lord.* And the Lord *Pitsodder*'s Son who was Standard bearer was slain, Colonel *Straughan* received a shot upon his Belly, but in regard it lighted upon the double of his Belt and Buff-Coat, he had no harm thereby. 1649.

Montrose defeated by *Straughan.*

So welcome was the News of this Victory to the State and Kirk of *Scotland*, that they bestowed as a reward upon *Straughan*, a Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, and a Chain of Gold: Upon Lieutenant-Colonel *Hacket*, a Thousand Marks *Sterling*. But that which crowned this Victory to them with the highest joy and satisfaction, was the getting of *Montrose* his Person into their Power: as indeed it was impossible for him to make his escape, so narrowly was he way-laid all the Country round, and so strict a search and enquiry was ordered to be sent after him, besides a large Reward promised to whomsoever should be his apprehender: yet for the space of three or four days he kept himself undiscovered, by wandring up and down in the open Fields with one Associate only in his Misery, till being very near famished with Hunger, it was his fortune in the end to fall into the Hands of the Laird of *Aston*, a Person who had formerly adhered to the Marquis, and had been befriended by him, and of whom upon that consideration, he doubtless hoped for the favour of not being discovered by him, if not of assistance towards his concealment: But *Aston*, for fear of what he must have suffered if he had been known to have concealed him, or for want of opportunity, in regard of his Followers that attended him, or setting his thoughts upon the proposed Reward (as the regard of Gain, for the most part out-ballances that of Friendship) was not to be perswaded or induced by any respect of old Friendship or Relation to suffer him to escape; so that being seized and secured by a strong Guard, (and having in vain supplicated for Death by the Hands of those that took him) he was presently sent and delivered up to the Custody of *David Lesly*, and by him hurried away with all speed to *Edenburgh*, much insulted over in the several places he came through, only the People of *Dundee*, (though none more endamaged by his Soldiers in the former War) were very civil to him, furnish'd him with all things necessary, and were so far from insulting, that they very much commiserated his Condition: the chief favour he obtained in his Journey, was the permission to call in, as he came along, at the House of his Father-in-law, the Earl of *Southesk*, to see two Children of his that were there. At *Leith* he was met by the Magistrates of *Edenburgh*, in a kind of fatal Pomp; and as it were to welcome him to the satisfaction of their revenge, he had the reproachful Honour, while the rest of the Prisoners went by him on Foot, to be mounted on a Cart-horse (for the better advantage of exposing him to the gazing and scorn of the People) till

He is taken Prisoner.

Brought to *Edenburgh.*

1650. till he came to the end of the *Cannon-Gate-Street*, where the Executioner in his Livery-Coat, and several other Officers, attended with a Cart, having a high Chair placed in it like a *sella Curulis*, wherein (though he himself the Captive fast bound and bare-headed, while the Executioner had his Bonnet on) he Rode as in a Triumphal Chariot, the Disgrace which his Enemies intended him, turning to his Honour, by presenting the Heroick Magnanimity of his Nature, which could not chuse but Triumph in the midst of Captivity. In this manner Reproached of many, (as it is usual when men are in Adversity,) pitied of others, even some of them who were engaged in the general enmity against his Designs, whom yet the Majesty of his Presence, and the undisturbed Patience and Constancy wherewith he demeaned himself, melted into a sensibility of the misery of his Condition. He was conveyed to the *Tolbooth* the place of his Imprisonment, where the next day being *Sunday* the nineteenth of *May*, he received new matter for the tryal of his Patience by the troublesome Visits of divers of the Ministry and Parliament, who, while they began to persecute him with their pretended Exhortations, which served but to aggravate the sense of his Affliction, he told them, that whereas they thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a Cart, he esteemed it the most Honourable and joyful Cavalcade that ever he made; God having all the while most comfortably manifested his Presence to him, and furnished him with resolution to overlook the Reproaches of men, and to behold him for whose Cause he Suffered. The next day being Summoned to appear before the Lords, Barons, and Burgesses Assembled in Parliament, he came into the House Apparelled in a very rich Suit, thick overlaid with costly Lace, and over it a Scarlet Rocket, and on his Head a Beaver-Hat with a very rich Hat band upon it, with Carnation Silk Stockings, Gartets, and Roses, with other Habiliments suitable, all which he had caused to be made for him immediately upon his coming to *Edenburgh*, as if he had been going rather about some Festival than Tragical Affair. As soon as he was brought to the Bar of the House, the Lord Chancellor (who according to the Custom of that Kingdom is always Speaker) told him first, That he must kneel at the Bar. Whereunto he answered, *My Lord, I shall with all my heart observe any Posture you shall appoint me to appear before you in, whereby I may manifest to you, that I freely Submit to the Authority of Parliament, and to this present Parliament in a more especial manner, because you have concluded so near a Conjunction with his present Majesty, my Master, in the late Treaty.* Then the Chancellor made a Speech to him, the substance whereof was this.

Montross is brought to his Tryal in Parliament.

The Lord Chancellor his Speech to him.

SIR,

I am commanded to mind you of the last Judgment of God befallen you for your perfidious breaking of the Covenant, which might justly provoke God thus to divert your Counsels and Affairs, for having been so eminent an Author and Actor of Mischief against this Nation; you abandoned the Covenant, and despised the Oath of God, and did invade your Native Country, and with most inhumane and Barbarous Cruelty did Burn and Waste divers parts thereof, and have spilt much Blood of his Majesties good Subjects, taking advantage of that time, when the Prime Commanders and Forces thereof were employed elsewhere. For these Crimes you were Excommunicated by the Church, and fore-faulted by the Parliament of this Kingdom, and yet still continued in the highest Contempt against God, under that fearful Sentence of Excommunication; and to this day have you remained without the smallest shew of Repentance. And God by his Providence hath now justly brought you hither to receive the Sentence of your Condemnation. 1650.

Hereupon *Montross* humbly desiring to know of his Lordship, whether it were the Parliaments pleasure that he might be permitted to speak what he had to say for himself, and humbly craving that liberty from them, he was told by the Chancellor, that the Estates in Parliament did give him free liberty to speak what he could say for himself: Then *Montross*,

My Lord, *said he*,

His Answer.

'I am glad that I may have liberty to answer 'for my self, tho' I am here your Prisoner, yet 'my Cause is good; nor is there any breach of 'the *Covenant* on my part, in which I Swore to 'be true to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors. 'Concerning what I have acted in relation to 'the Wars and Affairs of this Kingdom, I had not 'only a general Commission, but particular Orders for what I have done from his Majesty, 'which I was engaged to obey by the said *Covenant*. And concerning my coming over now, 'I was ascertained that you had professed to 'comply with his Majesty in the present Affairs, 'in which he hath employed me; and upon that 'account it was that I have Acted. I desire to refer my self and to submit unto this present Parliament and the Authority thereof, to be my 'Judges in this Case, whom I own as a true Parliament by Authority from his Majesty, and I 'shall be content, however it shall please God to 'deal with me. As for my Life, if you take it away by this Authority, it is well known unto 'all the World, that I regard it not: Death is a 'Debt which all owe, and must once be paid by 'every one: and I shall be willing and much rejoyce to go the same way which my Master 'went before me, and it is the joy of my heart 'not only to do, but also to suffer for him.

Moreover, he added to this effect, 'That he 'appeared before them with so much the greater 'Respect and Reverence, by reason of the Agreement he heard they had made with his Majesty; 'that he was never engaged in the League and 'Covenant, and therefore was not justly to be 'Condemned for opposing it, since he was sensible of how sad consequence it had proved to 'these Distressed Kingdoms, and the welfare of 'his late Majesty, against whom those that rose 'up in Arms in *England* were plainly assisted 'and upheld by a Faction of this Kingdom; that 'as he had never been the occasion of shedding 'Blood but in Battel, and by the necessity of 'War, so he had been ever careful to prevent all 'Disorders as much as could be, and to save as 'many lives as possibly lay in his power. That what

1650. 'whatever he had Acted formerly againſt them 'to make a Diverſion of thoſe Forces that were 'going from thence againſt his late Majeſty, was 'meerly in Obedience and Zeal to his Majeſties 'Service at whoſe Command he as readily ſub- 'mitted to lay down his Arms and Retreat, as he 'had before chearfully taken them up in his Ma- 'jeſties Defence. That as for his coming in at 'that time, it was in order to the accelerating of 'the Treaty betwixt his preſent Majeſty and 'them, to the end that his Majeſty being not 'driven to relie wholly upon their Aſſiſtance, 'might be enabled to make the better Conditions 'with them. That ſince he had done nothing 'but what became a good Chriſtian, a good Sub- 'ject, and a good Neighbour, he deſired them 'not to be Raſh and Partial in their Judgment, but 'to Judge him according to the Laws of God, of 'Nature, of Nations, and of the Land, as they 'would anſwer the contrary to the Righteous 'Judge of the World.

After he had been thus Examined and Tried, he was commanded to withdraw; the Parliament were not very long debating the matter, e'er they unanimouſly reſolved to proceed to Sentence of Condemnation; which, (he being called in again) was denounced againſt him in this Form.

The Sentence pronounced againſt him by the Parliament.

You are to be carried back to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to morrow, being the One and twentieth day of May, 1650. *to be carried to* Edenburgh Croſs, *and there to be hanged upon a Gallows thirty foot high, for the ſpace of three Hours, and then to be taken down, and your Head to be cut off upon the Scaffold, and hanged on* Edenburgh Tolbooth, *and your Legs and Arms to be hanged up in other publick Towns in this Kingdom, and your Body to be buried at the place where you ſhall be Executed, except the Kirk ſhall take off your Excommunication, then your Body ſhall be buried at the common place of Burial.*

After the denouncing of the Sentence, at which he altered not his Countenance, or ſeemed in the leaſt manner to be moved, he was again Guarded back to Priſon, where being again haunted and importuned by the Miniſters, he expreſſed how much he was beholding to the Parliament for the Honour they had put upon him; for that he accounted it a greater Honour to have his Head ſtand upon the Priſon-Gate, for this Quarrel, than to have his Picture in the King's Bed Chamber; and leaſt his Loyalty ſhould be forgotten, they had highly honoured him in deſigning laſting Monuments to four of the chiefeſt Cities to bear up his Memorial to all Poſterity, wiſhing he had had Fleſh enough to have ſent a piece to every City in Chriſtendom to witneſs his Loyalty to his King and Countrey.

He is brought to Execution and hanged upon a Gallows 30 Foot high.

The next day being the One and twentieth day of *May*, the day appointed for his Tragedy, he was led forth to his Execution, at which time, ſo winning was his Deportment, and his Speeches ſo powerful, that they made a very great impreſſion upon the Spirits of the People, inſomuch as ſome who obſerved the paſſages of his Death, were of Opinion, That he had drawn away more more from the Kirk-Party by his manner of dying, than he could have Vanquiſht in the Field by Force of Arms. 1650.

Upon the Scaffold he delivered his mind to the People in this following Speech.

His Speech.

'I am ſorry if this manner of my Death be 'Scandalous to any good Chriſtian. Doth it not 'often happen to the Righteous according to the 'ways of the Wicked, and to the Wicked accor- 'ding to the ways of the Righteous? doth not 'ſometimes a juſt man periſh in his Righteouſ- 'neſs, and a wicked man proſper in his Malice? 'they who know me, ſhould not diſeſteem me 'for this; many greater than I have been deal- 'with in this kind, yet I muſt not ſay, but that 'all Gods Judgments are juſt; for my private 'Sins I acknowledge this to be juſt with God, I 'ſubmit my ſelf to him; but in regard of man, I 'may ſay they are but Inſtruments: God for- 'give them, I forgive them; they have oppreſſed 'the Poor, and violently perverted Judgment 'and Juſtice; but he that is higher than they, 'will reward them. What I did in this Kingdom 'was in Obedience to the moſt juſt Commands of 'my Sovereign, for his Defence in the day of his 'Diſtreſs againſt thoſe that roſe up againſt him. 'I acknowledge nothing, but fear God, and ho- 'nour the King, according to the Command- 'ments of God, and the Law of Nature and Na- 'tions; and I have not ſinned againſt man, but a- 'gainſt God, and with him there is mercy, which 'is the ground of my drawing near to him. It is 'objected againſt me by many, even good Peo- 'ple, that I am under the Cenſure of the Church, 'this is not my fault, ſince it is only for doing 'my Duty, by Obeying my Prince's moſt juſt 'Commands, for Religion, his Perſon and Autho- 'rity; yet am I ſorry they did Excommuni- 'cate me, and in that which is according to Gods 'Laws, without wronging my Conſcience or Al- 'legiance, I deſire to be relaxed; if they will not, 'I appeal to God, who is the Righteous Judge of 'the World, and who muſt and will, I hope, be 'my Judge and Saviour. It is ſpoken of me, that 'I ſhould blame the King, God forbid; for the 'late King, he lived a Saint, and died a Martyr; 'I pray God I may ſo end as he did: If ever I 'ſhould wiſh my Soul in another Man's ſtead, it 'ſhould be in his. For his Majeſty now living, 'never People, I believe, might be more happy 'in a King, his Commands to me were moſt 'juſt, in nothing that he promiſeth will he fail, 'he dealeth juſtly with all Men, I pray God he 'be ſo dealt withal, that he be not betrayed un- 'der truſt as his Father was. I deſire not to be 'miſtaken, as if my Carriage to you at this time, 'in relation to your ways, were ſtubborn; I do but 'follow the light of my own Conſcience, which 'is ſeconded by the working of the good Spirit 'of God that is within me. I thank him, I go 'to Heavens Throne with joy, if he enable me 'againſt the fear of Death, and furniſh me with 'Courage and Confidence to embrace it, even in 'its moſt ugly ſhape, let God be glorified in my 'End, tho it were in my Condemnation; yet 'I ſay not this out of any fear or diſtruſt, but out 'of my Duty to God, and love to his People. I 'have no more to ſay, but that I deſire your cha- 'rity

1650. "rity and Prayers, I ſhall pray for you all. I "leave my Soul to God, my Service to my "Prince, my Good-will to my Friends, and "my Name and Charity to you all. And thus "briefly I have exonerated my Conſcience.

Having concluded his Speech, and afterwards with cloſed Eyes and lifted up Hands ſpent a good while in private, *in pouring forth his Soul to God, and recommending his Spirit into his Hands, who was pleaſed* (as he ſaid) *to give him a full aſſurance of his Mercy in Jeſus Chriſt.* He received from the Executioner a certain Cord, by which hung his Declaration and Hiſtory, to hang about his Neck; affirming, *That he thought not himſelf more honoured by the Garter, which honourable Order his preſent Majeſty had been pleaſed to confer upon him, than by that Cord and Book, which he would embrace about his Neck with as much Joy and Content as ever he did the Garter, or a Chain of Gold*; adding, *That if they had any more Diſhonour* (as they conceived it) *to put upon him, he was ready to accept it.* And then preſently, with a chearful Reſignation, ſubmitted himſelf to the Execution of the Sentence.

Thus was this famous, but unfortunate Man, ſacrificed to the Revenge of his Enemies after a moſt ſhameful and deſpightful manner, even at that very time when they were treating with the King, whom they knew full well to have a very great Regard and Affection for him. Together with *Montroſs*, though not in ſo diſgraceful a way, were executed Sir *Joby Urry*, and Colonel *Spotſwood*, Laird of *Darcy*, (who had both the Favour to be beheaded) with ſome others of Note that came with the Marquis into *Scotland*.

The Treaty was now near a Concluſion; for whatever the King's juſt Reſentments were, his Council perſwaded him to comply and accord with the Kirk in the exigence of his preſent Condition: And as for the Militia, he offered to confirm it in the Hands of the Eſtates for Five Years. But whilſt Matters were in this nearneſs of compoſure, News was brought of the Defeat and Execution of *Montroſs*, which much ſurprized the King, conſidering the time of doing it; and though he omitted not in an Expreſs by Mr. *Murray*, to manifeſt his great Diſlike of the Action (for he was much afflicted at it;) yet he was prevail'd on with much regret not to urge it ſo far as to a Rupture: He told them in his Letter,

That he was very ſorrowful and grieved to hear a Report which came to him by credible Perſons, that notwithſtanding thoſe hopeful Overtures lately made between him and them, tending to their Peace; yet that there hath been ſome Blood ſhed of his good Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland, *and that the manner and reſult thereof, according to the Report he had heard of it, did very much trouble him: But that he might know the Particulars more certainly, he deſired to underſtand the Buſineſs fully from themſelves; of whom he required an Account.*

A while after, the Treaty being ended to the ſatisfaction of the Eſtates, they ſent a ſolemn Meſſage to invite him to *Scotland*, and in anſwer to what he writ about *Montroſs*; they beſought him *Not to ſtumble at it, aſſuring him, that there was nothing in what they did, but to accompliſh his Ends, and to ſerve his Intereſts to the beſt Advantage.* They likewiſe requeſted him, *To make all poſſible ſpeed in coming to them, proteſting they would with their Lives and Fortunes aſſiſt to Eſtabliſh him in the Throne of his Kingdoms.*

1650. The Treaty at *Breda* concluded. A Meſſage of the Scots to invite the King, with their Anſwer to the King's Letter.

The rigorous Proſecution of *Montroſs* in that violent manner, was chiefly from the Inſtigation of the Kirk, who at that time had great Authority, and did ſo much influence the People, that it was almoſt impoſſible to appeaſe the Storm they raiſed againſt him. He had been excommunicated long before; and in that Church, Excommunication is ſo terrible, that few will have any manner of converſation with a Perſon excommunicated; and the generality of the People, when they ſee a Man whom their Miniſters declare to be excluded from Heaven, are eaſily induced to think him unworthy to live on Earth. Many, if not the greater part of thoſe that purſued his Life, were earneſt for the Admiſſion of the King; but ſo much did their Zeal exceed their Diſcretion, and ſo ſtrongly were they intoxicated with the Covenant, and ſeduced by the Inventors and Aſſertors of it, that they believed neither their Laws nor Religion in ſafety whilſt he lived.

The King, upon the Meſſage ſent to him, prepared for his Journey to *Scotland*, and about the beginning of *June* took Shipping at *Sheveling* in *Holland*, and after a happy evaſion of double Danger that threatened him in his Voyage, one from a ſudden Storm which aroſe and caſt him upon certain *Daniſh* Iſlands, (yet without any Loſs or Shipwrack, but on the other ſide much reſpect and civil uſage from the Inhabitants;) the other, from a Fleet of Parliament-Veſſels, which were ſent out under *Popham* to intercept his Paſſage, he landed ſafe at a Place called the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*. The Eſtates and Parliament of *Scotland* in the mean time employed their Conſultations about the forming of an Army for the Service of the King, as they pretended, and an Act was publiſhed for the Rating of every Fourth Man through the Kingdom, who was capable to bear Arms: The Earl of *Leven* was made General of the Foot, and *Holborn* Major-General, *David Leſly* Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, and *Montgomery* Major-General, the ſupreme Command of the whole Army being reſerved for the King himſelf, whom at his firſt Arrival they entertained with high Complements, and much Acclamation, and ſeemed to congratulate his coming with great Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection. And on the 15th. of *July*, they again ſolemnly proclaim'd him King at *Edenburgh Croſs*, and had deſign'd (had not certain Obſtacles come in the way) to have crowned him the following Month: But he had not been long among them, e're they began to diſcover their native Rigour, imperiouſly to take upon them, according to their uſual manner of Kirk-Authority and Diſcipline, and to obtrude upon the King ſuch curbing Conditions, as but very ill ſuited with Regal Dignity.

The King lands at the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*.

He is Proclaimed King at *Edenburgh Croſs*.

And

1650. And not long after, when the City of *Aberdeen* presented him with 500 Pounds Sterling, the Committee of Estates seemed displeased thereat; and least other Cities and Towns should in the like manner testifie their Duties to him, they declared, *That what Money or Plate any had a purpose to bestow on the King, should be brought into the Publick Treasury*: And in conformity to this dealing towards him, they proceeded to Reform (as they called it) his Retinue, interdicting all whom they styled Malignants (which were most of his faithfullest Servants) from all Imployment both about his Person and in the Army.

The Commonwealth of *England* send an Army against *Scotland.*

The Commonwealth of *England* had sufficient Intelligence from the beginning of all these Occurrences, and of the Engagement of the Scots to establish the King in the Thrones of all his Dominions, and that they might not be surprized by them, they drew many Troops and Regiments together, and formed an Army, which they sent to the Borders of *Scotland.*

Fairfax, who was to command this Army, refused to accept the Charge, notwithstanding that they offered him a Commission with larger power than that by which he had formerly commanded their Armies, excusing his Refusal by reason of great Indisposition of Health occasioned by his Wounds, and other Incommodities of the late War. Upon this, *Cromwel*, who was newly returned from *Ireland* (where he had been very victorious,) had the Chief Command of the Army conferred upon him, which he (after some little formal shew of denial) accepted of, and about the latter end of *June* he marched towards *Berwick* in order to his advance into *Scotland.* The Scots whilst this Preparation was making, sent many expostulatory Letters to Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* then at *Newcastle*, urging the Breach of *Covenant* and the *Union* between the two Nations, which availed nothing; yet they did not neglect the Raising an Army for their Defence; for Matters were at this time grown to a greater height than to be decided by the Pen.

Cromwel is made General of the Parliaments Forces instead of *Fairfax.*

The *Scots* raise an Army.

Cromwel, upon repair to the Borders, published a Declaration in the Name of the Parliament of *England* to justifie their Proceedings in this manner towards the Scots, and to reproach a perverted part of them for that Breach of the *Union* betwixt the two Nations, which they imputed to the English, (for they would not lay the Blame of their Imputations on the whole Nation;) but so great was the Affection of the generality of the People of *Scotland* towards the King, that this Declaration made little Impression on them, tho' some privately kept Intelligence with *Cromwel*, to the Ruine of themselves and their Country.

About the end of *July*, the English Army, to the number of 16000 effective Officers and Soldiers, marched into *Scotland*, and came after little Resistance (in the defence of some Passages) to *Mordington*; most of the Scots who inhabited the Borders had left their Habitations, which put the Army in more streights for subsistance than they expected; but a Fleet of English Ships waited on their Motions on the Coasts of *Scotland*; yet *Cromwel* pretending to commiserate the Condition of the Scotch People, set forth a Declaration, promising Protection of their Persons and Goods to all that would return to their Dwellings, with a strict Prohibition on pain of death to any of the Soldiers to molest or do them any harm, or take from them any Victuals or other Necessaries, without full Recompence in Money for the same. 1650.

From *Mordington* the *English* Army marched to *Haddington*, and the *Scotch* Army lay encamped betwixt *Edenburgh* and *Leith*, consisting of 6000 Horse and Dragoons, and 15000 Foot: *Cromwel* marched from *Haddington*, and came in view of the *Scotch* Army, where he observed them to be too strongly entrenched to be forced; and after he had fac'd them a Day and a Night without being able to draw them from their Entrenchments, he marched away towards *Musselburgh.* The *Scots* upon this Retreat drew out all their Horse, and fell into the Rear of the *English* Army, which was commanded by *Lambert*, and made so brisk a Charge, that *Lambert* himself was wounded, and like to have been taken Prisoner; but *Cromwel* came to his Relief, and drove them back to their Camp, not without some Loss. The next Day, betwixt 3 and 4 in the Morning, 15 Cornets of the *Scotch* Horse, commanded by Major-General *Montgomery* and Col. *Straughan*, came out of their Line with a design to beat up the Quarters of the *English* about *Musselburgh*, they surprized the Out-Guards, and routed the first Regiment that appeared to oppose them, and advanced to another Body, which was drawn together to succour the others; but there they met with so great Resistance, that *Montgomery* was wounded, and the whole Party put to great disorder and confusion, and pursued to their Army, and the Camp had been in danger of surprizal, had not the King himself (appearing unexpectedly amongst them) opposed the Hazard of his Person, and the Authority of his Name against their precipitated flight. Of the *Scots*, in this Engagement, 74 were taken Prisoners, and many slain; and *Straughan* himself was once taken, but got off again.

The *Scots* routed at *Musselburgh.*

The pretended Parliament at *Westminster* were no less active there than *Cromwel* was in *Scotland*, to carry on the Designs and Interest of the Republick, proceeding with all imaginable rigour against all Persons that they could discover in any manner acting against their tyrannous Usurpation. And about this time, one *Levens*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, being apprehended with some Commissions of the King's, which he had Intention to disperse for his Service, was therefore arraigned at a Court Marshal, and condemned and executed by hanging by the Neck till he died, on the 13th. Day of *July*, over-against the *Royal Exchange* in *London.*

Dr. *Levens* hanged over against the *Royal Exchange*, for his Loyalty.

But in further manifestation of their Impiety, they were not contented to have inhumanely murthered the King, and seized on, and disposed of all his Goods and Revennes, but they insulted over those Statues which his Vertues had caused to be set up in the *Royal Exchange*, and the West end of St *Paul's* Church: The first of these they ridiculously (in imitation of their barbarous Cruelty,) decollated, and ordered it to be taken out of the Nich, and under the Basis thereof these Words

The King's Statues destroyed by Order of Parliament.

words were written, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis* Angliæ *restitutæ prima, Annoque Domini* 1648. which remained many years a teſtimony of their guilt, and a memorial to ſtrangers of their bold-fac'd Treaſon, which gave not only Truth, but even Time it ſelf the lye: for never was there ſuch a thing as the firſt year of the peoples Liberty under their Anarchical uſurpation. The other Statue of the King being thrown from the place where it ſtood, fell upon its feet, which was then taken by many as a preſage that his glorious Memory, Fame, and Poſterity ſhould recover and continue, maugre all the deſigns and contrivements of his and their implacable Enemies.

In *Ireland* the Kings affairs proſpered very ill, inſomuch that in five or ſix weeks time the Parliamentarians had taken *Waterford*, *Dungarvan*, *Catherlo*, and *Charlemont*, and had great hopes of a plenary Conqueſt of that Country.

The Scotch and Engliſh Armies lying near one another without Engagement (becauſe of the advantagious poſture in which the Scots Troops were placed, having a great Hill for their ſecurity on one ſide, and a River and the City of *Edenburgh* on the other) *Cromwel*'s Army began to be diſtreſſed by ſcarcity of proviſions, which made him retreat to *Pentland* Hills, and thence with ſome difficulty (by reaſon of bad weather) to *Muſſelburgh* to be near the Sea to have ſupply of Victuals from the Engliſh Fleet that attended him: and after a few days ſtay there, he marched to *Dunbar* on *Sunday* the firſt of *September* with intention to ſhip his Foot much wearied by ſickneſs and long marches, and march away with his Horſe into *England*; but the Scotch having intelligence thereof, preſſed ſo hard upon him with their Army that he could not effect his purpoſe; and the ſame day at night that he arrived at *Dunbar*, the Scots being cloſe at his Heels, drew up their whole Army (conſiſting of between twenty and four and twenty thouſand men) upon a high Hill, within a mile of the Town; the Engliſh exceeding not the number of twelve thouſand, drew out in Battalia in a Corn-field near adjoyning having a neck of Land to encamp on, whoſe breadth was not a mile and a half from Sea to Sea. The next morning being the Second of *September*, early in the morning *David Leſly* Lieutenant General of the Scotch Army drew down his men to the Foot of the Hill, and about four in the afternoon his Train of Artillery, followed to the ſide of a great Ditch, which divided the two Armies. The Engliſh that Evening ranged themſelves cloſe to the Ditch, and placed their Field-pieces in the moſt uſeful manner they could, to be ready to ſecure their Regiments, and annoy the Enemy if they ſhould aſſail them in the night, and finding the Paſs at *Copperſpath* between *Dunbar* and *Berwick* very neceſſary to them both for the ſecurity of their march homeward, and their more eaſie advance to the Scotch. On *Tueſday* at four in the morning they attempted with three Regiments of Horſe and two of Foot to poſſeſs themſelves thereof; this gave the Scots an hot Alarm, and a fierce diſpute happed, ſo that both Armies became engaged. The Engliſh word was, *The Lord of Hoſts*; Theirs, The *Covenant*.

The Scotch Right Wing of Horſe which were moſt of them Launceers, made a very bold charge and put the Engliſh Horſe to a little confuſion, but they immediately rallied, and were ſo ſeconded by their foot, that by ſix in the morning the Right Wing of the Scotch Horſe was routed, and the left without ſtriking a ſtroke ran away, and the Foot ſeeing this rout and flight of their horſe, and not able in any order by reaſon thereof to engage, (without any reſiſtance) threw down their Arms and fled, giving the Engliſh the full purſuit of them eight miles beyond *Haddington*. The Scots were ſo preſumptuous the day before as to ſend to *Edenburgh* to aſſure their friends of a certain Victory over the Engliſh, and it was reported that ſome of the Miniſters declared it in their Sermons as the mind of God to have them delivered up into their hands; but in the midſt of this confidence they found themſelves miſerably fruſtrated, and their diſpairing and deſpiſed Enemy a Conqueror. The number of the Scotch ſlain in this Battle were reckoned to be four thouſand, and nine thouſand were taken Priſoners with all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, and ten thouſand Arms. The Officers and Priſoners of moſt note were Sir *James Lowſdilly*, next Commander in Chief to *David Leſly*, the Laird of *Libberton*, Adjutant General *Bibberton*, Scout-Maſter-General *Campbel*, Sir *William Douglaſs*, and Colonel *Gunridge*, twelve Lieutenant-Colonels, ſix Majors, ſeventy two Captains, ſeventy five Lieutenants, ſeventeen Cornets, two Quarter-Maſters, an hundred and ten Enſign-bearers, and two hundred Horſe and Foot colours, with ſeven and twenty great Guns; and all this obtained with the loſs of not above three hundred Engliſh Souldiers, and one Officer (Major *Rooksby*) who ſurvived the battel, but died afterwards of his wounds.

1650.

The *Scots* Army defeated by *Cromwel*.

The Scots after this days loſs quitted *Leith* and *Edenburgh*, whereof the next day *Cromwel* took poſſeſſion, and the King retired to St. *Johnſtoun*, where the Committee of Eſtates were aſſembled. The defeat of the Scotch Army produced not thoſe effects as the King expected upon the Ruling part of the Nobility and Clergy of the Kingdom; for inſtead of enlarging their intereſt, by taking into their conjunction thoſe whoſe help they had before rejected for their affection to their King, they aſcribed the overthrow of the Army to the admitting of him into *Scotland* before he had given full ſatisfaction to the Kirk in what they required of him, and in proſecution of theſe Counſels, they began very much to impoſe upon him, and remove from his perſon the moſt faithful and Loyal of his ſervants.

The King could not brook this inſolent carriage toward him, and therefore reſolved at any hazard to free himſelf from the trouble of it, and by advice of ſome few of his beſt and moſt truſty friends, he took Horſe one morning, with three of them in his company, pretending to ride out a little way a Hawking, and rode directly to the Lord *Dudups* houſe near *Dundee*, where he was receiv'd by ſome of his Loyal Subjects and Servants, with whom he kept intelligence, and from hence he intended to have gone further North, where he heard the Marqueſs of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Seaforth*, and the Lord *Ogleby* and

The King departs from St. *Johnſtons* in diſcontent.

1650. *Nenburgh*, and Major General *Middleton*, with the *Gordons* and the Men of *Athall*, were ready to appear for him with no contemptible force, but he ſtaid till by an expreſs ſent to them he ſhould be inform'd of the certainty of their condition.

This ſecret and ſudden departure of the King did much perplex the Committee of Eſtates, who were very apprehenſive of the conſequence of his joyning with the *Gordons* and the *Athol* Men, and hearing he was gone to the Lord *Dedups* Houſe, they reſolved to ſend Major General *Montgomery* with a party of Horſe to perſwade his return to them (many of the Chiefs of the Noblemen and Miniſters being by this time ſenſible that theſe breaches and diviſions would but give the Engliſh (then in the Bowels of their Country) greater advantage againſt them, and that nothing could ſave the whole from ruine, but a general uniting of all parties under the King againſt the common Enemy.) *Montgomery* arriving at the Houſe, ſent in to the King to acquaint him that he came thither by order of the Committee of Eſtates, humbly to entreat him to come back to St. *Johnſtons*, and being admitted to his preſence, he fell at his feet, beſeeching him to forget what ever had been hitherto committed derogatory to his Royal Authority, aſſuring him that he ſhould hereafter be obſerved with all imaginable duty and reſpect. The King having heard this Meſſage, conſidered with his friends what to do thereupon, and though he could not eaſily forget the impoſitions and reſtraints he had ſo lately endured, being perſwaded by their advice, that his return might be a means to unite all intereſts to him, and being aſſured by *Montgomery* of the reality of thoſe at St. *Johnſtons* to his ſervice, he condeſcended to return with him thither, to the general joy of the moderate of all parties as well Covenanters as Royaliſts; yet he wanted not at the ſame time an aſſurance from the *Gordons* and the reſt in the North, to ſecure him againſt the Kirk and all their adherents that ſhould oppoſe his Authority.

The Eſtates at St. *Johnſtons* ſend Major General *Montgomery* to fetch the King back.

The King returns back with *Montgomery* to St. *Johnſtons*

The Committee of Eſtates were much more compliant with the King at his return than before, and having ſummoned a general meeting to be held at St. *Johnſtons* conſiſting of the King, Lords, Barons and Burgeſſes, to conſult for the good of the Kirk, King and Kingdom; together with the Commiſſioners of the Kirk then at *Sterlin* to adjourn their ſitting thither; They applied themſelves to compoſe all differences amongſt diſſenters, of which the moſt formidable were, *Huntly*, *Middleton*, and thoſe in the North; but after a while, by the prudence of this Aſſembly, and the good advice of the moderate Clergy, all was concluded, and the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Marquels of *Huntly*, and the Earls of *Lythgow*, *Lauderdale*, *Calendar*, and *Crafurd*, *Lyndſey*, and the Lords *Buchein*, *Dedup*, and *Middleton* of the Scots, with many others were received into favour and promiſe of imployment in the Army; and of the Engliſh, the Earl of *Cleveland* the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and ſome few other Royaliſts were continued about the King; for before, none of that Nation but the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Maſſey*, *Graves* and *Tyrrel*, were permitted near his Perſon.

A grand Covention held at St. *Johnſtons*.

Divers of the Royal Nobility received into the favour of this Aſſembly.

Whilſt theſe matters were agitated betwixt the King and the Committee of Eſtates at St. *Johnſtons*, *Cromwel* was not idle, he had begun to fortifie *Leith*, and laid a cloſe ſiege to *Edinburgh Caſtle*, and on the fourteenth of *September* he marched to *Lythgow*, and from thence to *Falkirk* within a mile of *Sterlin*, (near which place the main of the King's Army lay) and ſent a ſummons to the Town, but was reſolutely denied by the Governour, and he returned back to *Lythgow*, where General *Deane* came to him from *England* with recruits of men and ſupplies of all ſorts of proviſions. But ſince he could not effect any thing againſt *Sterlin*, he reſolved to try what might be done in the Weſt of *Scotland*, and in *October* he marched to *Glaſgow*, upon intelligence that Major General *Montgomery* was ordered by the King to march into thoſe parts, to ſecure that Country which was then wavering in their allegiance. In this expedition he hoped to prevail very much either by ſubduing *Ker* and *Straughan* (who lay in thoſe parts) to his power, or gaining them to his party; which was a deſign he had long before projected, and ſo far by his inſinuations proceeded in it, that Mr. *John Guthry* Mr. *Patrick Gillaſpy*, and Mr. *Rutherford* Miniſters, with many others of that order withdrew from the Aſſembly at St. *Johnſtons*, and in print remonſtrated in the name of themſelves and the Weſtern Churches *againſt the preſent proceedings, and the admiſſion of Malignants* (ſuch they call'd the Kings beſt Subjects) *to power and imployment*. And with theſe *Ker*, *Straughan*, the Laird of *Warriſton*, Sir *John Chiſly*, and Sir *James Stuart*, and others confederated.

The diſſatisfied Miniſters remonſtrate againſt the proceedings of the Eſtates at St. *Johnſtons*.

The Eſtates and Commiſſioners of the Kirk at St. *Johnſtons* reſented much this Remonſtrance and the defection of the Miniſters, but no means they could then uſe was of force to reconcile them; Inſomuch, that the diviſion of publick Reſolutioners and Remonſtrators (for by thoſe names they were diſtinguiſhed) continued in that Kingdom with much animoſity till the year 1660. that the King was reſtored to the full exerciſe of his Authority, though the cauſe thereof (which was the joyning all intereſt to oppoſe the invaſion of a foreign Army) had long ceaſed, but by that occaſion *Cromwel's* Conqueſt was made very eaſie, and his fomenting that rent in their Church, made their ſubjection to his authority more laſting than otherwiſe it would have been.

The King was deſirous to compoſe their diſorder, or at leaſt to prevent the dividing ſo great a force as was under *Ker* and *Straughan* from his ſervice; and to that end, the Earl of *Caſſels* and the Lord *Brody*, and Mr. *Robert Douglaſs* the Miniſter, were ſent to treat with them; but they were ſomewhat averſe to a compoſure, yet they declared againſt any conjunction with *Cromwel*, profeſſing equally againſt Malignants and Sectaries: nevertheleſs, *Ker*, upon information that *Straughan* held intelligence with *Cromwel*, was at length ſo far induced to comply, that he took him

1650. him Prisoner, and sent him to *Dunbarton*-Castle, from whence he was afterwards removed to *Cathnes*; but after a while, by the negligence or connivence of his Keepers, he escaped to *Edenburgh* to the *English*.

Cromwel, whilst he was at *Gloscow*, had intelligence that the King's Army intended to relieve *Edenburgh*-Castle, which made him return thither, and leave Major Gen. *Lambert* with a good Brigade to make impression in the Western parts. He after some inquiry, discover'd a Ford over *Hamilton* River, over which, on the last of *November*, he Marched his Souldiers; *Ker* had intelligence of this; and, at a Town of that Name, he resolutely fell into *Lambert*'s Quarters, but the *English* Horse had so soon the Alarm, that they drew together, and so well receiv'd his Charge, that a Hundred of the *Scots* were kill'd, and the rest routed and pursued as far as *Ayr*, and *Ker* himself (having his right-hand almost cut off) was taken Prisoner.

Col. *Ker* defeated, and taken Prisoner by Major-General *Lambert*.

Lambert left Colonel *Whally* with some Troops at *Ayr*, to Command in those Western parts, and return'd himself to the Gross of the Army.

In *England* some attempts were made for the King's service, but without success, and particularly in *Norfolk*, many Gentlemen and others were drawn together, but before they could be form'd into Troops, they were surprised and suppressed by Two Troops from *Lyn*, and some Forces of the Militia of the County joyned with them, and Twenty of them being afterward found guilty by an Illegal High-Court of Justice, were Sentenced to Death, and Executed thereupon.

The rising in *Norfolk* for the King suppressed.

Edenburgh Castle had been Besieg'd some Months, with little loss on either side, and *Derbyshire* Miners were brought out of *England* to undermine it, who carry'd on the Work Sixty Foot, but the Rock was so hard, they could work no further.

The Governour was one *Dundass*, a Son-in-Law of old *Leven*, who was so practis'd on by *Cromwel*, that he surrendred the Castle on the 24th of *December* upon the ensuing Conditions.

1. *The Castle be surrendred to* Cromwel, *with all the Ordnance, Arms, Magazine and Furniture of War.*

Edenburgh Castle surrendred to Cromwel.

2. *The Governour and all the Officers and Souldiers to March out with Colours displayed, Drum beating, Match lighted, and Bullet in Mouth, and to be conveyed to what place they should desire, and every Souldier to have what Baggage he could carry.*

3. *The Publick Moveables, Records, Writs and Evidences to be removed to* Sterlin, *or to* Fife.

4. *Proclamation to be made, that all that had Goods in the Castle, might come or send to own and receive them.*

5. *All sick or wounded Officers and Souldiers to have liberty to stay in* Edenburgh.

6. *Horses and Waggons, or other Carriage to be by the* English *provided for the Governour and the Officers for their convenience of Travel.* 1650.

7. *Hostages to be given mutually for the performances of the Conditions.*

The King and the Committee of Estates were much troubled at the News of this loss, and the more, because thereby they perceived, that what the force of their Enemies could not gain from them, their own Divisions, and the Perfidious Treachery of False Friends would deprive them of. There were found in the Castle 5 *French* Cannon, 9 *Dutch* Demi-Cannon, 2 Culverins, 2 Demi-Culverins, 2 Minions, 2 Faulcons, Eight and Twenty Brass Drakes, Two Petards, Eight thousand Arms, near Eighty Barrels of Powder, and a proportionable store of Cannon-shot, with good store of Oatmeal, Butter, fresh-Water, Beef and Pork.

The Master-gunner reported, that when the Guns were drawing to the Batteries, he had so planted his Pieces, that those of the Enemy could not have been planted but with great loss of Men in the action; but when he prepared to give fire, he was forbidden so to do by the Governour, on pain of Death.

Abernethy his Confident went often out of the Castle, on pretence to get intelligence, but the business was, to make a Bargain with *Cromwel* for the Castle, and when it was surrendred, he staid at *Edenburgh*, and was ever after a promoter of the Designs of the English for the Conquest and Enslaving of his Native Countrey.

After the loss of *Edenburgh*-Castle, all the Forts on this side of *Sterlin* were taken by the *English*, so that those of the *Scots* that were Loyal to the King, applied themselves with all diligence to raise what Forces they could to compleat an Army; and that his Authority might have the greater strength and reverence of the People, they immediately proceeded to his Coronation; which was on the First of *January* solemnized at *Scoon*, a few Miles distant from St. *Johnstons* (the Accustomed place for Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*) the King being the Forty eighth Monarch of that Kingdom there Crowned.

The King Solemnly Crowned at *Scoon*.

It was Celebrated with loud Acclamations, Bonefires, Shooting off of Guns, and with as much Pomp and Ceremony as the present state of things would permit. The Nobility, Barons and Burgesses went from St. *Johnstons* to *Scoon* in their Robes, bringing thither with them the Crown, Sword, and Scepter; (the whole *Scotch* Army, which stood all the way as a Guard between those two places, making a Lane for them as they went along. In the Presence-Chamber (where the Lord of *Angus* attended as Lord Chamberlain for that day) was plac'd a Chair of State, where the King sate with all his Lords and Attendants about him; after a Low Obeysance made to him by all the Company, the Marquess of *Argyle* made a Speech.

1650. *Wherein he declared the Affections of the Parliament, Assembly, and People to him, and of their hopes of good from him, to make them happy, in bringing* England *and all their Enemies in subjection to him and them.* Moreover he added, *That the Parliament of* Scotland *were come to present His Majesty with the Crown, Sword and Scepter.*

Then he was attended by all his Train marching in Order before him to the Kirk of *Scoon*, where, in the midst of a large Stage of four and twenty Foot square, a plat-form was erected with an ascent of two Steps, and on the top thereof a Chair of State was plac'd for the King to sit on; the Canopy of Crimson-Velvet, under which the King went, was supported by the Lords *Drummond*, *Carnegie*, *Ramsey*, *Johnston*, *Brechin* and *Yester*; his Train by four other Earls Sons, the Lord *Erefkin*, *Montgomery*, *Newbottle*, *Machlene*; the Supporters of the Canopy being likewise supported by six others, the Sons of Noblemen. On the King's right hand went the Lord Great Constable; on his left, the Lord Great Marshal: the Honours were carried before him by the chiefest of the Nobility in this order: Immediately before him went the Earl of *Argyle* carrying the Crown, next before him the Scepter was carried by the Earl of *Craford Lindsey*, the Sword by the Earl of *Rothes*, the Spurs by the Earl of *Eglington*; As soon as they were entered into the Kirk, and the King seated in his Throne, he took the usual Oath which his Predecessors the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to take at their Coronation. One of each of the Three Estates of *Scotland*, namely, the Marquess of *Argyle* (as being of the Nobles) one Baron, and one Burgess holding the Crown among them; then they delivered it to three Ministers of the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, who were appointed by the Estates in Parliament to present it unto them. At the presentation of the Crown to the King by the three Ministers, one of them made his Address in this form:

SIR,

I do present unto you, King Charles, *the Crown and Dignity of this Realm.*

Then turning his Face towards the People, he said,

Are you willing to have Him for your King, and to become subject to Him?

Whereupon the King turning himself to them, the People cried out with a loud Voice, *God save King* Charles *the Second.* Then after he had been Anointed by the three Ministers with the Regal Unction, the Crown was set upon His Head by the Marquess of *Argyle*, the Scepter was also given into his Hand by the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the Sword carried before him by the Earl of *Rothes*. As soon as the Crown was put upon his Head, he made this short Speech to the People,

I do esteem the Affections of my good People more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms; and shall be ready, by God's Assistance, to bestow my Life for your defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see Religion and this Kingdom to flourish in all Happiness.

Adding many other Expressions of his Love and Affection to the People, and afterwards Mr. *Robert Douglass* made an Hortatory Oration, or Sermon, to His Majesty. 1650.

The Ceremonies of the Coronation ended, and a plentiful Entertainment prepared, the King sate at one Table, and the Lords at another, there passing many Caresses and Testimonies of Joy all Dinner time between them; after which they all returned to St. *Johnstons*, in the same Order and Pomp they came from thence to *Scoon*.

After the Coronation, the King intended to March Northwards to hasten the Levies there made, by his Presence; but the Nobility and Gentry of the *High-lands*, promising to compleat their Numbers with all expedition, He went no farther than *Aberdeen*; in the mean time, that those *Scots* that opposed his Authority might be less able to seduce others, *Straughan*, *Swinton*, Colonel *Dundass* (the late Governour of *Edenburgh*) Major *Abernethy*, Captain *Giffan*, and *Andrews*, were on the Fourteenth day of *January* Excommunicated for complying with the *English*.

The King having visited *Aberdeen*, *Dundee*, and several other good Towns, returned to St. *Johnstons* to be present at the Assembling of the Parliament, which met there on the Second of *March*, and the Duke of *Hamilton* and many of the Lords that were reconciled to the Kirk, were admitted to their Seats therein. The Parliament applied themselves with all imaginable care for the raising of Souldiers, and proscribed and sequestred the Persons and Estates of all that held correspondence with the *English*, and that the Levies might be better made, they adjourned the Parliament to the 17th of *April*, and sent *Middleton* into the North to Raise Forces there, and others of Authority in other parts, to imploy their Interests to draw Souldiers together, and till they should again be Convened, a Council of State and Committee of War were appointed, of Select Persons, out of each of the Three Estates.

Great care was taken for the Fortifying of the Town of *Sterlin*, the King himself going often to view the Works, and encourage the expediting thereof. In the mean time on the 15th of *April*, in a Mist, the Lord *Montgomery*, Son to the Earl of *Eglinton*, and the Lord *Cranston*, with 500 Horse and Dragoons, March'd from *Sterlin*, and resolutely fell into *Lithgow*, whence having taken what Prisoners they could in hast meet with, they retreated; yet before they could get to *Sterlin*, Major *Sydenham* the Governour of *Lithgow*, with a good Party pursued, overtook and charged them, but were so well received by the *Scots*, that 60 of the *English* were slain, and *Sydenham* himself so wounded, that he died shortly after. This good Fortune of the *Scotch* did not long continue; for a while after the Earl of *Eglington*, the Father of this Lord *Montgomery*, with one of his Brothers, were taken at *Dunbarton* by one Captain *Crook* of Colonel *Berry*'s Regiment. 1651.

Major *Sydenham* worsted by the L. *Montgomery*.

The Earl of *Eglington* taken by Capt. *Crook*.

Cromwel being at *Edenburgh*, having notice how the King's Army lay Encamped at *Sterlin*, and that abun-

1651. abundance of Provision was brought in daily in order to an intended March into *England*; and that he might be in readiness to prevent it, he drew all his Forces together, and Encamped near *Edenburgh*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* were about this time again Assembled at St. *Johnstons*, and very busie in consultation about their *Militia*, and providing for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom. *Middleton*'s Northern Levies amounted to near Eight thousand; and it was much controverted, whether those Forces should make a distinct Army, or joyn with the Southern Army; but at last a conjunction of all was agreed; but because there was some Emulation betwixt *Lesley* and *Middleton* about Chief Command of the Army, the King resolved to take it himself to prevent all Discontents therein.

The Kings Birth-day celebrated by the *Scots*.

The 29th of *May*, being the Kings Birth-day, was celebrated in *Scotland* with great Solemnity and Feasting, and there was a Muster of all the Troops and Companies, and at night all the Streets blazed with *Bon-fires*, and the Cannons were shot off from *Sterling*, *Brunt-Island*, and the rest of the *Scotch* Garrisons; but not any place shewed their affection to the King in so particular a manner as the Town of *Dundee*, from which a large contribution of Money was collected towards his Assistance, and the Citizens presented to him a Rich and Stately Tent, and 6 Pieces of Ordnance, and raised a Regiment of Horse at their own charge.

About the beginning of *June* the Parliament of *Scotland* ended, having before their Dissolution, given large Commissions and Instructions for the Pressing of Men in all parts of the Kingdom beyond *Fife*, and in the Western parts for a New Army, which was to consist of Fifteen thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse and Dragoons.

An Act of Oblivion in *Scotland*.

They concluded in a very calm and admirable temper, having passed an *Act of Oblivion* for all things done thitherto, inviting thereby all Parties to joyn in carrying on the Service of the King, and a new Engagement, with the Sacrament, was taken by all the Nobility, and Officers, and Souldiers of the Army to adhere to him; whereby all Faction and Division seemed in a great measure, to be Obliterated, and *Warreston*, and those with him, that were Treacherous, or Dissenters, not before Summoned, were on the Penalty of Excommunication to appear at the Assembly at *Sterlin* by a Limited time.

Cromwel was very vigilant all this while, and waited greedily for any opportunity to draw the *Scotch* Army to an Engagement, and for that purpose he Marched to *Newbridge*, and from thence to *Lithgow*, where from the Battlements of the Castle he discerned the Tents of the *Scotch* Army encamped in *Torwood*, about 4 Miles on this side *Sterlin*, having cast up a regular and well-fortified Line, with Bulwarks and Guns Mounted for their Defence; and having a River behind them, over which they might at pleasure pass.

The King did not think the Force he should raise in *Scotland* able to fight *Cromwel* and invade *England*, without some preparations there for his assistance, to divide the *English* Forces at home, to which end he kept intelligence with several of his Friends in *London*, *Lancashire*, and other parts. And it was contrived that the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Wilmor*, and Major General *Massey*, should with a Body of Horse March into *England*, to joyn with a Party in *Lancashire*, who were, by a prefixt time to be in Arms: but in the midst of these endeavours all their hopes were *blasted* by the taking of a Ship at *Ayre* in *Scotland*, which had been bound to the Earl of *Derby* in the *Isle of Man*, and the seizing of Mr. *Berkenhead* an Agent in the business, by whose Letters all was detected; and thereupon were apprehended Mr. *Thomas Cook* of *Grays-Inne*, Mr. *Gibbons* a Taylor, and Mr. *Potter* an Apothecary, together with Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins* and Dr. *Drake*, and several other Presbyterian Ministers, who were brought before a *High Court of Justice*, and Tried for their Lives, and about the latter end of *July*, *Gibbons*, *Potter*, and *Love* were sentenced to death, and a while after *Gibbons* and *Love* were executed: for at this time the *English* Parliament thought it necessary to shew some severity to the Presbyterian Party, to deter them from joyning with the *Scots* upon their coming with the King into *England*, which was daily expected.

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The intended Rising in *Lancashire* unfortunately disappointed.

Mr. *Love* and others Tried for their lives.

Love and *Gibbons* executed.

Cromwel finding his Provision begin to be scarce, Marched on the Third of *July* close to the *Scotch* Trenches, and drew up his Army in Battalia, to provoke them to Battel; whereupon they in the night planted most of their Cannon on the brow of the Hill, and the next Morning saluted the *English* with Fifty Great Shot, which made *Cromwel* draw back, and give over a Resolution he had to force the Trenches; but since he could not effect any thing here, he made it his next work to land some of his Forces on *Fife* side; and for that Service Colonel *Overton* was sent with 1600 Foot, and Four Troops of Horse, who at *Queens-ferry*, without much difficulty, forced his Landing, and *Cromwel* at the same time Marched up with his whole Army close to the *Scots*, with an intent to have fallen upon their Rear, in case they should have moved that way to disturb the Enterprize. Yet to drive the *English* out of *Fife*, 4000 Horse and Foot were appointed to March against them, under the Command of Sir *John Brown*; which was not done so privately, but *Cromwel* had notice of it, and he sent Major General *Lambert* and Colonel *Okey* with 2 Regiments of Horse and 2 of Foot, who were Transported over the Water, and being united with the rest, they engaged Sir *John Brown*, and gave him an Overthrow, and took himself and Colonel *Buchanan*, and 1400 more Prisoners, and slew about 2000; by which Victory the *English* gained so firm a footing in *Fife*, that they were not easily to be repelled: and soon after *Burnt-Island*, and a strong Castle upon the River, called *Inchgarvie* were taken by surrender. And now the King and his Army were necessitated to take that course which long since had been designed, to March directly for *England*. *Cromwel*, that he might make himself Master of the Pass at *Sterlin*, resolved first to set upon St. *Johnstons*, which, after one days Siege was gained. And the King,

The *English* land Forces on *Fife* side.

Sir *John Brown* defeated by Major-General *Lambert*.

Burnt-Island and *Inchgarvy* Castle taken by the *English*.

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as soon as he had knowledge of this loss, March-ed with his Army with all haste Southwards: this departure of the King alter'd *Cromwel*'s Designs upon *Sterlin*, and he drew his Forces back again over the *Frith*, making what expedition he could to overtake his Majesty; but the *Scots* were many days march before him. Major General *Harrison*, with about Three thousand Horse and Dragoons that lay neerest *England*, had Orders to March to attend the King's Motions, and Major General *Lambert*, with about as many more, was appointed, by Advice of a Council of War, to speed after them, and endeavour to fall upon their Rear: and *Cromwel* himself began his March from *Leith* with a Thousand Horse and Foot, the very same day the Royal Army entred upon *English* ground, by the way of *Carlisle*, which was on the Sixth of *August*. Upon the expectation of the King's coming into *England*, a Party in *North Wales* began to Rise, intending to have joyned with the Earl of *Derby*, who was to come from the *Isle of Man*; but this Design vanish'd to nothing.

St. Johnston's taken by Cromwel's Forces.

The King enters England with his Army.

By that time the King was come with his Army as far as *Lancashire*, he was somewhat hard beset, both by the Forces that followed him out of *Scotland*, and those that in a short time were raised in *England* against him. He had in his Rear General *Cromwel*, (who had left General *Monk* Commander in Chief in his Absence, with a small dis-joynted Force to carry on the Work in *Scotland*:) In His Van were the Two Major Generals, *Lambert* and *Harrison*, who, by long Marches, got before him, unto whom there came up Two thousand of the Countrey-Militia out of *Staffordshire*, and Four thousand under the Command of Colonel *Birch* out of *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and other parts: and to Flank him, the Lord *Fairfax* in *Yorkshire* appeared in the Field with many Troops. Moreover, the City of *London* poured out a good part of its Militia, and the adjacent Counties, were, by strict Order of the Parliament enjoyn'd to set out Men and Horses at their own charges: nor (which was the worst presage) did the *Scotch* Army it self keep entire, being curtailed off about Five thousand Men, which dropt away by degrees, there remaining not compleat, as was generally supposed, by that time they came to *Worcester*, Thirteen thousand Men. The King's hopes also failed him of the general coming in of the Countrey; for the most considerable supply that came to Him, was only one Troop of Horse commanded by Captain *Cicil Howard*, Son of the Lord *Howard* of *Estrich*. Nor is it much wondered at, since the Parliaments Forces had so powerfully over-spread the Countrey, that none could well have the opportunity to stir in behalf of the King; so that before the deciding Blow was given, they appeared to be in a very lost and hopeless posture: but the condition of the *Scotch* Army at this time is best discovered in some intercepted Letters of the Earl of *Lauderdale* and others. In one of the Earls, he writes thus:

The great Opposition that he meets with.

The Earl of Lauderdale's Intercepted Letters.

Never Men (saith he in one of them) *were more hearty, for all their toyl, and seriously you would not know this Army; a natural Purge is wholsome,* (speaking of those that withdrew themselves) *and I hope ours is so, since the ill humours are gone. The Country is kind, and we might have Men enough. His Majesty receiv'd the Lord* Howard's *Son graciously, and Knighted him; he is the first, but I have no reason to believe he will be the last that will return to his Duty.*

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And in another he hath to this effect;

His Majesty is advanced into England *as far as* Perith *with a very good Army, able (by the blessing of God) to do his business. They are, I dare say, near double the number of those with which the* * *King of* Sweden *entred* Germany. *Never was any Army so regular as we have been since we came into* England; *I dare say we have not taken the worth of Six pence; and what you hear of our misfortune in* Kise, *or whatever our Enemies Print or Write, trust none; this is the best* Scotch *Army that ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those that were unwilling to hazard all in this cause with their King, have, upon a specious pretence, most of them left us. This is a Natural Purge, and will do us much good.*

* 6000 Men were all with which the King of Sweden first entred German.

And my Lord *Wentworth*, in a Letter to my Lord *Crofts*, writes thus: *By God's Grace we are come as far as* Perith *in* Cumberland, *with a good Army of Fourteen or Fifteen thousand Foot, and Six thousand Horse, all absolutely at the Kings Command, as much as any Army that ever I saw under the Command of his Father.*

The Lord Wentworth his Letter to the L. Crofts.

But in one of Duke *Hamiltons* to the same Lord, things appear not so well as those Relations describe; his Letter says thus:

We are now laughing all at the ridiculousness of our present State: We have quit Scotland, *being scarce able to maintain it, and yet we grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfie us, or to lose all. I confess, I cannot tell you whether our hopes or fears are greatest; but we have one stout Argument, Despair; for we must now either stoutly fight, or die; all the Rogues have left us. I shall not say, whether for fear or disloyalty; but all now with his Majesty are such, as will not dispute his Commands.*

Duke Hamilton's to the same.

The King, at His first entrance upon *English* ground, was Proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, at the Head of the Army, with great Acclamations, and Shooting off the Cannon, he being then at *Perith* in *Cumberland*, and so afterwards at every Market-Town through which he Marcht. He met no considerable resistance till he came to *Warrington*-Bridge, where *Lambert* endeavoured to impede his passage, but the King made his way through with loss to his opposer; and the Parliament at *London* began to apprehend the Prosperity of his Fortune; but his wearied Forces could not, it seems, hold out a March of that length, so that he came on the 22d of *August* to *Worcester*, where, after one or two Repulses by the Forces that kept that City, he quickly entred, through the ready assistance of the Inhabitants, who not only not opposed, but also helpt to beat the Parliament Souldiers out of the Town. Advice came to the King of the distracted condition of those in *London*, which occasion'd a Debate in Council there-

The King is Proclaim'd at the Head of his Army in England.

The King comes to Worcester.

1651. thereupon for his repair thither; but upon the result, it was resolved on, as a thing most agreeable to their present condition, to stay where they were, and to make good all the Passes that were thereabouts for their better security. On the 27th of *August* they kept a Solemn Fast, and the next day had a general Rendezvouz, at which the Countrey came in far more considerably than at any time before, since their arrival in *England*. The King, as he was in his March to *Worcester*, dispatched away Messages and Invitations unto several Governours of Towns and Castles, to deliver up unto his use those places which they had of his in their possession, and principally to Sir *Thomas Middleton* Governour of *Chirk* Castle in *Shropshire*, and to Colonel *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*. To the first the Earl of *Derby* also Writ, and the Letters were sent by one *Simkins*, whom Sir *Thomas* caused to be seized and sent to *Wrexham*: To the Governour of *Shrewsbury*, both a Letter and a Summons were sent by a Trumpeter, which we think remarkable enough to be here inserted, together with his Answer, to shew the Temper of those then in Authority.

The King's Letter and Summons to Colonel *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*.

Colonel Mackworth:

Having sent you herewith a Summons to render into my hands my Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury, *I cannot but perswade my self you will do it, when I consider you a Gentleman of an Ancient House, and of very different Principles (as I am informed) from those with whom your employment leads you at present. If you shall peaceably deliver them unto me, I will not onely pardon you what is past, and protect you and yours in your Persons, and all that belongs to you, but reward so eminent and seasonable a Testimony of your Loyalty with future trust and favour, and do leave it to your self to propose the Particular, being upon that condition ready to grant you presently any thing you shall reasonably desire, and to approve my self*

Your Friend

C. R.

The Summons was in these words:

Colonel Mackworth:

Being desirous to attempt all fair ways for recovering our own, before we proceed to force and extremity, and (where the Controversie is with Subjects) accounting that a double Victory, which is obtained without effusion of Blood, whereby the hearts that of right belong to us, are gained as well as their strengths: We do hereby Summon you to surrender unto us our Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury, *as in Duty and Allegiance by the Laws of God and the Land you are bound to doe, thereby not onely preventing the mischiefs which you may otherwise draw upon your self and that place, but also opening the first door to peace and quietness, and the enjoyment of every one both King and People, of that which appertains to them, under certain and known Laws, the end for which we are come. Given at our Camp at* Tong-Norton, *this* 20th *of* August.

Unto this Letter and Summons the Governour returned this Answer.

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For the Commander in Chief of the *Scottish* Army.

SIR,

Col. Mackworth's Answer.

By your Trumpet I received two Papers, the one containing a Proposition, the other a direct Summons for the Rendition of the Town and Castle of Shrewsbury, *the Custody whereof I have received by Authority of Parliament; and if you believe me a Gentleman (as you say you do) you may believe I will be faithful to my Trust; to the violation whereof, neither Allurements can perswade me, nor Threatnings of Force, especially when but Paper ones, compel me. What Principles I am judged to be of, I know not, but I hope they are such as shall ever declare me honest, and no way differing herein (as I know) from those engaged in the same Employment with you, who, should they desert their cause they are entrusted in, I resolve to be found, as I am in-*

deed, the Faithful Servant of the Commonwealth of England.

H. Mackworth.

The Earl of Derby comes with Forces to the King.

About two or three days before the King's arrival at *Worcester*, the Earl of *Derby* having landed at *Weyder* in *Lancashire*, came to him with Two hundred and Fifty Foot, and Sixty Horse, which he brought with him out of the *Isle of Man*; and immediately returning back into *Lancashire* to raise a more considerable force, he soon gathered about 1200 Men, and so much was he beloved in those parts, that a little more time had made him formidable; with these he was Marching upon a Design to fall upon *Cromwel*'s own Regiment then quarter'd at *Lancaster* in their March towards him; but news came to him of Colonel *Lilburn*'s approach towards him with ten Troops of Horse (which were order'd out of *Yorkshire* on purpose to hinder his Levies) and Two Regiments of *Cheshire* Foot. The Earl nothing dismayed at this Force, resolved to engage *Lilburn* and his party, before the other Troops could come to him, and accordingly he charged them so furiously, that he routed the first Troops, and had made an Impression so far into their Body, that they begun to be disorder'd, till the accession of fresh Reserves, both of Horse and Foot so overpower'd his numbers, that they were totally vanquished: most of the King's Party were Horse, and the fight was in Lanes, where they were much annoyed by the Enemies Musquetiers. There were taken Prisoners of Quality, the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Tidersley*, Colonel *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *Francis Gamul*, Major *Trollop*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Colonel *Richard Legg*, Colonel *Ratliff*, *Gerard*, and some others, whose Names we know not, and many of these named died of their wounds. The Earl of *Derby* (having lost his George and Garter) fled with about thirty Horse towards *Worcester*, having sheltered himself one night in his way in a House called *Boscobel*, which Heaven by this means had prepared for the King's retreat and preservation.

The Earl of Derby routed by Col. *Lilburn*.

Cromwel surrounds *Worcester*.

By this time *Cromwel* had surrounded *Worcester* with his spreading Host, in as near a compass as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the King's Army as yet lying out of the Town a Mile in the fields. The first Pass endeavoured to be ta-

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1651. The Pass at *Upton* taken by *Lambert*.

ken was *Upton*-Bridge on *Fleetwood*'s side, which Major General *Lambert* attempted with Five hundred Horse and Dragoons, and after a brisk dispute, wrested from Colonel *Massey*, who in defence thereof received a wound in his hand.

The *Scots* having thus abandoned the place where they were, it was presently possest by a strong party of Horse and Foot, in order to the present advance of the rest of the Army.

The King's Army was drawn up very near to *Worcester*, and made many excursions, breaking down two or three Bridges over the River *Team*, betwixt the Enemy and them, and shewing a well order'd and govern'd courage; but *September* the Third, that Ominous day being arrived, *Cromwel* resolved to venture the event upon its former *Assicia*, and to that purpose, having his Boats in readiness, he passed over his Men in the Afternoon of that day, and drew them all into a Fighting posture, and having given the Signal to the whole Army to fall on, the Fight was begun in this manner.

Worcester Fight.

Cromwel himself in Person (about Four of the Clock) with his Life-Guard, and Colonel *Hacker*'s Regiment of Horse, with part of his own Foot Regiment, with the intire Regiments of Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Fairfax*, Marched directly towards the City, and after him Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* advanced with Colonel *Goff*'s and Major-General *Deans* Regiments; the King's Forces encountring them at the Hedges betwixt the City and them, and disputing every Field with them, in such Order, and with such Gallantry, that those already engaged (lest they should be wholly discouraged with the hotness of this service), were relieved by Reserves, and they by others, no considerable progress was yet made, the *Highlanders* proving excellent Fire-men, and coming to the butt-end of Musquet, till wearied with continual action, and their Ammunition spent, the King being then upon the place) commanded them in some haste into the City, and hastned himself to the other side, where Colonel *Hayns* his Regiment with *Cobbets* stood about *Powick*-Bridge, and were entertained with no less Manhood and slaughter, than those on the other side; and though one Colonel *Mathews* was the Reserve to these two Regiments, yet did the *Scotch* Foot fairly drive them from their Ground, till at last being harassed out, and no Seconds or Supplies to be expected, in a careless regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleased, they drew likewise into the Town, as did another Brigade which opposed the Regiments of the Lord *Gray* and Colonel *Gibbons* joyned with two others on another part. The King's Army was drawn very close together, and sent out several Bodies, who charged very briskly on the General's side, where the Fight was hottest, (He having brought on the Militia Forces to relieve his other Troops.) In the Head of one of these Bodies the King himself charged with marvellous Gallantry and Conduct, and press'd so hard upon *Cromwel*'s Life-Guard, that the Troop was very much disordered, and the Captain very dangerously wounded; and in another Charge Duke *Hamilton*, (who behaved himself with undaunted Courage and Resolution) received a Shot on his Thigh, whereof presently after he died.

Duke *Hamilton* slain at this Fight.

The Militia Regiments of *Essex*, *Surry*, and *Cheshire*, were much annoyed by the *Scots*, and many of their Men slain; but *Cromwel* drew on fresh and intire Brigades and Regiments, which were in Reserve, of the Veterane Bands, by which the Royalists were so over-power'd, that they were forced to retreat into the City, which they could not do with such Order, but many of the *Cromwellians* got in with them. *Lesly*, with Two thousand Horse (upon what account not known) not stirring out of the Town to relieve his Party, when the Enemy entred. The King retired to his Quarters for a while, and about Seven at Night the Enemy gained the Fort Royal; at which time His Majesty left the City, passing out at Saint *Martins* Gate, accompanied with about Sixty Horse of the chiefest and most confident of His Retinue (though many more pressed to bear him company) and it was reported, that *Cobbet* very narrowly miss'd of him as he left his Lodging.

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The King defeated at *Worcester*, but made his escape.

Worcester miserably Plundered.

The Enemies Foot was now got into the Town, and, according to their Order, fell a Plundering the Inhabitants in a most Barbarous manner, giving no Quarter to any that they found in the Streets; and through this their greediness of Spoil, they kept the Gates shut, and the Horse out, lest they should have shared the better part, and thereby favoured (as God would have it) the King's escape. Some *Scots* who had got into one of the Churches held out till next Morning, when they obtained Quarter for Life; by which time there was not an Inhabitant in *Worcester*, Friend or Foe, left worth a Shilling of what they had in the Town, but the Royal Inhabitants lost least by the Ravage, being supplied with fresh Wares, to their desires, by the honest Citizens of *London*, without any scruple of Credit or Payment, and their Debts were forborn till such time as God should enable them to pay, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endeavour'd to bring to pass, by their more than ordinary resort to that Market for all Necessaries, and upon all Occasions. The Major (who was Knighted by the King) and all the Aldermen were committed to Prison, and the Wife of one *Guyes* (whose Husband for betraying the Designs of the King in that Garrison, was hanged) was rewarded by the Parliament with Two hundred pounds *per Annum*, and Two hundred pounds in Money.

There were slain in the Field, in the Town, and in pursuit some 2000, and about 8000 were taken Prisoners in several places: most of the *English* Common-men escaping by their *Shibboleth*; but at *Newport*, in the pursuit, were taken the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Carnworth*, Earl of *Kelly*, Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Cleveland*, Sir *John Packington*, Lord *Syme*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Colonel *Graves*, Mr. *Richard Fanshaw*, Secretary to the King, many also whose names we have not, (*viz.*) 6 Colonels of Horse, 13 of Foot, 9 Lieutenant-Colonels of Horse, 8 Lieutenant-Colonels of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 Majors of Foot, 37 Captains of Horse, 72 Captains of Foot, 55 Quarter-Masters, 89 Lieutenants; there were taken also some General Officers, with 76 Cornets of Horse, 90 Ensigns of Foot, 90 Quarter-Masters, 80 of the King's Servants, with the King's

1651. Kings Standard which he had ſet up when he ſummoned the Country, the Kings Coach and Horſes, and Collar of SS's, but the Kings Perſon they had no power to touch, which recompenſed all the other loſs.

He (as was ſaid before) departed in the dusk, leaving Colonel *Careloſs*, in the Rear, to keep the Enemy in diſpute, while he was ſomething forward on his way, and the approaching night might favour his eſcape. To which end, all Perſons about him were commanded to ſpeak French, and a preſent Conſultation was held which courſe they ſhould ſteer, and it was reſolved by my Lord of *Derby*, that they ſhould make what ſpeed they could, and recover a place called *Whiteladies* before morning, which was ſome 25 miles from *Worceſter*; and thereupon one Maſter *Giffard* then in the company, was called for his guidance thither; and one *Walker* (that had been formerly a Scoutmaſter in the Kings Army) was his aſſiſtant, yet the way was miſtaken as they paſſed a Heath, but by good providence ſoon recovered.

The King deliberates whither to fly.

Betwixt three and four a clock the King reached this place, and Maſter *Giffard* (after ſome knocking at the door,) called up one *George Pendrill*, a Servant in the Houſe, who hearing and knowing his voice, ran down in his ſhirt and opened the door, and the King and his Retinue entred; where after a little debate about the ſecurity of his perſon, the ſaid Earl having called thither *William Pendrill* the Houſe-keeper of *Boſcobel*, and diſpatch'd another towards *Tong* to ſee if the Coaſt was yet clear; His Majeſty in the mean while had his hair cut off, and his Buff doublet and Linnen breeches buried, and he was diſguiſed in Countrey habit, with adjuration of the fidelity of the *Pendrills* (who were now with their Brother-in-Law *Francis Yates* in number five) committed and entruſted by the Earl of *Derby* to their fidelity, which they moſt ſolemnly and dutifully promiſed. Then the Earl and the reſt of the Lords, *viz.* the Duke of *Buckingham* and that Train, with tears took their leave (*Derby* would have ſtaid, but there was no probability of ſecrecy for two) and my Lord *Wilmot* with *John Pendrill* withdrew himſelf from that company to another retreat; the reſt (except the Duke who lay concealed in other friends houſes about that Country) were taken as aforeſaid at *Nempnet* by *Lilburns* Horſe, the ſame who had defeated the Earl of *Derby*, who now rendred himſelf a Priſoner to one Captain *Edge* of *Lancaſhire*, on promiſe for quarter for life.

The Lords leave him at Whiteladies.

Aſſoon as the King was thus left by his Company, with a Wood-bill in his hand, he was conducted into a Wood or Coppice near adjoyning, taking the name of *William Jones* a Wood-cutter, newly come thither for work, and was accordingly inſtructed in his Tongue and Behaviour: That day proved very wet, ſo that *Yates* his Wife brought him a blanket to cover him, and a diſh of Milk and Apples for his refreſhment; and at night againſt his coming home (where the Mother of the *Pendrills* at her Son *Richard's* houſe moſt joyfully welcom'd him) and provided an ordinary Country Supper; which ended, the King with *Richard* his guide reſolved for *Wales*, and went to one Maſter *Wolfes* of *Madely*, where for fear of ſearch, he was fain to take up his Quarters in the Barn, where Maſter *Wolfe* and his Wife attended on him. Here his Majeſty underſtood that the Paſſes over the Water, and the River *Why*, where ſo guarded, that it was unſeaſonable for him to adventure into *Wales*; ſo that on *Friday* night he retreated in his woolen accoutrements about his legs (in which he had lain in that hard lodging in great pain and ſoreneſs) to *Boſcobel*, where he found Colonel *Careloſs* (who had alſo betaken himſelf thither for ſhelter;) and by his direction, that *Saturday* the King went into the Wood, (from the pleaſantneſs whereof the houſe took its name) and aſcended into the top of that moſt celebrated Oak, which being thick with branches ſtretching and ſhadowing fore-right, was altogether impervious to the ſight: and here the Colonel bore him company while he laid his head, and ſlept upon a pillow in his lap. At night they both deſcended, and came into the houſe and refreſh'd themſelves, and the King perceiving the ſecrecy of the place, was not willing to keep longer abroad. He paſt away the Sunday in a kind of Arbour or Banqueting-houſe at the end of the Garden, and there *John Pendrill*, came to him from my Lord *Wilmot*, to conduct him to Mr. *Whitgraves* houſe at *Moſeley*; whither with much difficulty and danger he himſelf had arrived, but the ſafety there anſwered all. The King approved of my Lord *Wilmots* advice, and on Monday night (with the guard of the five brethren) and the help of the Millers horſe, he came to Mr. *Whitgraves*, where he was gladly received by my Lord and that Gentleman, and conveyed into a ſecret place; and there it was conſidered what courſe to take for a further progreſſion in the Kings eſcape; and to this purpoſe one Colonel *Lane* of *Bently* was made acquainted with it, and by them it was agreed, that Miſtreſs *Jane Lane* upon pretence of aſſiſting at the Child-bed of her Siſter, ſhould ride to *Briſtol*, and the King as her Servant ride before her, with one Mr. *Laſſels* and his wife behind him, and a Paſs for their more ſecurity in travel was procured.

The King perſonates a Wood-cutter.

1651.

He quarters in a Barn at *Madely*.

Comes to *Boſcobel*, where Col. *Careloſs* directs him to the Oak.

To Maſter *Whitegraves* at *Moſely*.

Mrs. *Jane Lane* undertakes to convey him to *Briſtol*.

On their way thither, my Lord *Wilmot* (as of chance) met with them, having a Hawk on his fiſt, and ſo they journeyed together to *Bromſgrave*, where the Kings Horſe loſing a ſhooe, He was forc'd to carry his Horſe to a Farrier, who inquiring of News of the King, and being anſwered by his Majeſty, *that he believed the King was eſcaped into* Scotland, he replyed, *that no doubt the King was ſecretly ſomewhere in* England, *and wiſh'd he knew where; for that he could get a* 1000 l. *by taking of him.* The King departing from thence, comes to *Eveſham*, where adviſing how to avoid Troopers then grazing their Horſes in the Meadows adjoyning, they lighted upon them in a near Village as they rode, but they civilly let them paſs on their way to *Cirencester* to the Crown, where they lodged that night, and went the next day towards *Briſtol* within three Miles of the City, to the Houſe of Mr. *Norton* of *Leigh*, the deſigned journeys end. Here the King feigned himſelf ſick, and took his Chamber

1651. by the order and care of Mrs. *Lane*; but the next morning coming into the Celler, he was taken notice of by the Butler, one *John Pope*, a Souldier formerly in the late Kings Army, who upon an intent look discerned him, and in all dutiful manner discovered himself to him, with such assurance of fidelity, that he gained his Majesties belief so far, as to be employed by him in getting a Ship for his transportation: thence the King was conducted by my Lord *Wilmot* to one Colonel *Windhams* House at *Trent* in *Dorsetshire*, where he continued almost three weeks in expectation of a passage from *Lime*; Soon after his arrival here, Mrs. *Jane Lane* with Mr. *Lassels* parted, being openly entertained as Kinsfolk, and came in safety back again to *Staffordshire*.

The King at Colonel *Windhams.*

The occurrences that happed here, we cannot certainly relate, only the King was disappointed of a passage which a Merchant had procured for him at *Lime* (by my Lord *Wilmot* and Colonel *Windhams* means;) and though the fault was not in the Merchant, but the dejected spirit of the Master of the Bark; yet this disappointment had like to have proved the King's ruine, by the shooing of my Lord *Wilmot's* Horse, (there was one Mr. *Henry Peters* that attended him for his Guide.) The Hostler and the Smith discovered by the shooes, that they were come somewhere from the Northern parts by their manner of nailing, and presently raised a rumour of the Kings being there abouts; and whilst the Smith went to advise with a Minister of the matter, my Lord was got away by providence, and the King came to *Bridport*, where as 'tis since reported, he had like to have been known by an Hostler, as he was setting up the Horses, who welcom'd him as having formerly seen him at *Exeter*, but did not distinguish who he was, and the King with a proffer of drinking with him when he was more at leisure, withdrew himself from any further discovery. That night they touched at *Broad-Windsor*, where again the King met with some disturbance by Souldiers then filling those places, in order to their shipping for *Jersey*. But after all these surprizing adventures, he got again to Colonel *Windhams*, with the Lord *Wilmot*, who had overtaken them, and passed by them at *Bridport* as was agreed, and thence (for it could not be safe to continue longer in that place) he was sent to *Salisbury* to look out for another Sanctuary, and to confer to that purpose with Master *Coventry*, who agreed to bring him to Mrs. *Hides* house at a Village called *Heal*. The King in his way to *Salisbury* came to a Town called *Mere* to the *George*, an acquaintance of the Colonels, where drinking in the Cellar, the Host seeing the King stand off as a servant, said, *Thou lookest like an honest Fellow, Here's an Health to the King*; who unreadily answering it, made the man expostulate with the Colonel what Fellow he had brought. The King from *Mere* went to the House of Mrs. *Hide*, and was joyfully there received, and introduced to a secret place in the House, and here Colonel *Robert Philips* came to him, and Colonel *Windham* took his leave of his Majesty, and returned; and Dr. *Hinchman* after made Bishop of *London*, had the honour to be made acquainted with his condition; and *Philips* was presently dispatch'd to procure some shipping at *Southampton*, where the Barks being all taken up, and employed by the Parliament, he returned with his labour lost, but meeting with Colonel *Gunter*, he (being informed of the business) undertook to provide a Bark at *Brighthemstead* in *Sussex*, which he effected, and thither the King (and my Lord *Wilmot*) having taken leave of this Noble Matron and the Doctor, accompanied with Collonel *Phillips*, (passing by night neat *Portsmouth*,) came in two days to an Inn at *Brighthemstead*, where Colonel *Gunter* and one Master *Maunsel* the Merchant, who at *Gunters* request hired the Ship, and the Ship-master *Tetersha* (now a Captain in his Majesties Navy) met him, and at Supper they set down together with his Majesty, when the Master presently discovered him, having formerly seen him in the *Downs*, when he obtained the release of his Ship loaden from *Newcastle*; whereupon the King conferr'd with the Master, who (being wrought upon by promises and money paid down, and his own Loyalty) agreed to transport him to *France*, and departed to call up his Mariners then on shore (pretending his Ship half-laden with coals was a drift;) but coming home for a bottle of *Aqua-vitæ*, his Wife by the unseasonableness of the night suspecting the truth, encouraged him to the undertaking, not caring (as she said) *if she and her little ones begged their bread, so the King were in safety.* About five of the clock in the dark of the morning on the 20*th* of *October* the King embarqued, with my Lord *Wilmot*, and keeping the shore all that day, in the evening croft over, and at dark night landed neer *Diep* in *France*. In their passage, the King sitting upon the Deck, and directing the course, as they call it, conning the Ship one of the Mariners blowing Tobacco in his face, the Master bid him go further off the Gentleman, who murmuring, unwittingly replied, *That a Can might but upon a King.* At *Rouen* the King had his cloaths changed by two English Merchants reiding there, and was there saluted (though at first hardly known) by Dr. *Earls* late Bishop of *Salisbury*, and upon notice of his arrival, the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans*, and that whole Court went out to meet him, and congratulate his wonderful deliverance: a providence indeed not paralell'd in History, and able to have convinced his Rebels, if their rage had not blinded them; but it chear'd the minds and hopes of his Subjects, by this Pledge of their deliverance from thraldom, in this marvellous protection of Gods Anointed (no less then two and fifty persons being privy to his Escape.)

My Lord *Wilmot* and he prevailed with a Merchant to procure a Pass, but were disappointed.

He is receiv'd by Mrs. *Hide* at *Heal.*

He is safely transported into *France* by *Tetersha*ll.

He is met by the Queen, Mother and Court of *France.*

Very few of the Nobles and Officers that came in with him from *Scotland* escaped, *David Lesley* and Lieutenant General *Middleton* were taken in *Lancashire*, and carried Prisoners to *Chester*, from whence with the Earl of *Lauderdale*, *Kelly*, *Rhothes*, and others they were committed to the *Tower*, from whence my Lord *Middleton* happily escaped, the rest were not long after sent to *Windsor Castle*, where they continued till the Restitution of the King to his Government.

Most of the Scots taken Prisoners.

On the 23*d* of *September*, *Cromwel* came to *London*,

1651.

1651. *London*, and was met about *Acton* with the Speaker and the Members of Parliament, and the Lord Mayor of *London* and Recorder *Steel*, who in a set speech congratulated his great successes, and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken *Prolepsis* applied to him these words of the Psalmist, *To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron*, in an arrogant exaltation of his Atchievement: next day the Common Prisoners (being driven like a herd of Swine) were brought through *Westminster* into *Tuthil* fields (a sadder spectacle was never seen, except the miserable place of their defeat) and there sold to several Merchants, and sent to the *Barbadoes*; the Colours taken were likewise hanged up in *Westminster*-Hall, with those taken before at *Preston* and *Dunbar*.

Cromwel comes with his Prisoners to *London*.

We have hitherto without any digression related the fortune of the King from the time of his quitting *Scotland* to his safe arrival in *France*; but we shall now briefly describe the transactions that passed in *Scotland* at that time: *Cromwel*, when he left the King constituted (as is hinted) General *Monk* Commander in Chief of the English Army there; which was an Action that carried great envy with it from those of his own party, because *Monk* had but lately engaged with them; and it was objected, that he had been heard to say he will never draw a Sword in *England* against the King or his Interest, and therefore they could not expect faithful service from him in *Scotland* against the same Party; but it is said, he gave such assurance to *Cromwel* of his fidelity in that station against the people, (who were the first raisers of those unhappy storms that overspread our Nation with the miseries of War and Sedition) that he would not be perswaded to alter his choice.

The English Army left with the General exceeded not six thousand men, and many of these were sick and weak by long marches, but they had by several successful encounters gained a great reputation, and the Scots were much dispirited thereby, so that whilst he found part of his forces were in good heart and his enemies dejected, he immediately march'd to *Sterlin*, and came thither by that time *Cromwel* got into *England*.

Sterlin was at that time governed by Colonel *Cuningham*, who was so surprized at the suddain approach of the English Army, (believing them to be of much greater number then they really were) that after a short siege he surrendred the Town and Castle upon Articles on the 14*th* of *August*; where the Kings Royal Robes, the Cloath of State, and all the Scotch Records were found and seized, together with five thousand Arms and forty piece of Ordnance, and great store of Ammunition; but all the goods of private persons there deposited, were delivered to such as would own them: over the door of the Chappel that belongs to the Castle this Motto in the time of King *James* was written, *J. C. R. Nobis hæc invicta miserunt Centum sex Proavi* 1617. which shews that that place had remained unconquered during the Reigns of an hundred and six Kings, and so continued all his time and his Sons.

Sterlin with the Castle surrendered to General *Monk*.

The next place to which the General marched after the taking of *Sterlin* was *Dundee*, to which Town the chief of the Inhabitants of *Edenburgh* and many other Towns and places had conveyed the best part of their Moveables, as a secure depository, so that there was great riches in it. 1651.

Major *Lumsdale* was Governour of the Town, who had therein eight hundred Soldiers, besides some Companies of armed Inhabitants, whereby he thought himself in so good a condition, that when the General drew near the place, and sent a summons to him, he returned a very slighting answer, hereupon he environed the Town with his Army; but at his first coming thither, hearing that old General *Lesly* and several of the Lords of *Scotland* were met at *Elliot* (about fourteen miles from *Dundee*) to raise Soldiers, he sent Colonel *Alured* and Colonel *Morgan* with a thousand Horse and Dragoons to disturb the Levies, leaving privately the chief conduct and care of the design to his Confident, Colonel *Morgan*, the other (though the elder Colonel) being not very competent for such a service. These, as soon as they had their Orders, marched in the night and took Scotch Guides to shew them the way to the Town, and by the help of some few Scotch Soldiers, who had revolted to the English, they so dissembled their march, that the Countrey took them for part of their own forces going to *Elliot*, so that they were got undiscovered beyond the Town about three of the clock in the morning, and then they marched into it with little or no resistance, and took 300 Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, with about 70 of their Servants, the one of which was General *Lesly* (who was found hid in a close Cupboard-bed) the Earls *Marshal*, *Crawford*, *Lindsey*, and *Keith*, and the Lords *Ogilby*, *Burgenny*, *Hume* and *Lee*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen of note; these were all shipt for, *London*, but old *Lesly* putting in at *Newcastle*, was by the favour of Sir *Arthur Haslerig* (then Governour thereof) permitted to stay in *Northumberland* with one *De la Val* his Son-in-law, upon promise to be a true Prisoner.

Old General *Lesly* and divers other Scotch Nobles surprized at *Elliot*.

The General by this means had prevented all possibility of disturbance in his Siege, and seeing he could not by fair means prevail with the Governour to yield up the Town, though he knew by the surprize of *Elliot* all hope of relief failed, on the first of *September* he took it by storm, putting all to the Sword that were found in Arms. The Governour with some few for a while saved themselves in a Steeple, but were smothered out by the burning of wet straw, and then they yielded on mercy to one Captain *Kelly* of Colonel *Morgan's* Regiment, who was carrying him to the General with purpose to intercede for his life, because of the gallantry of his behaviour in defence of the Town, but as he was going with him, one Major *Butler* barbarously shot him dead. The Soldiers had very rich booty in this Garrison, for it was at this time the richest Town in *Scotland*, and there were sixty sail of Ships in the Harbour. After this taking of *Dundee*, St. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, with other Towns, Castles and strong places either voluntarily submitted or rendred upon Summons.

Dundee taken by storm.

These successes did not mitigate the severity of the Rulers at *Westminster*, who about the end of *September* appointed a Court-Martial to sit at *Chester*, for the Tryal of the Earl of *Derby*, and

1651. several other Prisoners taken after the Battel at *Worcester*, or some little before.

The Earl of *Derby* beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancashire.*

The Earl upon his Tryal pleaded the Quarter given him by Captain *Edge* that took him prisoner, which was over-ruled by the Court, and he was sentenced to be beheaded, and on the 15*th.* of *October*, that rigorous Sentence was executed on him at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*; and for the same cause of Loyalty to their Soveraign, and by the same Court, Sir *Timothy Fetherstonhaugh*, Captain *Benbow*, and Captain *Symptins* were sentenced to death, and executed.

Several Royalists taken and imprisoned in the Tower.

This sad occasion obliges us to a further account of those English Royalists who were taken in, and after the same Battel of *Worcester*, among whom were (besides others mentioned) the Lord *Grandison*, Sir *John Packington*, Colonel *Blagge*, Colonel *Edward Broughton*, and Major General *Massey*; these were all except *Massey* presently imprisoned in the Tower; but he being much wounded, and tired with ridings as he endeavoured to escape, delivered himself up to the Countess of *Stamford*, who secured him in her house till he was cured of his wounds, upon his engagement to be a true Prisoner; and when he was recovered, he was also sent to the Tower, from whence by a disguise not long after he made his escape. Colonel *Wogan* was much sought after by the pursuers, but he got safe to the High-lands in *Scotland*, being resolved to prosecute the Kings Quarrel where Nature had fixt her *Non Ultra*.

The Isles of *Man* and *Jersey*, &c. surrendered to the Parliament.

There remained nothing in *England* of the antient Dominions and Territories thereof unsubdued to the Power of the Parliament, except the Isle of *Man*, and the Island of *Jersey*, and Castle *Cornet* in the Isle of *Guernsey*, which were all about this time surrendred to the Authority of the English Common-wealth, and not only these adjacent Islands, but what was in *America* appertaining to the Crown of *England* came quickly into their Jurisdiction, as did the Island of *Barbadoes* (whereof the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* was Governour for the King) which was yielded up upon Articles to Sir *George Ascough* about the beginning of *January*. The Articles were very favourable both to the Governour and Inhabitants, the first having liberty of returning to *England*, with freedom to his person and estate, and the latter being indemnified for what ever they had done in hostility against the Parliament. It is said, the gaining of this Island was much facilitated by one Colonel *Muddyford* then in difference with the Governour, whom Sir *George* had drawn to his party, and by whose power and influence in the Island it was easily obtained. Hereupon the Islands of *Nevis* and St. *Christopher* thought it in vain to stand out, but both submitted to Sir *George Ayscough*.

Barbadoes yielded up to Sir *Geo. Ascough.*

Popham and *Ireton* yielded to Fate.

Towards the End of this year two eminent Commanders of the English Common-wealth were taken away by death, *viz.* General *Edward Popham*, one of the Generals at Sea; and *Ireton*, Son-in-law to *Cromwel*, and Deputy of *Ireland*, who died of a contagious feaver contracted at the Siege of the City of *Limerick* in *Ireland*, which (after an obstinate resistance) he had newly gained. His Corps was transported to *England*, and brought to *London*, and interred in *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel in *Westminster* with a magnificent funeral pomp and state. He was no doubt a man of much dispatch, of dextrous and able parts, had they been employed in honester designs; and was thought to have been a greater contriver and prompter in the chiefest of his Father-in-laws stratagems. For a time after his decease, Lieutenant General *Edmund Ludlow* executed his Office, till Colonel *Charles Fleetwood* who had succeded him in his wife, was thereby preferred to succeed him in the Deputiship of *Ireland*.

1651.

Col. *Fleetwood* succeeds *Ireton* in the Deputiship of *Ireland.*

The English Common-wealth having in some measure quieted things at home, and thinking themselves in a fair way to calm of Peace and Tranquility, took upon them now to give Laws to their subjected Dominions, as also to make Acts of Grace to encourage their Subjects quietly to submit to them: The first related to *Scotland*, which being in a short time totally brought under, (for besides the gaining of *Dunbarton* Castle, which was delivered up by Sir *Charles Erskin*, and *Dumotter* Castle which was taken by Colonel *Morgan*, and the Isles of *Orkney*, the *Hebrides*, and even *Schetland*, which is sought by some to be the same that the Antients called *Ultima Thule*, could not escape their Conquest, which was the work of Colonel *Overton*) they take into consideration a project, which however it being attempted in former times, could be brought to no effect, they resolved to go through with; namely, an Union of *England* and *Scotland*, and Incorporating of both Nations into one Common-wealth. This was mainly opposed and remonstrated against by the Scotch Kirk, though in vain; for the Parliament of *England*, (as they called themselves) had resolved upon an *Act for the Union of Scotland, and the abolishing of Kingly Government in that Nation, intending that the Shires or Burghs should chuse their Deputies to represent them in Parliament, in such a proportionable number as the Parliament should think fit.* And Commissioners were sent from hence in behalf of the Common-wealth of *England*, to treat concerning this Union with the Natives, whom they found but very cold entertainers of their Proffer, besides the tough opposition of the Clergy. These Commissioners were *Oliver St. Johns*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Dean*, Major *Salmon*, Colonel *Fenwick*, and Alderman *Tichburn*: And not long after were sent down as Itinerant Judges to hear, determine, and make inspection into all things belonging to the Government of that Nation, Mr. *George Smith*, Mr. *John March*, Mr. *Edward Moseby*, and Mr. *William Lockart* a Scotchman: But these Judges were several times altered at pleasure. But to the Commissioners there came in and submitted divers of the Scotch Nobility; as the Marquess of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Weems*, *Angus*, and *Calender*, and the Lord *Belcarris*, and others; but of all that came in of the Nobility, the Marquess of *Argyle* was he that most complied and adhered to the Common-wealth Interest, notwithstanding all the professions and shew he made when the King was in *Scotland*, and of the Lairds that acted amongst the

The Parliaments provision for the Government of *Scotland.*

1651. the *English*, the Chief were *Swinton* and *Warington*.

The Parliaments Act of Oblivion.

The next Act of Grace was to *England*, and was an Act of *Oblivion*, wherein they publiſhed it to be their intention to forget all injuries, and pardon all hoſtilities hitherto committed againſt them, upon condition of taking an Engagement, which they impoſed upon all People, wherein they were to promiſe, *To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of* England *as then eſtabliſh'd, without King or Houſe of Lords*; out of which nevertheleſs were excepted the Lord *Goring* and his Sons, Sir *John Webſter* of *Amſterdam*, the Executors of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the ſlayers of *Doriſlaus* and *Aſcham*.

The occaſion of the War with *Holland*.

Scarce were theſe and ſome other little tranſactions finiſht at home, when there began to be in preparation new Matter for the exerciſe of their Arms abroad, in reſpect of a ſecret grudge which had lain a pretty while ſmothering between them and their Brother States of *Holland*, which was probably in a great part occaſion'd through the ſlight and indifferent reckoning of *Doriſlaus* (whoſe Aſſaſſination they thought, perhaps, not ſufficiently enquired into;) and afterwards of their Embaſſadors *Oliver St. Johns*, and *Walter Strickland*, who being affronted by the Common People in *Holland*, thought themſelves not ſufficiently vindicated by the States, nor reſpected according to the Dignity of their Maſters, and therefore came away in diſcontent; and though the States ſent hither afterwards, as their Agent, *Myn Heer Joachim*, with ſeveral Complements and Excuſes, with Commiſſion to treat about a fair Correſpondence and Commerce with *England*; yet our States at *Weſtminſter* were now reſolved they ſhould not have their Friendſhip on ſuch eaſie terms as before they offered by their Embaſſadors, ſince they then made no more account of it: ſo that they diſmiſſt *Joachim* after a preſixt time, beyond which he was not to ſtay, and then proceeded to make an Act, *For the Encouragement of Navigation*; wherein they prohibited *the importing of any Foreign Commodities except upon Engliſh Bottoms, or ſuch as were of the Country whence the Commodities came*; beginning withal to ſtand high upon claims of Dues and Reparations for the prejudice done us in our Trading; upon which, occaſion was taken oftentimes to ſearch the *Dutch* Ships, and ſometimes to make prize of them. To complain of theſe damages, but more eſpecially, if it were poſſible, to obtain a ſuppreſſion of the ſaid Act ſo prejudicial to their Trade, they ſent over into *England* their Embaſſadors, *Myn Heeren Catz*, *Van de Peere*, *Sharp* and *Newport*; theſe Men however coming as moſt zealous Advocates for a ſpeedy pacification, and relying much upon the favourable reception they ſhould meet with here, were nevertheleſs at their very firſt Audience accoſted with ſuch high Demands about the Herring-fiſhing, the buſineſs of *Amboyna*, and a free Trade in the *Schelde*, from *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, that they were able to give but a cold account to their Maſters in the Affair they came about: and though ſome Meſſages for a while paſt to and fro for the Vindication of each others actions, the Dutch all the while making great Proteſtations of their ſincere and real intentions towards this Commonwealth) yet ſtill preparations for War were privately made on both ſides. 1651.

Lilburn Baniſh'd.

This year ended with an Act for the Baniſhment of *John Lilburn*, who being a perſon of a turbulent nature, had, with wreſtleſs impatience oppugned all Government, in ſo much that it was ſaid merrily of him, *If all the World were diſpeopled to him alone*, John *will be againſt* Lilburn, *and* Lilburn *againſt* John. It was provided in this Act, that if ever he returned without leave from the State, he ſhould ſuffer as a Felon. That which cauſed this ſeverity againſt him at this time was his violent oppoſition of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, a leading Member of the Parliament about a Coal-pit in his poſſeſſion, claimed by one *Primate*: wherein he did not only lay many oppreſſions and ſcandals to the charge of *Hazlerig*, but in the publication thereof arraigned the Juſtice of the whole Commonwealth.

1652.

The *Hollanders* ſet forth a great Fleet.

The States of *Holland* ſet out a very great Fleet for the ſecurity of their Trade for this year, and in their Inſtructions to *Martin Harpez Van Trump* their Admiral, they directed him not to ſtrike his Flag to the *Engliſh* Admiral, and the ſame Orders were given to every of the Ships of War, if occaſionally they met any ſingle Ships of *England*, or others, that were not too numerous for their oppoſition.

The *Engliſh* on the other ſide they knew would not eaſily loſe the Dominion of the Sea, which, in all Ages they exerciſed without controul; ſo that *Van Trump* coming into *Dover*-road on the 17*th* of *May* with Two and forty Sail, lay there at Anchor, as to dare them to oppoſition, and notice thereof being given to *Blake* the *Engliſh* Admiral, he made haſt to play up towards him with about 15 Ships and Frigots; but when *Trump* deſcried the *Engliſh* Fleet, he weighed his Anchor, and ſtood away by a wind Eaſtward, intending (as *Blake* ſuppoſed) to leave them to avoid the diſpute of the Flag; but about two hours after they altered their Courſe, and bore directly with the *Engliſh* Fleet, and *Van Trump* was head-moſt, whereupon the *Engliſh* lay by, and put themſelves into a fighting poſture, judging, the *Dutch* had a reſolution to engage. Being come within Muſquet-ſhot, *Blake* gave Order to fire at his Flag, which was done thrice, and after the third ſhot, *Trump* let fly a Broad-ſide, and it was well returned by the *Engliſh* Admiral; and after the Exchange of Broad-ſides, Major *Bourn* came in to *Blake*'s aſſiſtance with Eight good Ships, and then both the Fleets engaged from Four in the Afternoon till it was dark, and though there were not leſs than Two thouſand Shot of Cannon exchanged on one ſide and the other, the loſs of Men was not great, and the greateſt was of the *Hollanders*, of whom one Ship was ſunk, and another taken, and about an Hundred and fifty Men ſlain; the *Engliſh* had not any Ship diſabled, and very few Men killed. *Van Trump* drew his Fleet in the Night to the back of *Goodwin* Sands, and the next Morning ſailed away for *Zealand*.

The firſt Sea-fight between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*.

The *Dutch* came off with loſs.

The *Holland* Embaſſadors at *London*, by their Memorials, endeavoured all they could to perſwade

1652. swade the Parliament, that this Action of *Trumps* was without the privity or consent of their Masters, and thereupon demanded a restitution of the Ship taken by *Blake* in the Fight; but the People at *London* were so inflamed with the News of the Fight and *Trumps* carriage in it, that they insisted not on that demand, and the Parliament was necessitated to appoint a Troop of Horse to Guard the Embassadors from the rage and fury of the Multitude.

The States apprehended this business might cause a Rupture betwixt them and the English, and therefore they dispatched the *Heer Paw* to *England* in the Quality of an Embassador Extraordinary, who was so very well received at his arrival at *London*, that he believed he should not only extinguish the flame already kindled, but perfect that Negotiation formerly treated on by the other Embassadors. But in this he was much deceived, for when he and the other Embassadors had joyntly presented a Paper to the Parliament to excuse the late enterprize of *Trump*, they returned an answer that did not at all content them, for they peremptorily required, *To be paid and satisfied for all the Charges and Damages they had been put to and sustained by the preparations of the States General, and other attempts this Summer, before they would treat on any other proposition.* The States of the United Provinces being advertised of this proceeding, immediately recalled their Embassadors and thereupon the War was vigorously prosecuted on both parts, and in a very little time *Van Trump* was again at Sea with an Hundred and twenty sail of Men of War; but he got not out soon enough to prevent General *Blakes* sailing Northward with Seventy sail of Ships of War, to interrupt the Dutch Fishing-Trade, and look for Five Dutch East-India Ships, which were at that time expected to return home that way.

Trump out again at Sea with an 120 Sail.

In the mean time, about the *6th* of *June*, Sir *George Ascough* arrived in the *Downs* with the *Barbadoes* Fleet, consisting of 15 Men of War, having taken in his way Ten Dutch Merchant Ships and Four Men of War, one whereof was a Ship of Advice, to give notice to their Merchant-Ships of their present differences.

The Parliament, upon his arrival, sent Orders to him to stay there, till a Fleet then providing in the *Thames* should be made ready to joyn with him.

Trump having intelligence thereof, about the beginning of *July* clapt in with a part of his Fleet between Sir *George* and the River, and sent the other part Westward to prevent his going that way, resolving either to surprize those coming out of the *Thames*, or to sink and disperse those with Sir *George Ascough*; but the Governour of *Dover* gave so speedy advice of the posture of the Enemy, that the Navy in the River moved not, and then *Trump* on the Eighth of *July* made towards Sir *George* to assail the Fleet, but the wind failing, they came to an Anchor a League off, and before the next Ebb, the Militia of that Country was ready upon the Coast, and Sir *George* his ships well re-inforced with Men, and a Platform was cast up betwixt the Castles of *Deal* and *Sandown*, whereon good store of Cannon were planted to receive them, but at the next Ebb, whilst they were under sail, the Wind came about South-West, and blew so directly in their teeth, that they could not possibly make in to them. 1652.

Trump, upon this disappointment, returned to *Holland*, to convey several Merchant-men for the Northern and Eastern Trade, that lay ready for him; with which he sailed toward the *Sound*, and in his way he receiv'd Advice, that *Blake* had spoiled and dispersed their Herring-Fishing, and taken twelve Men of War that guarded them, and was with his Fleet in Harbour about the Isles of *Orkney*, wherefore he sent part of his Ships to guard the Merchant-men on their Voyage, and with the rest he sailed to find out *Blake*, having met in his way the Five East-India Ships, but when he came near those Northern Islands, such a storm arose, that he was forced to put to Sea, and his Fleet was so scattered, that he came home but with Two and forty sail, and three of the East-India Ships, but shortly after the other two East-India Ships, and all the Fleet, except six, came home in safety; and *Blake* came safe to *Yarmouth* with all his Fleet and six of *Trumps* Frigots, which he had met with, and Nine hundred Prisoners.

In this time Sir *George Ascough* had got a Fleet together of about Forty sail, with which he sailed to *Plymouth* to secure our Merchant-ships homeward bound, where there safely arrived five Ships from the East-Indies, and two from the Streights; Whilst Sir *George* lay there, *De Ruyter* was passing that way with a Fleet of Fifty Men of War to convey about the like number of Merchant-ships that way: about two in the afternoon, on the *16th* of *August*, the English Fleet got sight of the Enemy, and *De Ruyter* sent away his Merchant-ships, and made ready for the fight; and about four, Sir *George*, with Nine of his head-most Ships, charged through the Dutch Fleet, and got the Weather-gage of them, and charged them again, but the rest of his Fleet being Merchant-men, and not coming up, and the Night being already entred, both Fleets drew off from each other; the Dutch into one of the *French* Ports, and Sir *George* to *Plymouth*, to mend and repair the damages of the Fleet; Captain *Peck*, his Rear-Admiral, lost his Leg and soon after died, and several other Captains were wounded, but not one Ship lost; what loss of Men the Dutch sustained, was not known, but none of their Ships were disabled.

Sir *George Ascough* and *De Ruyters* Engagement at *Plymouth*, being the second Combate with the *Dutch*.

Van Trump was at this time very much discontented upon some rumours spread of his failure of conduct in the last expedition, so that he desired the States that he might leave his charge and retire; the States seemed very unwilling to comply with his request, but at last they consented to it, and *Wit Wittens* was appointed in his place, to whom *De Ruyter* was joyned in Commission. These two Commanders made what speed they could to get their Fleet to Sea, and in *October* they made their stations on the side of the North-*Foreland*; *Blake*, assoon as he had notice thereof, hastned with his Fleet towards them, having been on the Western Coast to Convey some Merchant-ships homewards, and taken in his way five Dutch West-India ships of great value, and six Streights-men, valued at Two hundred thousand pounds.

He

1652. He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, one commanded by himself, the other by *Penne* the Vice-Admiral, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*, and the 28th of *October* the Fight was begun by *Bourn*, and seconded immediately by the whole Fleet, wherein great Courage was shown on both sides, the Rear-Admiral of the Dutch was boarded and taken, and two more of their Ships were sunk, and one blown up, so that *Wit Wittens* was glad to give over the conflict, and to ply his Sails to get off, being pursued by the English Fleet within Twelve Leagues East South-East of the *Maze*, and he with the remainder of his torn and much shattered Ships, came into *Goree*. The English preserved all their Ships, though many of them were much battered, and *Blake* came in Triumph into the *Downs*.

De Wit worsted by Blake, being the Third Engagement with the Dutch.

The Dutch were much troubled at the loss of this Combat, which was by *Wittens* imputed to the Cowardize of some of his Commanders, and the advantage of the English Ships over them in number and strength.

But nevertheless the States thought it not convenient to hazard another Combat till they had a more sufficient Fleet than before, both in the goodness and strength of their Ships, and the number also.

Both they and the English in the first beginning of the War, had sent to the *Swedes* and *Danes* to invite them to their Party, because the Materials for shipping came from the Seas where these Princes had the chief Dominion; the *Swedes* were very favourable to us, and at last would be Neuters, if not Partakers with us, and the Queen sent hither Monsieur *Spiering* her Embassador, who died shortly after his arrival at *London*, and after his death Monsieur *Appleboom* succeeded: but the *Danes* declared for the States of the *United Provinces* against us. And about this time their King sent a Message to them, that he was ready to succour them with Twenty good Ships of War, provided they would re-establish *Trump* in his late Employment as Admiral. The States were very willing to comply with this Proposition, and *Trump* was again prevailed with to re-assume his former charge.

The Danes sides with the Dutch.

In the *Levant* Captain *Badily* with four or five English Frigots was set upon by *Van Galen*, who commanded a Fleet of 16 Sail of Dutch Men of War in those Seas, in which encounter the *Phœnix* was taken by the Dutch, and the rest of our Ships were forc'd to retire under the Protection of the Port of *Longone*; but *Van Galen* bought his Victory with the loss of his Life, and the *Phœnix* was on the Twentieth of *November* regain'd by the valour of Captain *Cox* a former Lieutenant to the same Ship.

The Eng. lish come off with loss in the Levant.

Van Trump being restored to the Office of *Admiral*, was very industrious to give a proof of his courage in some valiant Enterprize; and to that purpose, having got together Eighty Men of War, and Ten Fire-ships, he sailed directly to the back-side of the *Goodwin*, near the place where the former Battel was fought. *Blake* was in the *Downs* with few more than Forty Sail, but was nevertheless resolved not to refuse an Engagement, and for that purpose he hoysed his sailes to find out *Trump* and sent out seven Ships to discover his Fleet, which were met by nine of the Dutch Ships sent out on the same Errand. These began the Fight with their Cannon, and immediately the two Admirals advanced at the Head of their Squadrons, and the Fight was very furious, and lasted from Two in the Morning on the Twenty ninth of *November*, Old Style, till six in the Evening. The *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* himself was, with the *Victory* and *Vantguard*, bore most of the stress, being engaged at one time with Twenty of the best Dutch Ships, and though it was long doubted on which side the fortune of the day would turn, yet at last the numbers of the Dutch drew it to that side, with the loss of the *Garland* and *Bonaventure* which were taken, and of one that was burnt, and three sunk; and indeed had not the Night been favourable to our retreat, the whole Fleet might have been in much danger. But the Dutch could not much boast of this Victory; for they lost many Men, and one of their Flag-ships was blown up, and all the Mariners and Souldiers therein lost, except two; and the Ships of *Van Trum* and *De Ruyter* were much damaged.

1652. The fourth combate with the Dutch.

Blake defeated in the Downs.

Blake, after this defeat, drew his shatter'd Fleet into the River of *Thames* to be repaired, and it is said, *Trump* triumphantly sailed through the *Channel* with a Broom on his Main Topmast, pretending to sweep the *Channel* of all English Shipping; and having sent home all his disabled Ships, after some little stay about *Guernsey* and the Western Parts, he arrived at the *Isle of Rhe*, to stay there for a Fleet of Merchants Ships, which were to be convoy'd homewards. In the mean time all possible care was used by the English States to equippe a Fleet to meet him as he return'd, and General *Monk* was added to the number of the Generals at Sea; and General *Dean* being newly arriv'd from *Scotland*, was order'd to go to Sea with *Blake* and *Monk*; so that under the joynt Command and Conduct of these three Generals, the War at Sea was to be managed.

The expence of this War made this Parliament contrive all ways they could to husband their Treasure, and because they thought the entertainment of the Duke of *Glocester* (whom since the Murder of the late King they had kept at the *Isle of Wight*) too great an expence, they resolved to send him abroad, and about the beginning of *February* they sent him with two Servants to *Dunkirk*, promising to allow him a small Exhibition for his Maintenance, if he would not come near his Brother, nor any of his Relations.

The Duke of *Glocester* sent away to *Dunkirk*.

But as soon as he came on that side of the Water, he was received according to his Birth and Quality, and from *Bruxels*, he was attended to the Princess of *Orange* at *Breda*, where he safely arrived, to the great joy of her and all the Royal Family, who had been in continual fear, that his life would be taken away by those that spared not the life of his Royal Father.

He is conveyed to *Breda*.

After he had been a while at *Breda*, he was conducted from thence by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to *Paris* to the King his Brother, to whom as also

From whence he is conducted to *Paris* to the King his Brother.

1652. also to his Mother the Queen, and his other Relations, he was welcomed as one risen from the dead, and was very civilly treated by the King and Queen-Mother of *France*, and that whole Court.

The King of *Denmark's* Confederacy with the States of *Holland* made the Parliament very solicitous to draw the Queen of *Sweden* to their interest, but she continued in a resolution of Neutrality, and offered her Mediation for a Peace betwixt the two States, which yet took no effect; but the *Dutch*, to strengthen their Party, were very earnest with the *French*, by their Ambassadour *Bourcel* at *Paris*, to conclude a League Offensive and Defensive with that Crown, and herein they doubted not to succeed, because the *English* were in a kind of Hostility at this time with the *French*. For, about the latter end of *August* in this year, some of the Parliaments Frigots had taken seven of the King of *France* his Ships which were going to the relief of *Dunkirk*, then besieged by the Arms of *Spain*, by which means that Town came into the hands of the *Spaniards*: but the reputation of the *English* Common-wealth was at this time so great, that Cardinal *Mazarine*, who then managed the Affairs of *France*, endeavoured rather an Accommodation with them than otherwise; so that the *Dutch* missed of their purposes in that Negotiation, and about the Month of *December* Monsieur *De Bourdeaux* was dispatched as Agent from the King of *France*, to acknowledge the *English State*. This Action of the *French* at this time was looked on with much reflection by those that were Friends to the Crown of *England*: for our King had, by his excellent wisdom and address, newly composed the Civil Commotions of that Kingdom, wherein the Princes of the Blood had possessed themselves of *Paris*, and begun and formed a great Party against the King, demanding to have the Cardinal banish'd, and several real or pretended Grievances redressed, and so formidable were they grown, that the Cardinal withdrew himself to *Colon* for fear of them, and the Duke of *Lorrain* was on their behalf entred into the Bowels of *France* with an Army, whereby a great effusion of Blood had ensued if His Majesties Mediation had not prevented it; by which the Crown of *France* was not only raised to a great lustre, but the Cardinal, whose Fortune was by most Men judged desperate, was with the Peace restored to his former Authority and Greatness.

The Parliament solicits the Queen of *Sweden* to espouse their interest.

Monsieur *Bourdeaux* sent Agent from the *French* King to the *English States*.

The King reconciles the differences between the King and Princes of *France*.

The States of *Holland* having advice that the Parliament was equipping a Fleet to be put to Sea under their three Generals, sent an express to *Trump* (then at *Rhe*) to hasten away with what Merchant-men were ready, and to block up the River of *Thames* to prevent their going out; *Trump*, upon receiving this Order, made what hast he could; but contrary to the expectation of the States, and even to their amazement, on the eighth of *February*, the English Generals set sail from *Queenborough* with Sixty Sail of Men of War, to which, on the Eleventh of the same Month, Twenty Sail more joyned from *Portsmouth*, and with this Fleet they sailed over against *Portland*, where they lay cross the Channel, half Seas over, to discover the Dutch Fleet; on *Friday*, the Eighteenth of *February*, by break of day, the Souther-most Ships of the English descried the Dutch, consisting (as their own Prints reported) of Seventy six Men of War, who had the charge of Three hundred Merchants Ships to Convey homewards. 1652.

The *English* Fleet made what Sail they could towards the Enemy, and *Van Trump* having recollected his Ships of War, prepared to receive them; and about Eight in the Morning, the *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* and *Dean* were, with Twelve Ships more (for the rest of the Fleet could not get up) engaged Board and Board with the grois of the Dutch Fleet, and the Triumph was hardly put to it, having received Seven hundred Cannon-shot in her Hull, but was gallantly relieved by *Lawson* Commander of the *Fairfax*. By this time the whole *English* Navy came up, and a furious Fight ensued betwixt the two Fleets, which continued till the Night parted them.

The Two Fleets Engage near *Portland*. The Fifth time.

The Ship wherein General *Monk* commanded, being a slow sayler, could not perform so much as he desired, but she lost many Men, and had as great a share in the Fight as any of her condition. The *Triumph* and *Fairfax* being enclosed by the greatest of the *Holland* Ships, had in each an Hundred killed and wounded, and *Blake* received a hurt in his Thigh with a piece of Iron which a Shot had driven out, and *Ball* the Captain thereof was slain, together with *Sparrow* the Secretary. The *Prosperous*, a Ship of Four and forty Guns, was boarded by the *Dutch*, but recovered by the *Merlin* Frigot, Captain *Mildmay* of the *Vanguard* was killed; the *English* lost not a Ship in this Fight, but had many disabled: but Six Men of War of the *Dutch* were taken and sunk, whereof one was a Flag-ship, and it is said, that most of the Officers in *Trump's* Ship were killed or wounded, and many of the Mariners. Such of the *English* Fleet as were disabled got into *Portsmouth*, and the wounded Men were set on shore, and on on *Saturday* Morning the *Dutch* Fleet was again discerned seven Leagues off *Weymouth*, and over against *Dungennes*, whither the *English* plied; and in the Afternoon both Fleets engaged with so much fury, that they were quickly environed with flame and smoke. *Trump* had put his Merchant-men before him, and after the first shock, he drew off and fought retreating towards *Bulloign*, and in his way thither the *English* Frigots at large took many of his Merchants ships, and *Lawson* boarded a *Dutch* Man of War, and brought her off. The next day early in the Morning the Fight was renewed, which continued very fierce till Four in the Afternoon, but the Wind being cross to the *English* at North North-East, *Trump* got to *Calice* Sands, and there Anchored, and thence Tided it home.

The Dutch Beaten in this Fight.

The *Dutch* lost in these three days Fight eleven Men of War, and thirty Merchants Ships, and by the calculation of their own Prisoners, they had no less than Fifteen hundred Men kill'd; but of the *English*, though many Ships were shatter'd, there was but one sunk named the *Sampson*, but Captain *Button* the Commander thereof (though much wounded) and most of the Men were saved. The number of the *English* slain is not reported, but by the best conjecture that could be made, they were not much less than those of their Enemies.

The *English* Fleet out at Sea again.

This

1652. This Year died the Lady *Eleanor Davys*, whose Prediction concerning the late Duke of *Buckingham's* Death was thought remarkable enough to be commemorated by several Writers of the History of those Times, amongst the Presages that threatned the untimely end of that Great Man: And this coming from a Person of her Quality, was so much the more subject of Critical Discourse and Censure among the Wits of those Times; and whence, perhaps, some later Observers have taken Aim: but, since common Fame in these cases is ever apt to take things upon trust, and for want of due examination, to fix reproach as soon upon the best as the worst, it may much conduce to the rectifying of misinformed Judgments, and the vindicating of the Memory of so Vertuous a Lady from the injurious reflections of unweary Writers, to give this faithful account of her:

1652. This Year died the Lady *Eleanor Davys*.

She was the fifth Daughter of the Lord *George Audley* Earl of *Castlehaven*, and was married to Sir *John Davys* the Kings first Serjeant at Law in *England*, and sometime Attorney General in *Ireland* (whose Worth his own Learned Writings, and the known Credit he had with his Prince, sufficiently speak) by whom she was the Mother of one only Daughter, *Lucy*, who was married to *Ferdinando* late Earl of *Huntingdon*, and (by her) Grand-mother to the present Earl. As for her Character, there needs little more to be said (since nothing can be more advantagiously) than to repeat what hath been delivered of her by the Elegant Pen of the Learned Doctor *Du Moulin*: She was (saith he) *Erudita supra sexum, Meris infra sortem: Learned above her Sex, Humble below her Fortune, having a Mind so great and Noble, that Prosperity could not make it remiss, nor her deepest Adversity cause her to shrink or discover the least pusillanimity, or dejection of Spirit; for being full of the Love of God to that fulness, the smiling World could not add, nor the frowning from it detract.* Hence as from a Living Spring, flowed a full Stream of Christian Graces, redounding to the benefit of many, as well as to her own Comfort. She had a fineness of Wit, but so temper'd with Prudence and Consultation, that she early addicted her self to serious Speculation, and the Study of Divine Truths. Wherefore, since our Saviour bids us examine (especially in these Cases) the Tree by the Fruit, we recommend it to the consideration of the Judicious, whether a Person so qualified and so addicted, might not with most equity be judg'd on this occasion, to have been favoured with some beam of a Divine Knowledge of future things: Certain it is, that not only in the above mentioned, but in divers other Events both of private and publick Concernment, her Predictions proved undoubtedly true. In the most flourishing condition of the Nation, she foretold its unparallel'd Troubles, and in the depth of those Troubles she foretold that happy Restauration to Peace and Settlement which we at this day (through the Mercy of God) enjoy under our most Gracious Sovereign, and in every one she long before prefix'd the time of their accomplishment.

This busie Year ended with the safe arrival of Prince *Rupert* with the *Swallow*, and a prize laden with Tobacco, and a little Frigot at *Nantes* in *Britany*, from the *Carib* Islands. He had been sometime in those Seas with Seven or eight Ships, and his Brother Prince *Maurice* with him, endeavouring to give what annoyance he could to the Enemies of the Crown of *England* in those parts, till some serviceable occasion might render him more favourable elsewhere; but the said strokes of adverse Fortune, which yet eclipsed the Royal Throne of *England*, did even in those distant parts pursue this Illustrious Pair of Princes, and by the violence of a *Hurricane*, the life of one of them (the vallant Prince *Maurice*) was taken away; a person who in our unhappy Civil Wars gave eminent proof of as much courage and generosity as any one man could be Master of, than whom death has left few worthier behind, to dignifie the World with Actions of Glory and Renown. Prince *Rupert* at his first arrival fell sick, but upon his recovery he was invited to *Paris*, and complemented by the King of *France*, and cordially welcomed by the King our Soveraign, where now almost the whole Royal Family were met together.

1652. Prince *Rupert* arrives in *Britany* from the *Carib* Islands.

Prince *Maurice* drown'd in the *West Indies*.

It is commonly observed, that it is easier much to obtain a Conquest than secure it; and in nothing was this more visible than in the present posture of Affairs in *England*, where the New Common-wealth now advanced to as great prosperity and security as their ambitious hopes could aim at, having, together with the death of the late King, as much as in them lay, even buried and eradicated Monarchy it self, began to sink under its own weight, and by intestine divisions at home, to meet that ruine, which all the strength and power of their Enemies abroad, and their Confederates could not reach to.

1653.

The Officers of the Army who effected this change, had met in Council some Months before in meditation of altering the Government; and these being of two Parties, and of different interests, it was scarce believed they could agree in the design. *Harrison*, who was one of the Heads of that Party at this time, known by the name of the Sect of the *Fifth Monarchy*, had gained a great part of the Inferiour Officers, and these were so much intoxicated with that Notion, that they never could approve of any Government, but *where* (as they said) *Christ was to Rule*, which, as they explained, (was a Dominion to be exercised by Saints under him) Men of such Holy and Sanctified Lives, that nothing but Plenty and Happiness could be expected from their Government, and to such, all Officers of Trust and Power, Military and Civil were to be committed, and of this sort they resolved to chuse by nomination a new Representative. *Cromwel* mingled with these Zealots in this projection, knowing the inconsistency of their intentions, and that the Ruins of Power would be by them managed (as the poets feigned *Phaeton's* conduct of the Chariot of the Sun) to set the World in a flame, and introduce such confusion as would necessitate his taking to himself the Government to relieve his party from destruction.

The Officers of the Army consult about a change of Government.

1653. The Parliament were very ſenſible of theſe actings, but knew not how to prevent their progreſs, yet that they might not be wanting to their own ſecurity, they had many Conferences with theſe Officers, wherein they repreſented to them the Inconveniences of their proceedings, telling them, *as the temper of the Nation now ſtood, no ſafety could be adminiſtred to the Government, but by filling up the Houſe with Elections by the Country, of perſons qualified, and when they were by that method arrived to a full Repreſentative of the Nation, their Acts would be received with greater Authority, and by the concurrent Advice of ſo great a Body of intereſted perſons, their cauſe would be ſtrengthned, and the good they would do in reforming the Law and all Abuſes, and adminiſtring Juſtice impartially, and ſetling a due Liberty to the People in Civil and Spiritual things, would make the Government in a few years ſo acceptable, that there would be no need of an Army to ſupport it.*

To this anſwer was made by the Officers, *That they could not expect any good Fruits to the People of God from this Parliament, wherein there was ſo great a Party of Carnal Men of corrupt Principles, that the perſons by their Authority to be choſen would be of the like temper and ſpirit as they are, and joyn with them in perpetuating themſelves in the Supreme Government*: Concluding, *That the People of the Land, who were diſtinguiſhable from the people of God, were not yet to be truſted with the choice of their own Repreſentatives: But they* (they ſaid) *would take care to devolve the Supreme Authority upon known perſons fearing God, and of approved integrity.* This reaſoning on both ſides tended to ſpake the breach wider, but the Parliament, in the mean time went on according to their own purpoſe, and prepared an Act for the ſetling of Qualifications of Members to fill up their Houſe, wherein ſuch ſpeed was made, that on the twentieth of *April* the Queſtion was ready to be put to paſs it into a Law, when *Cromwel*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, and ſome eight Officers more of the Army, by intelligence with ſome of their Members, entred the Houſe, and after a ſhort Speech ſpoken by *Cromwel*, ſhewing ſome reaſons for the neceſſity of their Diſſolution, he declared them diſſolved, and required them to depart, but the Speaker would not leave the Chair, till by *Harriſon* taken out by the Arm, and *Cromwel* commanded the Mace to be taken away, and not any more to be carried before him, and then they cauſed the Doors of the Parliament Houſe to be locked, and placed a good guard thereon to prevent the aſſembling of the Members.

The manner of *Cromwel's* diſſolving the Parliament.

This Revolution could not but be very pleaſing to the King, for now the Stone was rowling, in all probability it would not fix (as in the ſequel it appeared) till that juſt Government ſhould be retained under which this Kingdom had enjoyed as much happineſs, for many Centuries of years, as any Nation in the World.

A Council of State conſtituted.

The firſt thing done by theſe Officers after this change, was to conſtitute a Council of State conſiſting of the Chief Officers of the Army, and ſuch of the late Parliament as were their Confederates, in whom the Supreme Authority was placed, and till a Repreſentative ſhould be choſen, all obedience was required thereunto as fully as when the Parliament was ſitting, and all Judges, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Civil Officers and Publick Miniſters whatſoever were to proceed in their reſpective Offices and Places, and Writs were to run in the Style of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England* as before. 1653.

The Dutch thought to profit themſelves by this alteration, and made all poſſible haſt to get out their Fleet, but our new Governours omitted nothing that might advance their Maritime preparations. And the firſt thing they did after their eſtabliſhment, was to make an Ordinance for the raiſing of ſix Months Aſſeſſment from the twenty fourth of *June* enſuing, which was readily obeyed, becauſe it exacted not ſo great a ſum as the laſt Acts of Parliament for Aſſeſſments. A ſix months Tax ſetled.

Whileſt theſe things were in Action, all Officers and Soldiers in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and all the Officers in the Fleet were practiſed on to approve of the Armies proceedings, and did comply therewith, ſo that no Commotion followed in any part upon this mutation of Government.

The next conſiderable matter that occur'd, was a Naval Combat betwixt the Dutch Fleet under *Trump* aſſiſted with *De Ruyter*, *Wit Witrens*, and the two *Everſons*, conſiſting of 104 Men of War, 12 Galliots, and nine Fire-ſhips; and the Engliſh Fleet under the Command of General *Monk* and General *Dean* who were both in one Ship) aſſiſted by *Penne* the Vice-Admiral, and *Lawſon* Rear-Admiral, conſiſting of 100 ſhips of all ſorts. It was about eleven of the Clock at Noon on the ſecond of *June* that both the Fleets engaged, and ſo fatal was the beginning of the Fight, that at the firſt Broad-ſide of the Enemy, *Dean* was ſhot almoſt off in the middle by a Cannon-Bullet, as he ſtood by General *Monk*; but he without any diſturbance was ſo preſent to himſelf, that he cauſed him to be removed, and proſecuted the Battel with great reſolution, without any further notice of the accident. The noiſe and Thunder of the Cannon was very great, and had been very deplorable to both Parties, if a ſudden calm had not abated the fury of the Fight for ſome time after it began; but after two hours ſuch a freſh gale of Wind aroſe, that the Fight was renewed in ſo violent a manner, that it continued with very little intermiſſion whilſt there was any light; *Lawſon* preſſed ſo hard upon *De Ruyter* with his Squadron, that he had carried him, if *Trump* had not come into his relief, but he could not prevent *Lawſon's* ſinking a Ship of *Holme* of 42 Guns, that had in her a hundred and forty men; the General with his Squadron was in the thickeſt of them, and greater execution had been done, but that the Wind blew croſs to the Engliſh, and ſo favoured their Enemies, that they bore away before it. The next morning early General *Monk* found himſelf near them, but the Wind was ſo ſlack, he could not come up till Noon to engage their Fleet, but then the Combat was begun with greater vigour than at any time before, and continued till ten at Night; ninety of *Trumps* Fleet in the heat of the Engagement were in ſo great confuſion, and ſo unwilling to ſtand to the Fight, that he fired upon them, and ſent his Boat to Command them to come up to him, but nothing he could *Trump* engaged by Gen. *Monk* and *Dean* which was the Fifth Sea Fight.

Gen. *Dean* ſlain in the fight.

1653. could do or say, could perswade more than twenty of them to return, the rest steered away East and by South, but the Wind being fresh West-wardly, the General press'd so hard upon them, that he sunk six of their best Ships, and two were blown up amongst their own Fleet, and eleven Ships and to Hoyes were taken, and thirteen hundred and fifty Prisoners, whereof six were Captains of very good note, and of the Ships one was a Vice-Admiral, and two were Rear-Admirals.

Trump defeated.

At the end of this days Fight General *Blake* came in with eighteen fresh Ships, and if the Dutch had not been upon the Flats of *Dunkirk* and *Calice*, whereby our great Ships could not get up to them, most of their Fleet had been ruin'd or taken. The English had not one Ship lost or disabled, and, except General *Dean*, but one Captain slain.

Van Trump imputed this overthrow to the ignorance and unskilfulness of his Captains, but his Masters were so humbled by it, that a resolution for Peace was immediately taken up, and a Vessel with a white Flag, and a Messenger to prepare a way for two Embassadours, was sent into *England*.

The Council of Officers had now agreed upon the several persons all over *England* (who were the most sanctified Creatures they could nominate) to form a Representative, and a Summons was sent to every one of them in the name of *Oliver Cromwel* Captain General of all the Forces, *&c.* to take upon them the trust to which they were summoned, and to meet at *White-hall* to that purpose on the fifth of *July* then next coming.

The New-Parliament summoned.

These according to the respective Summons assembled at the time appointed, and went to *Westminster* to the Parliament House; and chose one *Rouse* a Cornish-man (made by the late Parliament Provost of *Eaton*) to be their Speaker, and appointed several Committees in the manner as other Parliaments used to do, to make their business easie to them.

The Dutch in this Conjuncture had underhand made Overtures of a Peace to *Cromwel*, which was not ill received, but that they might make it on better terms, they were resolved once more to try their Fortunes at Sea, to regain their lost Reputation; and in order thereunto, they prepared a Fleet to the number of an hundred and twenty five sail, with so much confidence of success, that they posted *Van Trump* out with 95 ships before the rest were ready, which were to be brought to him by *Witt Wittens* from the *Texel*.

It was upon the 29*th* of *July* in the Morning when the English Fleet of about 106 Ships descried the Dutch, they had time to draw together, and divided their Fleet into four Squadrons, (*viz.*) the first under *Trump*, the second under Vice-Admiral *Everson*, the third under Rear-Admiral *Floris*, and the fourth under *Witt Wittens* for a Reserve.

The English Fleet was commanded by General *Monk* in Chief, having *Penne* for his Vice-Admiral, and *Lawson* Rear-Admiral; *Blake* was discomposed in his health, and not with the Fleet, the English were all a-stern, and could not get up till six of the clock to come to any Engagement, and then it was begun with a few of the nimblest Frigots, which were afterwards re-inforced to the number of thirty, who continued the Battel till the Night parted them, though the rest of the Fleet could not get up to joyn with them. 1653.

The last Dutch Engagement between Gen. *Monk* and *Trump*, being the sixth combat.

The Dutch by the Darkness of the Night sent away many of their maim'd disabled Ships, and got by the English Fleet to joyn with the twenty five Ships that *Wittens* brought to them, which much encouraged the rest to renew the Fight, in hopes to be reveng'd of their late affront; and now both Fleets met in the most fierce and cruel Fight that ever was fought, (General *Monk* observing this War to be very burthensome to the Nation, thought the best way of ending it to be in the sharpness of it, and therefore gave orders to all his Captains, neither to give nor take Quarter; for he had found by experience, that the taking of Ships oblig'd him always to send other Ships off with them, and so the Fleet became weakned,) the Air was quickly fill'd with scattered Limbs of Men blown up; the Sea was died with the Blood that flowed from the Veins of the slain and wounded. *Witt Wittens* and *Everson* did bestir themselves, and often attempted to board the Ship in which the General himself was: *Cornelius Everson's* ship was sunk, and he taken, and the famous *Van Trump* himself standing upon the Poop of his ship with his drawn Sword encouraging his Men, was slain with a Musquet-Bullet; whereby the rest of the Fleet was so discouraged, that they hoysted out all the sail they could to hast away towards the *Texel*: The English pursued little, (having bought the Victory at a dear rate) but tack'd about to *Sole-Bay*, there to repair their shattered ships, and dispose of their Prisoners, whereof five were Captains, (*viz.*) *Everson*, *Zanger*, *Fomeen*, *Scotten*, and *D' Hayes*, and about 1200 Common Men, by the mercy and compassion of the English taken out of Boats, and swimming in the Sea; Thirty three sail of Ships, out of which they were sav'd, was sunk to the bottom of the Ocean, and in regard that these Prisoners were belonging to so many lost Ships, by this means the number of them was known; but it is supposed that some were sunk, out of which no men were saved. The English lost 400 Common men, and eight Captains, *Graves*, *Peacock*, *Taylor*, *Crisp*, *Newman*, *Cox*, *Owen* and *Chapman*, Men of great resolution; and had about 7000 wounded, whereof five were Commanders, but they lost but one ship, which was called the *Oak*.

Van Trump slain.

Van Trump was a Man of so great Courage and Experience in Maritime Affairs, that he justly merited the fame of being the most Renowned Sea-Captain of this Age, and perhaps there were few better at any time before. He was a Person of much Vertue, Honour, and Fidelity, and a great lover of his Countrey, which made him bear a grateful respect to the House of *Orange*, by whom the foundation was laid of that (*High and Mighty*) greatness they now assume and enjoy; and by whose

A Character of *Van Trump*.

1653. Prudence and Courage their Liberties were reſcued and preſerved againſt one of the moſt potent Princes of *Europe*. Out of his great ſenſe of Honour, he had much commiſeration for the ſufferings of our Royal Family, and did endeavour to perſwade his Maſters to eſpouſe the Kings Intereſt, as that to which they were in Juſtice and Conſcience obliged to adhere, and though he was without ſucceſs in that undertaking, he omitted not on all occaſions to teſtifie his affections to his Majeſty.

The War was not only proſecuted in thoſe great fights, but in all parts of the World where the Trade of the Two Nations was uſed, the ſhips of each engaged one the other, and many ſore conflicts were made in ſeveral places; but becauſe the particular deſcription of theſe encounters would ſwell this Treatiſe to too large a bulk, we do omit the doing thereof.

This new Parliament (for ſo for diſtinction we muſt call it) began to be ſo troubleſome in their conſultation, that the whole Nation, and the moſt of thoſe Army Officers that named them, grew wearier of them than thoſe that were before removed; for they were ſo Seraphical and Notional in their debates, that the whole Magiſtracy and Miniſtry was to be ſo modelled, as would make the Government ridiculous; but the Miniſtry and the Maintenance thereof by Tythes was that they moſt arraigned as an Antichriſtian Conſtitution; ſo that now all things ſucceeded to *Cromwel*'s expectation, and their diſſolution was earneſtly preſſed to ſave a threatned confuſion in Government, if they continued in Authority, and of this ſome amongſt themſelves were ſo ſenſible, that *Rouſe* the Speaker on the twelfth of *December* acquainted the Houſe, that their ſitting was no longer neceſſary, and being ſeconded by ſome others Privy to the intention, he roſe from the Chair, and went out of the Houſe with the Mace before him, and with as many as would follow him (being the major part of the Members) he came to *White-hall*, and there reſigned to *Cromwell* the Inſtrument by him formerly delivered to them at their firſt ſitting, *Harriſon* and ſome few ſtaid in the Houſe after the reſt went, but were quickly diſperſed by a party of Souldiers ſent to diſſolve them.

The new Parliament diſſolved.

About four days after, the Officers of the Army had prepared an Inſtrument or Syſteme of Government, on which the foundation of a new Dominion was to be erected, and they entreated *Oliver Cromwel* to accept of the Government under the Title of *Protector of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland: He at firſt ſeemingly refuſed the Dignity; but when the exigence of Time and neceſſity of Affairs where laid open to him, he did accept of it, and was that day at one in the afternoon inſtall'd at *Weſtminſter* in manner following.

The Protector inſtall'd.

He came from *White-hall* to the Chancery Court in *Weſtminſter-hall*, attended by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer and Judges in their Robes, and after them the Councel Learned of the *Common-wealth*, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London* in their Scarlet Gowns, then came the Protector attended with many of the chief Officers of the Army; there was a Chair of State ſet in the Court, and the Protector ſtood by it, till the Inſtrument of Government was read; then the Oath was adminiſtred to him, which he took in the following words: 1653.

I promiſe in the preſence of God, not to violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in the Inſtrument, but to obſerve and cauſe the ſame to be obſerved; and in all things to the beſt of my underſtanding, Govern the Nation, according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms thereof: and to ſeek their Peace, and cauſe Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred.

Having ſubſcribed this Oath and the Inſtrument, he ſate in the Chair of State, and put on his Hat, and the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal delivered up the Seal to him, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, all which he reſpectively returned to them again; and then the Protector in the ſame manner as he came, returned to *White-hall*. To publiſh the Inſtrument of Government is not very neceſſary, and will be too long, but ſome Heads thereof are here inſerted:

The Heads of the Inſtrument of the Protectors Government.

1. *A Parliament to be called every three years.*
2. *The firſt to Aſſemble on the third of* September, 1654.
3. *No Parliament to be diſſolved till it have ſate five Months.*
4. *Such Bills as are offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if he aſſent not in twenty days, to be Laws without him.*
5. *That his Council ſhall not exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be leſs then thirteen.*
6. *That immediately after the death of the preſent, and ſucceeding Protectors, the Council ſhall chuſe another before they riſe.*
7. *No Protector after the preſent, ſhall be General of the Army.*
8. *The Protector ſhall have power to make War and Peace.*
9. *That in the Intervals of Parliament, the Protector and his Council may make ſome Laws that ſhall be binding to the Subject.*

The firſt Council choſen in purſuance of this Inſtrument, were,

Col. *Edward Mountague.*
Col. *John Lambert.*
Philip Lord Viſcount *Liſle.*
Col. *John Desbrow*, newly made alſo one of the Generals at Sea.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering.*
Sir *Anthony Aſhly Cooper.*
Sir *Charles Wolſey.*
Major Gen. *Skipton.*
Walter Strickland, Eſq;
Col. *William Sydenham.*
Col. *Philip Jones.*
Francis Rouſe, Gent.
John Lawrence.
Richard Major, Eſq;

The

1653. The first Act of these Counsellors, after their establishment, was a Proclamation notifying the Government, with a direction therein, *That all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and all other publick Officers, and Ministers whatsoever within this Common-wealth, or any part thereof, do proceed in their respective places and offices till further Order to the contrary.*

The States of the United Provinces were brought into so low condition by the two last fights, and their people so much dispirited, that a general Revolt was feared in the *Provinces*; nevertheless they put as good a Countenance as they could on their condition, and chose the *Heer Opdam* to be Admiral of their Fleet in the place of *Trump*, but thought it more advisable to prosecute Overtures of Peace than venture another Battel; and certainly if the War had been continued, their Mariners were so baffled, they would very hardly have procured Men to furnish a Fleet, and one Battel more might have brought us a blank Paper for our own conditions; but *Cromwel* was not so well settled in his Throne to hazard any thing, and therefore the *Dutch* Embassadors, *Newport*, *Toungstal*, and *Bevering*, and *Vander Perre* were well received by him; and in the beginning of this year they were so diligent in their Negotiation, that on the 5*th* of *April* the Articles of Peace were signed in *London*, and on the 26*th* of the same Month they were Proclaimed in *London* and *Amsterdam*, and in this Peace the King of *Denmark* was included.

Opdam supplies the place of *Trump*.

1654. The Protector concludes a Peace with the Dutch.

For the King of *Denmark* espousing the Interest of the States of *Holland*, had Arrested Two and twenty *English* Ships which were in his Ports, and, at their Instance, confiscated the Merchandizes therein; so that they were obliged to compose that Difference, and this was that which had more difficulty than any other matter in the Treaty.

The Articles of the Peace we think not very essential to our History to be inserted at large, but the two which were of most importance, were these, (*viz.*)

The Men of War and other Ships of Holland *meeting the* English *Ships in the Narrow Seas shall lower their Sayls to them.*

The States shall cause restitution to be made by the King of Denmark *of all the Ships and Goods of the* English *by him seized which are yet undisposed, and a full compensation in value for such of them as had been sold, to be ascertained in a time prefixt by six* English *Merchants, and six* Dutch, *who should meet for that purpose.*

A Peace with the Queen of Sweden.

And the Spanish Embassador was as early to congratulate the Protector's Authority: and Peace was made with the Queen of *Sweden*, and the Conde *del Sa* Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom of *Portugal* came in a splendid Embassie to sue for a Peace of him: nor were the *French* backward to own his power, having given to Monsieur *Bourdeaux*, their Resident here, the Quality of Embassador, to qualifie him the better for his Negotiation, and added to him the Baron of *Bas* for a Colleague. *Cromwel* being now owned by many of the Neighbour Princes and States abroad, and by most of those of his own party at home, thought himself insecure from none but the Royalists, and to give them some terrour by his Agents, formed a Plot to draw in some honest credulous persons of that party to their destruction; and in prosecution hereof in the Month of *May* Colonel *John Gerard*, and his Brother Mr. *Charles Gerard*, Mr. *Philip Porter*, Mr. *Peter Vowel*, and Mr. *Sumerset Fox*, were apprehended for a pretended intention to assassinate the Protector, and brought before a High Court of Justice erected for that purpose, proclaimed on the 13*th* of *June* following, and sitting on the 31*th*, before whom they were tried for their lives, and three of them, (*viz.*) Colonel *John Gerard*, Mr. *Vowel*, and *Sumerset Fox* were condemned. The last of these was reprieved and pardoned upon his confession of the fact, and craving mercy, but the other two were executed. Mr. *Vowel* was hanged at *Charing-Cross*, where, with an undaunted spirit, tempered with a Christian Constancy and Patience, he gave up his life. Colonel *Gerard* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, and died with great Courage and Magnanimity. With him upon the same Scaffold suffered the *Portugal* Embassador's Brother Don *Pantalion Sa*, who had a while before made a riot in the New Exchange, upon conceit of some affront offered there to him, and killed one *Greenway*, a Gentleman standing quietly at a shop, no opposition being made but by this Colonel *Gerard*, who was fatally joyned with him in death. The Murder was committed by a Knight of *Malta*, who escaped; but this Gentleman and four more of the Embassadors Servants being taken (one whereof was an *Irish* youth,) they were arraigned in *Westminster-hall* before Judge *Rolle*, and others by special Commission of Oyer and Terminer thereunto appointed; and the *Portuguese* were tried by a Jury of half English and half Strangers, and the *Irish* Boy by a Jury of *English*; they were all found guilty, but none suffered but the above-mention'd Don *Pantalion*, and the *Irish* youth, who was hanged at *Tyburn*.

1654. *Spain, Portugal* and *France* seek *Cromwel's* friendship.

Col. *Gerard* and others tried before a High-Court of Justice.

Col. *Gerard* and *Pantalion Sa* Beheaded.

Our King had remained in the Court of *France*, between two and three years, with an expectation sometimes flowing, and sometimes ebbing, of gaining at length some opportunity to recover his Kingdoms; some hopes he had of assistance from several other Princes of the Empire, as the Dukes of *Brandenburgh*, *Lunenburgh*, *Brunswick*, &c. as also the Emperor himself, to whom was sent in a decent and Honourable equipage the Lord *Wilmot*, created Earl of *Rochester*, and his Address received with much civility and respect. Moreover, the *Dutch* seemed very inclinable to the owning and adopting his Interest in their War with *England*, and Prince *Rupert* was designed to have had the Command in His Majesties Name, of a Squadron of their Ships; yet so little speed was made in putting this Overture into act, and so suddenly was the Peace made up between this Nation and them, that whatever they hoped for and expected from them, quickly vanished and came to nothing. His next and more probable expectation was from the Success of those earnest endeavours that were made by the Pope and other

The Kings hopes from Foreign Princes and States.

The Earl of *Rochester* sent Embassador to the Emperor.

1654.

The King sollicits a Peace between *France* and *Spain*.

other Princes, for a Reconciliation between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, in which Affair he also interposed himself a most zealous Solicitor, as not doubting but that from the united Forces of two such powerful Monarchs, he should receive considerable assistance: and matters were once in a fair way to a peaceful Conclusion, had not the Politick Reasons of State, as it was thought, of Cardinal *Mazarine*, put a stop to this Grand Work; so that taking his leave of the King of *France* (and the other Great Ones) from whom he received many Complements and Apologies; he went, accompanied with his Brother the Duke of *York*, his Cousins, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Edward* Palatine, to *Chastillon*, a House belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, where they stayed a while to determine how most commodiously each of them should dispose of themselves. The King, with Prince *Rupert*, resolved for *Germany* (the Earl of *Rochester* being at that time with the Emperor at *Regensburgh*, to sollicit in his behalf;) and the rather, because about that time a General Dyet of the Estates of the Empire was to be held in that City: Prince *Edward* took his Journey to *Bourbon*, and the Duke of *york* remained in *France* till a good while after the Conclusion of the Peace with *England*, being Lieutenant-General of the *French* King's Army, Commanded in Chief by Marshal *Turenne*. Prince *Rupert* parted from the King to go to *Hidelburgh*, the Chief Seat of his Brother *Charles* Prince Palatine, and thence to the Imperial Court at *Vienna*, and the King took his Journey by the way of *Cambray* and *Liege* to the *Spaw*, which he made his first place of Residence in *Germany*. Here his Sister the Princess Royal of *Orange* met him, and after a few months stay in this place, accompanied him to *Colen*, where they were received with great Honour and Magnificence: as they made their entrance into the Town, the great and small Guns were discharged, and the Deputies of the City came in a solemn manner to complement them: the Duke of *Newburgh* also entertained them very splendidly at his House at *Dusseldorp*, from whence the Princess of *Orange* returning into *Holland*, the King her Brother brought her onward of her way as far as *Bedinguen*.

He departs out of *France* towards *Germany*.

The King removes to the *Spaw*. Thence to *Colen*.

The conclusion of the War with *Ireland*.

From the time we left *Ireland* in so declining a Condition, and so almost lost to His Majesties Hopes, and the Lord Lieutenants endeavours, the most considerable Force that was left, was in *Ulster*, under the Leading of *Emir Mac Mahon* Bishop of *Clogher*, who (*Owen Roe Oneal* being dead) succeeded him as General in those Parts, besides the united Forces of *Clanrickard*, *Muskerry*, and *Castlehaven*, and some few Parties that now and then sailed from their Fastnesses; these for a while gave check to the Republicans and *Cromwel*'s Substitutes; till in the end the said Prelate being overthrown (even to the taking of his Person mortally wounded in the Fight) by Sir *Charles Coot*, and Colonel *Fennick*; the Lord *Muskerry* by my Lord *Broghil*; the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, soon after a defeat he received at *Finagh*, forced to lay down his Arms in the Isle of *Carrick*; the remnant of the *Ulster* Forces Commanded by the Lord *Jinkillen*, Colonel *O-Kely*, and the *Mac-Mahons*, Relations of the aforesaid Bishop, yielding upon Articles; as likewise did *Morrah O-Brian*, having all of them stood it out to the last Extremity: the remaining Towns, Castles, and Forts which held out, as *Athlone*, *Galloway*, *Ballishannon*, *Ballimote*, the Isles of *Arran* and *Enibuffen*, and other places, were all constrained to surrender themselves to the Conquerors Power; the Marquess of *Ormond* and the Lord *Inchequin*, having in time provided for their Safeties, (when they saw things in a desperate condition, and still growing worse and worse) by Imbarquing for *France*, nothing was left but to dispossess and extirpate the vanquish'd, and take possession in their room. Some they removed out of the World by an Itinerant *High Court of Justice*, which went in Circuit from one place to another, the President whereof was one Justice *Donellan* an *Irish-man*, and *Cook* (notorious for his officiating in another *High-Court*) his assistant. Others were sent out of the Land by the Articles of Transportation, which the Marquess of *Clanrickard* and others upon their laying down Arms had concluded with them; namely, to have free liberty to go beyond Sea to serve the King of *Spain*, or some foreign Prince in his Wars: those Inheritors that remained and escaped the *High Court*, were transplanted to the Province of *Connaught*, so that there was a large extent of Territory left for the Adventurers and Purchasers of *Irish* Lands. The main pretence of this foresaid *Court* which sate at *Kilkenny*, and thence removed to *Waterford*, *Dublin*, *Ulster*, and other places, was for the Tryal of those that were judged guilty of the *Irish* Rebellion in One thousand six hundred forty one. The Chief of Quality that suffered, (for there was a number of less note) were Colonel *Mac Hugh*, Colonel *Tool*, and Colonel *Walter Bagnal*, and who was of all the most Eminent as in Quality, so in Crime (had he been judged by a Lawful Authority) as having been one of the principal leading Men in that Insurrection, and likewise one of the chief obstructors of the Union, endeavoured by the Lord Lieutenant to the advantage of His Majesties Service, Sir *Philem Oneal*, who being taken near *Charlemount*, tryed and condemned, was hanged and quartered near my Lord *Canfields* House, at the place where he had caused his Father to be Murdered. Thus was *Ireland* become subjugated to the English Usurpation. And so likewise was *Scotland* thought to have been at this time, when on a sudden a new Hostility springs up in the *Highlands*, headed by divers of the *Scotch* Nobility, who had the most powerful influence in those parts, the Earls of *Glencarn*, *Athol*, *Seaforth*, *Kinoule*, the Lord *Kenmore*, the Lairds *Mac Renalds*, and *Mac Cloud*, Colonel *Montgomery*, Sir *Mungo Murry* and Sir *Arthur Forbs*; these having each of them got together their several Parties, were endeavouring to unite into a Body, and so trusted to have been able with a Force not altogether contemptible to have taken the Field against the main Power of the English that were then in *Scotland*; and 'tis like enough they had speedily effected what they intended, had not the chief Body of them, amounting in all to about 4000 under *Glencarn* and *Kenmore* been encountred on the sudden, ill arm'd, ill provided, and in disorder, by Colonel *Morgan* at *Cromar*: *Glencarn*'s Army in this Conflict being very much put

Glencarn and *Middleton* defeated in the *Highlands*.

put to the rout and dispersed, and himself missing but little of being taken, the rest in little straggling parties were many times met with to their loss: yet were they not for all this so out of heart, but that they again made a shift in some sort to reimbody, and that so much the more confidently, upon expectation of *Middleton*'s coming over with Supplies out of *Holland*; though upon his arrival not long after with Commission to be General, Sir *G. Monro*, (who together with the Lord *Napier*, and Major General *Dalyel*, landed with *Middleton* at *Tony Ferry*) having also Commission to be Lieutenant-General; The High-land Levies instead of being re-inforced by these additional Forces and supplies were rather weakened and overthrown by the animosities of some of the *Scotch* Nobility, especially *Glencarn* stomaching the preference of *Middleton* and *Monroe* to the Command of the Army above him, thereupon departed in discontent, and laid down his Arms. Upon the neck of which breaches and defections among them, General *Monk* (the Dutch War being ended, having no more Work to do at Sea, is sent Commander in Chief into *Scotland*, and coming upon *Middleton* at *Loughberry* on the twentieth of *July*, gave him an utter defeat, and thereby put a period to these Highland Agitations, and all further attempts in *Scotland*, to the disturbance of the then regnant Authority in *England*.

The Kirk of *Scotland* also her self at this time had the wings of her Religious Empire very much clipp'd, if not quite taken away by the dissolution of her General Assembly, which was done by Colonel *Morgan*, the foregoing year at *Aberdeen*, where they were assembled, Mr. *Andrew Cant* and the rest of them in vain protesting against the action: the like disturbance they had afterwards at *Edenburgh* from Lieutenant Colonel *Cottrel*.

The Marquess of *Argile*, to keep up his Reputation with the Church of *Scotland*, seemed much troubled in his mind at this proceeding against the Assemblies, and interceded with the Protector for the liberty of the Church, wherein he had very good success: For *Oliver* considering that his declining the Kings Interest, facilitated the total subjection of *Scotland* to his Authority, was willing enough to oblige him, by seeming to do that at his request, he determined to do before for the quieting of the Minds of the People; the Church of *Scotland* was therefore indulged with the exercise of Religion, and a great part of their Jurisdiction and Discipline; they were restrained in little more than the power of keeping General Assemblies (their Presbyteries being permitted to convene) and the rigour of Excommunication: For, whereas before persons excommunicated were not excluded from the Communion of the Kirk, but had all their Estates confiscated till their Reconciliation: This better part was not now to be executed; but to please the Ministers for the restraint of their power, the maintenance of Scholars in the Universities of *Scotland* was increased, and many Privitedges granted to them.

The Government and Security of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, was the next care of the Protector. Major General *Lambert* was formerly appointed for that Government, and had provided all his Equipage to go thither; but *Cromwel* was jealous, lest his ambition should excite him to gain a Party there to establish himself against him: and therefore he artificially contrived to hinder him from going, upon pretence of greater advancement here, and he made him next to himself, Commander in Chief of all the Armies, with an entertainment of ten pounds a day; this done, he constituted his own Son-in-law *Fleetwood* to be Deputy of *Ireland*, assisted with 6 Counsellours (that is to say) *Steel*, who was after made Chancellor, *Petty* one of the Barons of the Exchequer in *England*, appointed to be Lord Chief Justice of *Ireland*, Mr. *Robert Goodwin* of *Suffolk*, *Miles Corbet* and the Colonels *Robert Hammond*, and *Matthew Thomlinson*.

1654.

Fleetwood is made Deputy of *Ireland*.

The King was at *Colen* when he received the disconsolate News of the disasters in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, supported chiefly by that brave and undaunted fortitude, which never failed him in the greatest of his adversity. The Princes of *Germany* were very kind to him, which made his stay in those parts the more agreeable; and to encrease his comfort, he sent the Marquess of *Ormond* to *Paris*, to wait on his Brother the Duke of *Glocester* to him, whom he more earnestly desired to have near him, lest his youth might be prevailed upon by the subtilty of Arguments, and temptation of Riches and Promotion, to change his Religion; for the King was ever most zealous in the profession of the Protestant Religion in himself and Family, and on all occasions to promote it to his power in others.

The Marquess of *Ormond* sent to attend the Duke of *Glocester*.

According in the late Instrument of Government, wherein it was Articled, That a Parliament should be called every three years, and that the first should begin on the third of *September* 1654, A Parliament was summoned by *Oliver*'s Writs, chosen after the wonted manner of Election by the Peoples voice, and assembled at *Westminster* at the prefixed time above mentioned, making choice for their Speaker of *William Lenthal*, Speaker in the Long Parliament: their beginning was somewhat bold, considering the totteringness of their Estate; for at their very first sitting, they began to question the lawfulness of the Power by which they were called, whereupon they were enjoyned to sign a Recognition of the Government, as it was settled in a Single Person and a Parliament, before they could be re-admitted to their Seats in the House: this all of them that sign'd (for some refused) had liberty again to take their places; but so little did their proceedings please his Protectorship, that they had scarcely sate full five months (and so long they were to sit by one of the Articles of the Instrument) when he came and dissolved them. A day or two after which, were apprehended Major *Wildman*, with a Declaration *proving the lawfulness and necessity of taking up Arms against* Cromwel: and of the Royallists, Sir *John Penington*, Sir *Henry Littleton*, and some others, about a new Conspiracy, which *Oliver* told the Members of his Parliament at the time of his dismissing them, he knew to have been countenanced and abetted, if not in a part promoted by some of them present, whom

A Parliament called.

The Members enjoyned to sign a Recognition.

The Parliament dissolved.

Sir *Henry Littleton*, and others committed to the Tower.

1654. whom he could name. And the truth is, there was a foundation laid (by a Combination of the most couragiously affected toward their Princes Service throughout the Kingdom, authorized by Commission from His Majesty) of a General rising for him in every County; which had not so quickly and so easily been suppresst, had not *Cromwel*, sparing for no cost to maintain his Instruments of deceits; for he had his Spies ready hired, not only here, but in all corners, such as counterfeiting themselves zealous Royallists, insinuated into their Counsels, and betrayed them, (of which number Sir *Richard Willis* at last became shrewdly suspected to be one) but even about the King's Person, as appeared by the defection of one *Manning*, preferred in consideration of his Fathers Merits (his Father was Colonel *Manning*, slain in His late Majesties Service) to be one of the King's Secretaries Clerks, whom Colonel *Samuel Tuke*, forcing open his Chamber-door, took in the very acts of holding Correspondence with *Thurloe*, *Oliver*'s Secretary, from whom having newly received a Packquet, and setting himself busily in the returning of Answers, to prevent discovery, he was hastily chewing Papers in his mouth, just as the Colonel entred. Thus, for a long time, had he made it his weekly practice to send Intelligence to the Usurper, of all that was transacted in the King's Court, and had a large Pension punctually assigned him for his pains; till at length thus fortunately found out, he had the reward of his treachery paid him in a more deserved manner, being, by the King's command, the whole Court beseeching His Majesty to make a publick example of him, shot to death in one of the Duke of *Newburgh*'s Castles. This Combination, though it were probably to the very bottom discovered, before the apprehending of the above-named persons; yet so far the design, being generally laid, had taken effect, that in several Counties some small Armed Parties began to gather into a Body; in *Shropshire* and *Wales* some endeavoured to have taken *Shrewsbury* and *Kirk*-Castle by surprize, but were both prevented; and of those that attempted *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Thomas Harris*, who was the chief, was taken Prisoner, and sent up to *London*.

Manning's Treachery, for which he is put to Death.

The Surprize of *Shrewsbury* endeavoured.

Upon Sunday the 11th of *March*, a party for the King of about 200 entred *Salisbury* about Midnight, and having seized upon Horses, and taken away the Commissions of the Judges that were upon their Circuit, bended their course towards *Cornwal*; of which Captain *Unton Crook* having timely Intelligence, pursued them with his own Troop, and at a place called *Southmolton* in *Devonshire*, overtook them, and after four hours sharp Conflict, tired as they were, and drowsie, and faint for want of sustenance, drove them to a necessity of yielding; yet *Penruddock* bravely stood it out, till Articles were granted for the Indemnity of him and his Company, which *Crook* is said to have afterwards perfidiously denied, and left them wholly over to the Courtesie of their Judges: besides 50 common Prisoners, there were taken of the chief Leaders, 3 Captains, *Penruddock*, *Jones* and *Grove*, only Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* made a shift to escape away. Other Risings there were in *Northumberland*, and at the Forest of *Sherwood* in *Yorkshire*, where Five hundred Horse being met, and not finding the Country to come in as they expected, dispersit themselves, and returned to their Habitations. Also at *Hexam*-Moor in *Yorkshire*, there was a great Rendezvouz of the Gentry of the Country, of whom Sir *Henry Slingsby* was taken, and Sir *Richard Malevorer* with much ado escaped.

An Insurrection at *Salisbury*.

And the first in order that paid the Nation for it.

1654.

At *Salisbury*, *Exeter* and *Chard* in *Somersetshire* many of West-Risers were tried by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and executed, and particularly at *Exeter*; *Penruddock* and *Grove* were Beheaded, Captain *Jones* was reprieved; besides those who were put to death of the chief Leaders, many Prisons in the West were filled with a number of the common sort of Prisoners, till within a little while after that they emptied themselves into Foreign Plantations.

Penruddock and *Grove* Beheaded about the Western Rising.

And there hapned about this time an Adventure which served very opportunely for the ridding of Prisons of their surcharging numbers, and the imploying of a multitude of loose and vagrant people, there having been ever since the Peace with the *Dutch*, preparations made for the equipping forth of a great and powerful Fleet, upon an Expedition which was kept very secret, and not made known even to those that went upon it, unless to the Supreme Commanders, till the very last; only it was given out, that the Voyage would be very profitable, and to a place where there was much Gold and store of Riches: In this Service we may well think there would not be wanting enough that would greedily engage themselves; hither all sorts of people flocked, especially those of low and Bankrupt Fortunes, and upon hopes of enriching themselves, run headlong most of them to their ruine, a Fate that commonly attends precipitate Ambition and Covetousness. This Navy setting sail from *Portsmouth* on the 27th of *December*, put in at the *Barbadoes* on the 28th of *January*, *Venables* commanding the Land-Forces, and *Penn* being General at Sea.

The Death of Mr. *John Selden*.

This Year had been sufficiently memorable, if for nothing else, yet for the death of that Famous and Learned Antiquary Mr. *John Selden*, whose Works are a Monument far more Worthy his Memory, than that in the *Inner-Temple* Church.

1655.

The Marquess of *Leda* comes Embassador from *Spain*, and speedily returns.

The King of *Spain* was not ignorant that this great preparation was design'd to make some impression on his Dominions in the West-Indies, and after having dispatched expresses into those parts to give them warning thereof, he sent the Marquess of *Leda* (a person of great reputation in Arms) in a splendid Embassy to the Protectory, to divert, or prevent the prosecution of the business: he arrived at *London* the 22d of *May*, but had so cold reception, and was so much discouraged in his Negotiation, that he quickly returned.

In the mean time the English Fleet set sail from the *Barbadoes* the 30th of *March*, and steered its course towards *Hispaniola*, one of the fairest and richest Islands belonging to the *American* Dominions of the King of *Spain*; so that it was by this time apparent enough which way this Expedition tended. And whereas it was admired

The Fleet steers towards *Hispaniola*.

1654. mired by many, that at that time when no Hostility was declared between this Nation and the Kingdom of *Spain*, or any defiance bid on either side, we should carry War into his Territories, without any provocation by him first offered. It was alledged, That the Conditions of Peace extended not beyond the Line. This, though it serv'd to stop the mouths of some, yet it could not satisfie the *Spaniard*, who look'd upon it as an absolute breach: However it were, whether this Expedition were just or not, whether it were undertaken to a pious end, as was pretended, to curb the excessive Pride, and ambitious Usurpation of the *Spaniard*, and to bring freedom and purity of Religion to those *Indians* under his Yoke; or, as many are apt to believe, to partake with the *Spaniard* of some of his Indian Gold, (thinking it too much for one Potentate to ingross so much Treasure to himself,) I shall not undertake to determine. This is most certain, That at the beginning of this Enterprise, it met with a very remarkable Check, (however the War with the *Spaniard* proved afterwards successful enough) for General *Venables*, when as he might have landed his men within a very little of *Santo Domingo*, the principal Town and Fortress of the Island, and which was in a manner deserted by the Garrison Soldiers,) upon sight of the English Fleet; nevertheless led by I know not what Policy and Interest of his own, and (it is more than suspected) over-rull'd by the Counsels of his Wife, set them ashore ten Leagues Westward of *Domingo*; whereupon the *Spaniards* gather'd fresh Courage, and betook themselves again to the defence of *Santo Domingo*, which they had abandoned. The English landing without opposition, and seeing no Enemy near them, thought themselves safe enough, and were in their minds absolute Lords of the *Indies*, sharing the Golden mines among them; when contrary to their expectation, the General causing it to be proclaim'd at the Head of the Army, That none upon pain of Death should plunder any Gold, Plate, or Jewels, or kill any Cattel. This sudden frustration of their Hopes, and the Climates excessive heat, proved the one such a damping to their Spirits, the other such a weakning to their Bodies, that by that time they had marched a most tedious and disconsolate March through thick Woods, in deep scalding Sands, ready to perish with miserable Drought and Thirst for want of Water, (of which they met not with a drop in many miles,) they were brought to such a condition, that they needed not an Enemy to kill them, being already almost dead with faintness, and weakness; so that the *Spaniards*, Negroes, and Molatto's falling upon them, kill'd, with little or no resistance, till they were weary of killing; had those that could make a shift to fly away, found it a sufficient Atchievement for that time, to bring themselves back again safe unto their Ships.

The English land in the Island *Hispaniola*.

They are cruelly entertained by the *Spaniards* of *Hispaniola*, and driven out of the Island.

In this Conflict Major General *Heines* acted the part of a very valiant Soldier, who being shamefully deserted by his own men, and over-powred by his Enemies, was slain stoutly fighting: there fell above six hundred in the Fight, besides what were cut off in straggling parties near as many more; and all this Execution was done by not above sixty of the Enemy. The Remnant of this Naval Army, that they might not be thought to have undertaken so long a Voyage, and of such expectation altogether in vain, possest themselves, with little or no opposition of another Island called *Jamaica*; which, however not so plentiful and rich a place as that which they at first aimed at, yet with much Industry, and the Supplies that were sent them out of *England*, they made a shift to make a Habitation of it tolerable enough to abide in, planting themselves at *Oristano*, the chief, if not only Town thereof, and have kept it ever since. 1654.

They possess themselves of *Jamaica*.

The first Adviser to this Undertaking, was one *Gage* a Minister, (formerly a Romish Priest) who also undertook to be the chief Guide in this Expedition, as one who by his long time of Travel in those parts (of which there is a handsome Relation of his extant) was well acquainted with them; and there he ended his days not long after his arrival, reaping little Fruit of his Project.

Whilest the Proceedings in the *West-Indies* were unprosperous, General *Blake* had better fortune in the *Streights*, who coming with his Fleet before *Tunis*, and sending to the Governour thereof to demand satisfaction for the Depredations committed by his people on the English, and to require the English Captives to be delivered to him, had a contemptuous answer return'd, (*viz.*) *Here are our Castles of* Gueletto *and* Porta Ferina *well mann'd and furnished with Ordnance, do what you can, we fear you not.* And at the same time they mann'd a Line all along the Shore, and planted Guns thereon. Whereupon (after a short Consultation with his Officers) *Blake* with his great Ships and their Seconds, came into the *Bay of Porta Ferina*, within Musquet-shot of the Castle and their Line, and fired with such fury upon them, (notwithstanding the frequent discharges of forty great Guns upon his Ships,) that in two hours the Castle was made defenceless, and all their Guns dismounted, and the Stones clattered about their ears; and finding nine of their Ships in the Road, he caused them all to be fired with his long Boats, and in five hours they were consumed. After this brisk Action he sailed to *Algiers* and *Tripoly*, with both which places he made very advantagious Treaty, and then came again to *Tunis* which he found (by this time) willing to submit to what he proposed.

General *Blake's* notable Attempt and success before *Tunis*.

Notwithstanding the ill success of the several late endeavours for the King, for which so many suffered, it was not much above a Month e're the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, *Maynard*, *Faulkland*, *Lucas Peirc*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Geoffery Palmer*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, with divers others, were committed to the *Tower*, upon suspicion of pretended High-Treason against *Cromwel*; which yet, went no further than bare suspicion; for they were never brought to a publick Tryal.

The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Newport* and others committed to the *Tower*.

About the beginning of *July*, Major *Sedgewick* went with a Squadron of twelve ships, a-

1655. among which was Colonel *Humphreys* with a Regiment for the supply of those in *Jamaica*; from whence, in the following Month of *August*, General *Penne* returned for *England*, with a part of the Fleet, the greatest part yet staying behind: and not long after him came over General *Venables* leaving in their steads Colonel *Forteſcue* to command the Land Forces, Vice-Admiral *Goodſon*, the Navy. *Venables* not long after his Arrival, was for his ill-management of Affairs in *Hiſpaniola* ſent to the Tower; from whence, being judged to have failed rather through raſh Imprudence, than any ſiniſter Intention, he was at length releaſed.

Major *Sedwick*, and Col. *Humphries* ſent with a ſupply to *Jamaica*.

Gen. *Penne* Gen. *Venables* return into *England*.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* comes to *Colen* to his brother the King.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* willingly obeying the Order of the King his Brother, was come away with the Marqueſs of *Ormond* from *Paris*, and having ſtayed for ſome time with his Siſter the Princeſs Royal at the *Hague*, was at laſt accompanied by her to the King her Brother at *Colen*, where ſhe her ſelf alſo ſtaid with them till after the Fair at *Frankford*; to which place, they all of them together made a Progreſs of State and Pleaſure, attended by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Lady *Stanhope*, and Monſieur *Hemſſeet* her Huſband, they went by Coach a little beyond *Bonne* the Archbiſhops Electoral Seat; the reſt of the Journey they went by Water: through every Princes Countrey which they paſt, they had the chief Officers of State ſent to Complement them, and were ſaluted by the great Guns from all their Towns and Caſtles, more eſpecially the Prince Elector of *Mentz* ſent his Grand Marſhal to invite them to his Court: whereupon the Lord *Newburgh* was ſent back with the Grand Marſhal, to deſire the Elector to excuſe them at Preſent, promiſing to wait upon him at their return. Being arrived at *Frankford*, and hearing that Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden* was coming that way in her Journey into *Italy*, the King ſent one of his Lords to her, expreſſing his deſire to wait upon her, at whatever place her Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to nominate; the place then appointed for this Interview was *Coningſtein*, a Village near *Frankford*, in the Electorate of *Mentz*, where he had firſt particular Diſcourſe with her himſelf for half an hour, which paſt with many Complements and Ceremonies of Civility; next the Duke of *Glouceſter* was admitted, and then the Lords that attended the King. As theſe Princes came back from *Frankford*, the Elector of *Mentz*, renewing his Civilities, provided all manner of accommodation for them, as they paſſed through his Territories; and meeting them himſelf a great part of the way, he brought them to one of his Palaces, where he entertained them in a very ſumptuous and ſplendid manner, for the ſpace of two or three days, after which they returned to *Colen*: four Burgomaſters being appointed by the Magiſtrate of the City to wait upon them, and welcome them home.

Their progreſs to *Frankford*.

The Interview between the King and *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden*.

The King and his Company entertained by the Elector of *Mentz*.

An Army having been ſent under the Marqueſs of *Pianella*, and the Earl of *Soiſſon* Commander of the French Forces in *Italy*, by *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* againſt his Proteſtant Subjects in the Valleys of *Piedmont*, upon occaſion of ſome high Diſpleaſure taken againſt them, and the Soldiers left to their own unbridled Licence, having committed many cruel Outrages and Maſſacres upon the poor miſerable People; *Cromwel* taking this opportunity to ingratiate himſelf with the Proteſtants abroad, (affecting to be thought the Chief Patron and Protector of thoſe of the Reformation in all Parts) concern'd and beſtirr'd himſelf very vigorouſly for their Relief; he appointed a ſolemn day of Humiliation to be kept, and cauſed a large Contribution to be gathered for them throughout the Nation, and ſent his Agents abroad to mediate for them; Mr. *Pell* to the Proteſtant Cantons of the *Switzers*, Mr. *Samuel Moorland*, and Mr. *George Downing* to *Turin* to the Duke of *Savoy*, but his Meſſage being ſlighted by him, he took another courſe to deal with him, namely, by the Mediation of the King of *France*, his now great Allie; by whoſe Power and Authority with that Duke, a Pacification was ſhortly concluded: Though of the large Collection that was made, ſo ſcanty a ſhare came to them, (for ſome they had) that it may be very well ſuſpected, whether ſelf-Charity for the getting of Money, were not as well aim'd at, as Charity *ad extra* for the beſtowing it.

1655.

A Contribution gathered throughout *England* for the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in *Piedmont*.

However it far'd with the Proteſtants abroad, theſe at home, *viz.* the Royaliſts, becauſe they would not become *Oliver*'s obedient Subjects, are not only not ſav'd from Perſecution, but perſecuted themſelves; while, beſides other diſpleaſures both toward the Clergy who were prohibitted from teaching School, and from having any Benefices, or officiating as Chaplains; and toward the Laity, who were by Proclamation confin'd (ſuch as had ever been in Arms) not to come within twenty miles of *London*, and diſabled from electing or being elected in Parliament, there comes out a two-handed Invention of *Cromwel*, which ſerv'd him at the ſame time to acquire Money to his own Coffers, and to bring them low in their Eſtates and Power; this was an Order for the Decimation, or tenth part of the Eſtates of all ſuch as ever had been in Arms either for his late or preſent Majeſty. For the better executing this Project of Decimation, (under colour of *ſecuring the Peace of the Common-wealth*) for which Orders were ſet forth toward the latter end of *October* by *Oliver* and his Council, is ſet up the Office of *Major Generals Civil*, in the nature of *Preſects* or Governours of Provinces, to curb, watch, and keep in awe the Royaliſts, and if it were poſſible to pull down their high Stomachs; they were eleven in number, namely *Kelſey*, *Goff*, *Disborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Skipton*, *Whaley*, *Butler*, *Berry*, *Worſley*, *Lambert*, and *Barkſtead*, which laſt was alſo Lieutenant of the *Tower*, each of them having his ſeveral Counties allotted to his Government in the nature of Provinces: In which their Principalities they reigned like ſo many petty Kings, domineering over the Gentry and Nobility, till *Cromwel* either thinking to do a ſpecial Act of Grace by taking of his Maſtiffs, or jealous of what their Power in time might come to, eaſily gives way to his next Parliament to unhorſe thoſe whom he himſelf had ſo lately mounted.

Major Generals conſtituted over ſeveral Provinces.

Upon

1655. Upon the tendring of certain Propoſals to the Protector by *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, a Jewiſh Merchant, in the behalf of his Hebrew Nation, for their free admiſſion to Trade and exerciſe of their Religion in *England*, a Conference was held about it ſeveral days at *White-hall*, by the Members of the Council, and certain Divines of the moſt Eminent then in eſteem: and many Arguments being urged, ſome for, others againſt their admiſſion; thoſe againſt it ſo far prevailed, that the Propoſals took no effect.

A debate held at White-hall about the admiſſion of the Jews.

An Imbargo upon the Goods of Engliſh Merchants in Spain. Open War with England proclaimed by the Spaniard at Dunkirk.

The Spaniſh King thinking it in vain to hope for a Conſervation of the League on this ſide the Line, from thoſe whom he judged to have ſo apparently broke it on the other ſide, by invading his *Iſland* of *Hiſpaniola*, began not obſcurely to make preparations for War; and to ſhew that he had entertained thoughts of Hoſtility, a general *Imbargo* was made in *Spain*, of all Engliſh Merchants Goods, and many of their perſons ſecured. Hereupon the like was done in *England*, and there ſuddenly followed on both ſides a denunciation of open War, which by the *Spaniard* was not long after ſolemnly proclaimed at *Dunkirk*.

Articles of Peace between England and France ratified and proclaimed.

The diſſolution of the Peace with *Spain*, was the product of a Peace with *France*; for there having been long ſince an Addreſs made to that end from *France* to the State of *England*: No ſooner did the breach begin between *England* and *Spain*, but the French King ſends to Monſieur *Bourdeaux* his Embaſſadour here to preſs his Embaſſie; which he did with ſo good ſucceſs, that in a ſhort while after the Articles of Peace between us and *France* were concluded, ratified by both Parties, and on the 28th. of *November* the Peace was proclaimed at *London*, and at *Paris* much about the ſame time.

Whereupon ſoon after *Cromwel* not to be behind-hand in State, and to provide for the diligent management of all matters concluded in this Treaty, ſends over in the Quality of his Embaſſadour Extraordinary to the French King, Colonel *Lockhart*, ſometime one of the Itinerant Judges in *Scotland*, and now advanced to this Dignity by the Marriage of a Niece of his pretended Highneſs. And at the ſame time there was a ſtrict League of Amity between him and *Carolus Guſtavus* the then King of *Sweden*, and Embaſſies of Friendly Correſpondence were on each ſide interchanged, from hence went Mr. *Rolt*, one of *Oliver*'s Bed-Chamber as Envoy, and from thence arrived here the Lord *Chriſtian Bond*, who was entertained with more than ordinary reſpect; for of all Amities that were between *Cromwel* and Foreign Princes and States, his moſt particular and intimate ſeems to have been with the Swediſh King, whom a while after he under-hand aided with men in his War againſt the *Dane*, while at the ſame time he made ſhew of endeavouring an Accommodation between thoſe two Kings.

One principal Condition of the Treaty with *France*, was the excluſion of the King and all his Relations and Adherents out of the King of *France* his Dominions; but he upon Foreſight of what this Treaty would come to, had long ſince betaken himſelf to *Germany*, and there remained (for the moſt part at *Colen*, as hath been already mentioned) until ſuch time as the *Spaniard* invited him into *Flanders*. His Brother the Duke of *York*, notwithſtanding the great Command he had in the King of *France* his Army (the neareſt Ties and Relations little avail, when Self-Intereſt comes in place) was, by the ſame reaſon of State adverti'ſed to depart that Kingdom with all his Retinue by a prefixed time, not without ſome Complements and Apologies for this diſmiſſion: alſo his departure was reſpited for ſome ſpace, in which he was viſited, and honourable treated by the Marſhal *Turenne*, and others of the French Grandees; as likewiſe the Duke of *Modena* (who at that time was come into *France* about ſome important Affairs;) at length he took his leave of the King and Court of *France*, and attended by the Lord St. *Albans*, and other Engliſh Lords, took his Journey toward *Flanders*, where at that time the King his Brother reſided, at the invitation of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, who was then Governour of the Low Countries for the King of *Spain*, ſent the Count of *Fuenſaldagne*, to offer him in the name of the Spaniſh King all poſſible Service and aſſiſtance.

1655.

The Duke of *York* warned out of *France*.

Betakes himſelf to *Flanders* to his Brother.

The cloſe of this Year puts on Mourning in like manner as the laſt: the laſt Year ended with the Learned *Selden*; this, with that moſt Pious and Reverend Prelate, *James Uſher* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and once Primate of *Ireland*, whoſe Judicious Writings are ſufficiently famous in the Common-wealth of Learning throughout Chriſtendom; his Burial, though he died on the one and twentieth of *March*, was deferred till the 17th of *April*, and then performed with all decent Pomp, and by moſt of the Nobility in *London*, attended to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, where his Funeral Oration was delivered by the Almoner to *Cromwel* (for ſo Dr. *Bernard*, once Preacher to the Society of *Gray's Inne*, was then Intituled.) Moreover *Cromwel* himſelf defrayed all things befitting his Interment, beſtowing 200*l.* toward the ſolemnizing thereof. Yet were his Coffers not ſo well furniſht as he deſired. And therefore notwithſtanding his no ſucceſs in his laſt Parliament, he finds a neceſſity of calling one again, whereupon he ſend forth Writs in *July* for the ſummoning of another Parliament on the ſeventeenth of *September*.

The death and burial of the Biſhop of *Armagh*.

1656.

A Parliament ſummoned again.

In the mean while, a part of the Engliſh Navy, namely, the Rear-Admiral and ſix other Ships under Captain *Richard Stayner*, ſet upon a Fleet of Eight *Spaniards*, within four Leagues of the Bay of *Cadiz*; the Admirals Ship in which was General *Don Marco del Porto*, with ſix hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, run aſhore in the Bay; the Vice-Admiral a Gallion Commanded by *Don Franciſco de Eſquevel*, and having in her 1200000 Pieces of Eight, and another ſhip Commanded by *Don Rodignes Calderon* were taken, and afterwards fired (one wilfully by the *Spaniards* in it, the other by accident;) Two others were taken and kept in poſſeſſion, the Rear-Admiral a Gallion, Commanded by *Don Franciſco del Hayo*, and having in her two Millions of Plate, and another Ship commanded by *John de la Torre*, very richly laden; another man of War of ſome value, with a *Portugal* prize, and a ſmall

Gen. *Blake* and Gen. *Montagues* Victory over the Spaniſh Fleet near *Cadiz*.

1656. The Marquess of *Bayde* & his Wife perish in a Ship set on fire

Vessel of Advice from the Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, escaped to *Gibralter*. In the Vice-Admiral which was set on fire by the *Spaniards* themselves, to prevent being taken Prisoners, was the Marquess of *Bayde*, with his whole Family. There perished in this Combustion (besides a number of less Note) the Marquess himself with his Wife and his Eldest Daughter, who was going into *Spain* to be married to the Duke of *Medina Celi*. There were saved from this fire, the Marquess his eldest Son *Don Francisco de Lopez*, a younger Son *Don Joseph de Sanega*, and two Daughters, *Donna Josepha*, and *Catalina*, with about ninety others. In the Rear-Admiral was also taken Prisoner *Don Diego de Villa*, *Alva*, Governour of the *Havana*. It was related by the young Marquess *Francisco de Lopez*, who with his Brother and Sisters was brought up to *London*, and there for a while detained Prisoners, that the Cities of *Lima* and *Calao* in *Peru*, were about five Months before destroyed by an Earthquake and Fire raining from Heaven, in which Ruine there perished above 11000 *Spaniards*, but of *Indians* not above 100; also that the Mountains of *Potosi* being laid level, the Gold and Silver Mines where thereby utterly destroyed. This enterprize near *Cadiz* purchased no less profit than honour to the performers thereof, and to the Chief in power. As for the Spanish young Nobles that were taken, the Protector, to give him his due, dealt very nobly by them, and after no very long time of detention, dismist them home without any Ransome.

A sad and wonderful accident at *Peru*.

The Parliament assembles.

On the seventeenth of *September* (the time appointed) a Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and chose for their Speaker Sir *Tho. Widdrington*; none were to be admitted in this Convention, by the *Instrument of Government*, but such as after their Elections should be approved of, and allowed by the Council, and there were many discontented persons chosen, of those that were dismissed at the last Dissolution of what remained of the Long Parliament and others of the *Fifth Monarchy* Principle, that the Protector thought it not safe to admit into the House, till some Laws should be passed for the better strengthening of his Authority, so that till the 20th of *June* the proceeding went on smoothly enough, and on that day the Parliament adjourned it self to the twentieth of *January* following, and passed some Acts, the principal whereof were:

An Act for Renouncing and Disanulling the Title of Charles Stuart *into the Nations of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

An Act for the securing of his Highness the Lord Protector, Person, and the continuance of the Nation in security and peace.

A Vote to assist his Highness in his War against the Spaniard, *which they declare to have been undertaken upon just Ground.*

An Act for preventing the multiplicity of Buildings within ten Miles of London, the substance of which was, *That for every House built from such a time within that compass, upon a New Foundation, there should be paid a years Rent to the Protector.*

The Humble Petition and Advice, was a Model of Government, with which they several times waited upon the Protector at *White-hall*, to desire him to take the Chief Government of the Nations upon him, with the Title of *KING*; of which, the Power he already had, the Name only he wanted. This Offer was brought to an open Conference, but it was first for a long time together gently and tenderly touch'd upon, as springing from a Motion suddenly started by some of the Protector's Friends, when as sure enough they did but work after the Copy secretly prescribed them, and as they had private Encouragement and Instructions from the person they seemed to Court. As oft as the Members made their Addresses to him with this Humble Petition and Advice, he still desired further time of deliberation, before he could positively determine in a matter of so great weight and concernment; till at length being requested to give his final Answer, he returned (after he had several times sifted his Officers, to see how they stood affected, and found them so averse (the most part of them) that he thought it not safe to venture) *That he could not take upon him the Government with that Title.* Thus openly refusing (in regard Matters were not brought to sufficient maturity) what it was generally more than believed, he had mainly pursued.

1656. The Parliaments Petition and Advice to the Protector to take upon him the Title of King.

Sindercomb and others Plot against the Protector's life.

It must needs be thought high time for *Cromwel's* Convention to make Acts for the security of his Body, since there was now more noise than ever of a most desperate Plot against it. The Criminals said to be of this Plot, were *Miles Sindercomb*, a cashier'd and dis-satisfied Army-man, *Toop*, one of *Cromwel's* Life-Guard, *Cecil* and *Boi*, (the last of whom was a Priest belonging to *Don Alonso de Cordoua*) (once Lieger Embassadour here from *Spain*) and by him instructed, as it was given out, to hire and set those other his Agents a-work, comes off himself with a *Non est inventus*; *Cecil* and *Toop* pleaded they were drawn in by *Sindercomb*; he on the other side, that he was trapan'd by them. Of the several Ambushes in this Plot, thus runs the Story; At *Hammersmith* a House is hired on purpose, placing of an Engine called a Blunderbuss, to shoot him as he goes to *Hampton Court*; at *Hide-Park* Corner also he is waited for, as he goes to take the Air; as likewise at another House in *Westminster*, by which he was to go to the Parliament House. Lastly, when these took no effect, the next design was to set *White-hall* on Fire, by placing a Basket of combustible matter in the Chappel, with a Train laid to have taken Fire at a prefixed time, which also some way or other happens to be discovered and prevented. In conclusion, he of the Life Guard discovers all, and both he and *Cecil* have their pardons, he for his discovery, and *Cecil* for his free Confession, and the sorrow he expressed. *Sindercomb* boldly and sturdily standing it out, and denying all at the Court commonly called the *Upper-Bench*, before *Cromwel's* Attorney General, was nevertheless cast by the Witness of his two fellow Conspirators who left him in the lurch, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn*; in the mean time being kept close prisoner in the *Tower*. That very morning he was to have been executed, he was found dead in the Chamber, being reported to have stuffe up into his Head a certain poysonous Powder to avert the shame and misery of the Execution that was preparing

Sindercomb tryed and condemned.

He procures his own death by a poysonous powder.

1656. parting for him, though it was whisper'd as if his poysoning had been the design of some others: however, as a *Felo de se*, he was dragged at a Horses Tail with his heels forward, to *Tower-hill*, and turned naked into an hole under the Scaffold, with a stake spiked with Iron, driven through his Body into the Earth.

The Tryal of *James Naylour* before the Parliament.

Memorable also was the Tryal (happening a little before this discovery) of one *James Naylour*, the great Champion and Ring-leader of the Sect called *Quakers*, who having spread his Doctrine, and gained many Proselytes to it in divers parts of the Nation, was more especially taken notice of at *Bristol*, and from thence was brought up to *London*, attended by several men and women of his Opinion, who, all the way they came (the Women especially) are said to have sung *Hosanna's*, and to have used the same kind of expressions toward him, as anciently the people of the Jews did to our Saviour, when he rode triumphant into *Jerusalem*. The Parliament took it upon them to Judge him themselves, before whom being convented, he was charged of Blasphemy, for assuming to himself Divine Honours, and such Attributes as were due unto Christ only. After he had used many cunning Sophisms and Evasions to clear himself, such as argued him not altogether ignorant of humane Letters, he was nevertheless Sentenced by the House to be (first at *London*) publickly whipt, pilloried, and stigmatized, as a Blasphemer, then to be conveyed to *Bristol*, there to be also whipt; lastly, to be brought back to *London*, to remain in *Bridewel* during pleasure: which Sentence was punctually inflicted upon him.

His Sentence.

The King now in *Flanders* having his residence for the most part at *Bruges*, had, upon hopes of the good success of those his Subjects of *England*, who now began again busily to stir for him in all parts of the Nation, embodied together several Regiments, consisting of such *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* as he recalled out of the Service of the French King, and those that came in to him from other parts, whose Colonels were the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Rochester*, the Lords *Wentworth* and *Gerard*, and Lieutenant General *Middleton*; these Forces he kept quartered upon the Sea-coast, to have been in readiness, if occasion were, to have seconded those in *England*; Monsieur *Munsin*, an expert Souldier, formerly Lieutenant-General to the Prince of *Conde*, being designed to have conducted this Army; but the Counsels of his Friends that acted for him in *England*, being from time to time betrayed, and His Majesty not being in a capacity to keep his Men in continual Pay, he took the opportunity, since he could not make use of them himself, to gratifie a Power that had oblig'd him, and which stood in need of resolute Men, and thereupon consigned them to the Service of the King of *Spain*.

The King keeps an Army in *Flanders*.

1657. In vain did *Cromwel* think to be acknowledged the Protector of the three Nations, since all the several Interests therein, how contrary soever among themselves, attempted at one time or other, to shake off the Yoke of his Protection: yet as much in vain did both, all that already, and those that at present attempted to strive, *Oliver* being still too cunning and too quick for them all; for on the Nineteenth of *April*, 1657. at a certain house in *Shoreditch*, were apprehended a discontented Party formerly in the Army, that went under the name of *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, such as taking upon them to be the Champions of Christ's Monarchy on Earth, renounced all Monarchy beside; the chief of whom were *Thomas Venner*, a Wine-Cooper-prædicant (whom we shall have occasion to take more notice of hereafter) *Powlon*, *Hopkins*, *Gunter*, and *Gray* their Scribe. They had appointed to Rendezvouz that night at *White-hall-Green*, and thence to have Marched into some other Counties to joyn with others of their Party, that were ready to shew themselves upon the first opportunity; there was taken with them, besides a great quantity of Arms, and certain Printed Papers (that were to be dispersed) a Standard with a *Lion couchant*, *Or*, in a *Field Argent*, and having this Motto, *Who shall rouse him?* There were also taken into custody Major General *Harrison*, Captain *Lawson* late Vice-Admiral, Colonel *Rich* and Major *Danvers*; whereof the first was committed to the Serjeants at Arms, and the rest to other Prisons.

1657.

Fifth-Monarchy-men apprehended upon a design against the Government.

Major General *Harrison* and others secured.

The *Spaniards* were very much distressed in all parts by the War with the Protector, and on the Twentieth of *April* so gallant an Action was performed by General *Blake* in part of their Dominion, that the like hath scarce been mentioned in Story.

The General lying with some Ships near *Cadiz* to watch for the return of the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet, had intelligence that they had put into the Bay of *Santa Cruz* in the Island of *Teneriff*, hereupon he weighed Anchor on the 13th of *April*, and on the 20th rode with his Ships off the offing at *Santa Cruz*, where he discerned the Spanish Fleet to the number of sixteen, barricadoed in the Bay, in a semicircular manner. Near to the mouth of the Haven a Castle is placed, which was then well fortified with great Ordnance, and besides that, there were seven Forts round about the Bay, with six, four, and three great Guns on each, all united by a Line of communication from Fort to Fort, and well lined with Musqueteers; and *Don Diego Diaques*, the Spanish General of the Fleet, upon sight of *Blakes* Fleet, caused all the smaller Ships to be moored close to the shore, and set six great Gallions well-manned further out at Anchor, with their broad-sides at Sea.

General *Blakes* successful enterprize against the *Spaniard* at *Santa Cruz*.

Blake having well consider'd this posture of the Enemy, sent Captain *Stayner* Commander of the *Speaker* Frigot with a Squadron into the Bay, who by eight the next morning fell pell-mel on the Spanish Ships, but *Blake*, who would have his share of the toil and glory of so brave an enterprize, immediately seconded *Stayner*, and placed some Ships to pour their broad-sides into the Castles and Forts, whilst he with *Stayner*, fought the Spanish Fleet (which was not inferiour in number to the English, and much better manned) and by two in the afternoon they gained an entire Victory, but the General perceiving he could not bring off the Spies, set them all on fire, but one that was sunk; and when this Service was performed, the

wind

1656. wind even to wonder, which before blew ſtrong into the Bay, ſuddenly veer'd about to South-Weſt (which brought our Ships ſafe out to Sea.)

The News of this ſucceſs of *Blake* was ſo grateful to the Protector and the Parliament, that they ordered him a Jewel of Five hundred pound, and an hundred pound was given to the Meſſengers that brought the Letters, and proportionable Gratuities and Thanks to moſt of the Officers and Mariners.

An Army of *Engliſh* ſent to aid the *French* in *Flanders.*

According to the Conditions of Agreement between *England* and *France*, the French King demanded Auxiliary Forces from *England* to help him in his War againſt the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, which was readily granted by the Protector, and 6000 Foot forthwith ordered to be ſent over, Commanded in Chief by Sir *John Reynolds*, one of *Cromwel's* Knights, a Man of good Courage and Reſolution, once Commiſſary General in *Ireland*. No ſooner were theſe Forces arrived in *France*, but the French, by their help, took two very advantagious places, *Montmedi* and St. *Venant*; nor was it long after ere they took the ſtrong Fort of *Mardike*, being of notable conſequence toward the ſpeedy gaining of *Dunkirk*. This Fort was immediately after it was taken, conſigned by the *French* into the ſole poſſeſſion of Major General *Morgan* and the Engliſh, who preſently fell to fortifying of it, and in a ſhort while made it ſo impregnable, that when the *Spaniard* was ſenſible how much it imported to the keeping of *Dunkirk*, to regain this Fort, ſent a ſtrong power of Men (among whom were two thouſand Scotch and Iriſh Reformadoes, aſſigned by our King to that Service, and commanded by his Brother the Duke of *York*) to ſet upon its recovery by a deſperate Storm; they were, after a very Gallant and Reſolute effort upon the place, which continued for the ſpace of ſix hours, repelled in the end, with the loſs of many Men.

Montmedi and St. *Venant* taken.

1658. After *Cromwel* had given his final Anſwer to his Parliament, that he could not take upon him the Government with the Title of King, it was reſolved on, that the Title of *Lord Protector* ſhould be continued and inſerted in the *Humble Petition and Advice*, by which Title he was ſolemnly inveſted (with much more Ceremony than before) on the Six and twentieth of *June*, before a great Aſſembly of people in *Weſtminſter-hall*, where a Fabrick was erected for that purpoſe, and a Chair of State placed for the Lord Protector, whoſe Inſtalment wanted but little of a Regal manner; and though he attained not the Crown, yet he had the Scepter; for there were four Emblems of Government preſented unto him by Sir *Thomas Widdrington* the Speaker (who at the delivery of them made an Oration to him, in which he amply diſcanted upon each of them) a Purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermines, wherewith he was veſted by the Earl of *Warwick*, Commiſſioner *Whitlock* preſented a large Bible with Boſſes and Claſps richly Gilt, and a Scepter of Gold, and a Sword, which the Speaker girt about him. Thus attired, while he ſate in his Chair under a Canopy of State, holding the Scepter in his hand, the Herald ſtanding aloft, made a ſignal Trumpet to ſound thrice; after which he was Proclaimed Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*, and *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and then returned to *White-hall* in State, having the Sword carried before him by the Earl of *Warwick*. He was likewiſe proclaimed not only in *London*, and other parts of *England*, but alſo in the Chief Cities of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And now he began to take the King upon him in his manner of Living, and to Govern after a more Monarchical manner, and to model his Family according to the faſhion of a King's Court; to which end he had his Yeomen of his Guard in their Livery of Gray Cloth, with Welts of black Velvet, of whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain; his Lord Chamberlain was Sir *Gilbert Pickering*; the Lord Keeper of the Seal *Nathaniel Fynnes*; *Lambert* was Warden of the Cinque-Ports, *Glyn* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and *Steel* (formerly Recorder of *England*) Lord Chief Baron. Moreover, being thus confirmed Protector by Authority of his Parliament, and having fortified himſelf by Alliances abroad (for beſides the Leagues with *France*, *Sweden*, the *United States*, and fair Correſpondence with *Denmark*, he had alſo upon the coming of *Don Franciſco de Mello* Embaſſador, concluded a firm Peace with *Portugal*) he began to make it his next care, for the better eſtabliſhing of himſelf, and ſtrengthening of his Intereſt at home, to advance his neareſt Friends and Relations, and to match his Children into the Nobleſt Families; his eldeſt Son *Richard* he called out of the Country, to inure him to a Court-Life, and an inſight into publick Affairs, deſigning him for Succeſſion in the Protectorate, which the Univerſity of *Oxford* prudently foreſeeing (as the Learned were never found backward in complying with the Times, and courting the Riſing Sun) ſent their Agents and Proctors to him to elect him their Chancellour, in which Honour he was ſolemnly Inſtalled at *White-hall*. His ſecond Son *Henry*, he made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the room of his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, whom he recalled from thence, wanting, as he ſaid, his Preſence and Council. His two youngeſt Daughters he Matched, *Frances* the younger to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grand-Child to the then Earl of *Warwick*, and *Mary* the elder to the Lord *Falconbridge*: the Nuptials for them both being kept with much feſtivity and ſplendor, both at *White-hall* and *Hampton-Court*, and the Ladies are ſo vertuous they deſerved a better Father.

1658.

The Protector's Inſtalment.

The Protector's eldeſt Son Inſtalled Chancellour of *Oxford*.

His ſecond Son created Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

His youngeſt Daughter Married to Mr. *Rob. Rich*.

His Eldeſt to the L. *Falconbridge*.

Scarce was the Mirth of theſe Solemnities over, when, to allay the Triumphs for the ſeveral ſucceſſes of the Engliſh in *Flanders*, there arrived the News of the loſs of Sir *John Reynolds*, General of the Forces in thoſe Parts, who with Colonel *White*, and ſome others, imbarquing for *England*, by the way of *Goodwin*-Sands, in a ſmall Veſſel, at a tempeſtuous Seaſon, contrary to the perſwaſions of many [It is unſafe to venture againſt ill Preſages] was caſt away with his whole Company. But here was ſomething more than ordinary in this haſty coming over of *Reynolds* and *White*, both ſeeming to prevent the arrival of each other; for whether *Reynolds* was ſent for by *Cromwel*, or ſuſpected the intention of *White* to be ſome Impeachment againſt him; his buſineſs probably was to defend himſelf, in reference to an imputation of holding Correſpondence with the Royalty, becauſe he was prevailed with by the Duke of *York*,

Sir *John Reynolds* and his Company caſt away upon *Goodwin*-Sands.

1658. York, who always loved ſtout Men, to give him a Meeting between *Dunkirk* and *Mardike*, at which Parley, *Reynolds* was indeed not backward to render his Highneſs thoſe Honours and Civilities which were due to a perſon of his Illuſtrious Quality. Not many Months before, there died at Sea, as he was entring into the Sound of *Plymouth*, that valiant and expert Sea-man General *Robert Blake*, not long ſurviving his notable Exploit at *Santa Cruz*; the beſt Elogium that can be given of him, is the true rehearſal of his Actions; than which, ſaving that it was his misfortune to ſerve an illegal Power, never were any performed at Sea more conducing to the Glory of our Engliſh Nation. Alſo Vice-Admiral *Badily* ended his Life on Land, whither he was come for the recovery of his Health. And at *Jamaica* there died Lieutenant General *Brain*, Commander in Chief of the Forces there.

The death of Gen. Blake, Vice Admiral Badily, and Lieut. General Brain.

Col. *Sexby* dies in the Tower.

Colonel *Sexby*, one that was a Priſoner in the *Tower*, upon ſome deſign againſt *Cromwell*, on a Common-wealth account, died about this time, and his death was not without ſuſpicion of Poyſon: he was a virulent Enemy to the late King, and all the Royal Line, and ſuſpected to have acted the horrid Murder on him, by cutting off his Head, or aſſiſting therein with a Vizor, for upon that action he was promoted from a private Trooper to the Command of a Regiment.

The return of Cromwel's Convention after their Adjournment, with the Addition of the Other Houſe.

The laſt Convention having adjourned on the 26*th* of *June*, met again on the 20*th* of *January* following; and in this Seſſion, which differed from the other, as much as one diſtinct Parliament could poſſibly have done from another, two very obſervable things are to be taken notice of, which gave more diſturbance to *Cromwell's* Ambition and Safety, than he with all his Policy and foreſight was aware of. The firſt was the admiſſion of thoſe Members which in the laſt Seſſion were kept out with a high hand, whom ſince the Injuſtice of the act did not reſtrain from excluding the time before, the conſideration of his Intereſt urged him now no leſs, but rather the more to have excluded them this time alſo; but he was obliged to the contrary by his Friends (if at leaſt they were his Friends) of the laſt Convention, who made it one of their Articles in their *Humble Petition and Advice*, That *thoſe perſons who are legally choſen by a Free Election of the People to ſerve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their Duties; but by conſent of that Houſe whereof they are Members.* The other was the erecting of a new Convocation, intended (in imitation of the Old Conſtitution) for a Houſe of Lords, but they would not venture at firſt to call it by any other name than that of the *Other Houſe*: It conſiſted partly of ſuch as he took for his eſpecial Favourites, Officers of the Army and others, many of which were pickt out of the Houſe of Commons to be conſtellated in the *Other Houſe*, partly of ſeveral of the late excluded Common-wealth-men, and ſuch like wiſe of the Army whom he thought hereby to draw off to his own Party, and about half a ſcore of the old Nobility were nominated, but refuſed to come. Now in this Contrivance of his, whatever his expectation of it was, he found himſelf very much deceived, ſince by this ſtrong inundation of the late excluded, and the tranſlation of ſeveral of his Friends of the Commons into his *Other Houſe*, his intereſt there was ſo weakened, that his tranſlating alſo of a few of his Opponents (if he thought to make a counterpoiſe that way) availed him little; for Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and the reſt of the Sticklers, both diſdaining to accept of *Cromwel's* offered Baronage, and that by the addition of their own preſence they might ſtrengthen their own Party the more, took their places in the Houſe of Commons, by which means the Common-wealth-faction grew ſo potent, and flew ſo high, that the *Other Houſe* was not ſo much as taken notice of, except in way of deriſion and contempt; ſo far were they from being concurred with, or owned in any of their Meſſages. Moreover, they began to call in queſtion what was done in the laſt Seſſion, as being invalid without their aſſent: ſo that the *Humble Petition and Advice*, which but lately made ſuch a noiſe, was like in a moment to come to nothing. This ſo incenſed the Protector, that in a great heat and paſſion he goes from his Council, and notwithſtanding the earneſt diſſwaſion of ſome of the chief of them, takes a Hackney-Coach for haſte, and being come into his *Other* (or Lords) Houſe, ſends for the Houſe of Commons up to him, and for a Preamble to their Diſſolution, ſtanding under a Canopy of State, unfolds his Mind to them in this following Speech, which we have thought remarkable enough to ſet down at large, in regard it plainly diſcovers (as averſe as he ſeemed from accepting the Kingly Title) his ſtrange perturbation of ſpirit, and how nettled to the quick he was to ſee himſelf croſt and curbed in the tendency and progreſs he made thereunto, though by ways a little fetcht about, and under the ſhew of ſettlement and flouriſhing Eſtate of the Nation.

The Humble Petition and Advice.

1658.

The Commons diſown the *Other Houſe*, and begin to queſtion the Government.

Cromwel diſſolves them.

Oliver's Speech at the Diſſolution of his laſt Parliament.

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the Meeting of the Parliament a Bleſſing; and the Lord be my Witneſs, I deſire the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to theſe Ends. The Bleſſing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was Mercy, Truth, Righteouſneſs, and Peace, which I deſire may be improved.

That which brought me into the Capacity I now ſtand in, was the Petition and Advice given me by you, who, in reference to the Ancient Conſtitution, did draw me to accept of the Place of Protector. There is not a Man living can ſay I ſought it, no not a Man nor Woman treading upon Engliſh Ground; but I contemplating the ſad Condition of theſe Nations, relieved from an Iriſhine War into a ſix or ſeven years Peace, I did think the Nations happy therein. But to be Petitioned thereunto, and adviſed by you to undertake ſuch a Government, a Burden too heavy for any Creature, and this to be done by the Houſe, that had the Legiſlative Capacity, I did look that the ſame Men that made the Frame, ſhould make it good unto me: I can ſay in the preſence of God, in compariſon of whom we are but like poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my Wood-ſide, to have kept a flock of Sheep, rather than undertook ſuch a place of Government as this is; but undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of You, I did look that you that had offered it unto me, ſhould make it good.

1657. *I did tell you at a Conference concerning it, That I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other persons that might interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the Power to prevent tumultuary and popular Spirits; and it was granted I should name any other House; and I named it of men that shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you, and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Party that they value, but a Christian and an English Interest, men of your own Rank and Quality, who will not only be a Ballance unto you, but to themselves, while you love* England *and Religion.*

Having proceeded upon these Terms, and finding such a Spirit as is too much predominant, every thing being too high or too low, when Vertue, Honesty, Piety, and Justice are omitted: I thought I had been doing that which was my Duty, and thought it would have satisfied you; but if every thing must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied. Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just Accord between the Governour and the Governed, unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliaments Petition and Advice *advised me unto; upon that I took one Oath, and they took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine; And did not every one know upon what condition they Swore? God knows, I took it upon Condition expressed in the Government: and I did think we had been upon a Foundation, and upon a Bottom, and therefore I thought my self bound to take it, and to be advised by the Two Houses of Parliament. We standing unsettled till we were arrived at that: the Consequences should necessarily have been Confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there are not constituted Hereditary Lords, nor Hereditary Kings; the Power consisting in the Two Houses and my Self: I do not say, that the meaning of your Oath was to you that were to go against my own Principles, to enter upon another Man's Conscience; God will judge between Me and You: If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this Basis, and have offered your Judgment and Opinion.*

God is my Witness, I speak it, it is evident to all the World, and people living, that a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this Actual Settlement by your Consent; I cannot speak to these Gentlemen as Lords (pointing to his right hand) *whatsoever you will call them, I speak not this to them, but to you; you advised me to run into this Place, to be in a Capacity by your Advice; yet instead of owning a thing taken for granted, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disowned your Selves, but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more Confusion in this fifteen or sixteen days that you have sate, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day, through the Intention of devising a* Common-wealth *again, that some of the People might be the Men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing: And hath that Man been true to this Nation, whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? These designs have been upon the Army, to break and divide us: I speak this in the presence of some of the Army, that these things have not been according to God, nor according to Truth* (pretend what you will.) *These things tend to nothing else but the playing of the King of* Scots *his Game, if I may so call him; and I think my self bound before God to do what I mean to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banquetting-House was true, That there were preparations of Force to invade us; God is my Witness, it hath been confirmed to me since within a day, that the King of* Scots *hath an Army on the Water-side ready to be Shipped for* England; *I have it from those who have been Eye-witnesses of it; and while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the People of this Town into a Tumulting, what if I said into a Rebellion? and I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me; it hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the Question about a* Common-wealth, *but some of you have been listing of persons by Commission from* Charles Stuart, *to join with any Insurrection that may be made: And what is like to come upon this (the Enemy being ready to invade us) but even present Blood and Confusion. And if this be so, as I do assign to this Cause, your not assenting to what you did invite me to by the* Petition *and* Advice, *to that which might be the settlement of the Nation; and if this be the end of your sitting, and these be your Carriages, I think it high time that an end be put unto your sitting. And I do declare to you, I do dissolve this Parliament: And let God judge between Me and You.* At which many of the Commons cried, *Amen.* And so the Parliament were Dissolved.

Thus was he driven from one Inconvenience to another, from the Inconvenience of a Parliament that crost him, to the Inconvenience of no Parliament at all, whereby he was much streightned for want of those supplies of Money which he expected.

Towards the latter end of this year died the Protector's Son-in-law Mr. *Robert Rich*, and was but little above two Months survived by his Grandfather the Earl of *Warwick* himself.

1658. The following year, 1658. begins with the News of a Victory at *Jamaica* (which came by an Express from the Governour on the 8th of *April*) obtained by a Party of the English there, commanded by Major *Richard Stevens*, against 500 *Spaniards*, who, under *Don Christopher Arnalda Sasser*, having lately landed in that Island, and begun to fortifie themselves at a place called St. *Anne*, were fiercely set upon by the English, and forced to flie into the Woods and Mountains; and another Body of *Spaniards*, consisting of 300, who had fortified themselves at *Chanerie*, in the North of the Island, were by the Governour himself, Colonel *Doiley*, driven quite out of their Hold, *Don Francisco de Prencia*, the *Maestro del Campo*, with others taken, many kill'd, and the rest utterly dispers'd.

The *Spaniards* dispersed by the *English* in *Jamaica*.

Cromwel had no sooner freed himself of the danger threatned him from his Parliament, but he is presently alarm'd again by his old enemy the Royalist, whom yet he had still the Fortune to prevent by his Intelligence; however, he took all Advantages to provide still more and more for his

The Attempts of the Royal Party in behalf of His Majesty betrayed and discovered to the Protector.

1658. his Security, by making the most of all Plots and Designs whatsoever; and to this purpose he sends in all haste for the Lord Mayor (*Ireton* was then the man) and Aldermen of the City, acquaints them with what he had discovered of the busie Actings against the Peace of the Common-wealth, aggravates the danger, recommends to them the settling of the Militia in trusty hands, causeth the Guards to be doubled, and strict Watch to be kept in all parts of the City, when as most of the principal suspected persons were already secured, as Sir *William Compton*, Brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, Sir *William Clayton*, Mr. *John Russel*, Brother to the Earl of *Bedford*, and many more, the whole design being beforehand betrayed, by a Person formerly mentioned upon the same Account, and one *Corcar*, a Minister of *Bourn* in *Sussex*, and such others as had been long employed by *Cromwel* for the same purpose; the Marquess of *Ormond*, who indeed was the chief manager of this intended general Rising for his Majesties service throughout the whole Nation, and had to that end remain'd for a good while concealed in *England*, being narrowly watch'd and search'd for; but he happily obtained an opportunity (by the help of one Doctor *Quaterman*) of shipping himself away at a Port Town in *Sussex*. Among those that had been formerly imprisoned, were Doctor *Hewet*, Minister of St. *Gregories*, and Sir *Henry Slingbey*; which last had been a Prisoner ever since the Rising in the *West*; yet being a person who was known to bear no good will to the present Power, he is charged with an Intention of delivering up *Hull*, meerly upon the expressing of his Consent thereunto, to some that were sent to make the motion to him, and sift out his mind with purpose to betray him; and these were Major *Waterhouse*, Captain *Overton*, and Lieutenant *Thomson*; and the Doctor seems to have been no less hardly dealt with, considering what things were laid to his Charge; which had they been true, would certainly never had been so utterly denied at the very moment of his Death, by a man of his known Honesty and Integrity. The rest that were taken afterwards were, Mr. *John Mordant*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, Mr. *Manley*, a Merchant, Mr. *Hartgil Baron*, Mr. *Stapeley*, Mr. *Maunsel*, Mr. *Woodcock*, Mr. *Carrent*, Mr. *Jackson* and Captain *Mallory*, of whom Mr. *Mordant*, *Woodcock*, *Carrent*, and divers others were tried at a *High Court of Justice*, which on the twenty fifth of *May* was set up under the President-ship of Commissioner *Liste*. All hitherto mentioned, except Sir *Henry Slingsbey* and Doctor *Hewet*, having the good hap to come off with life: Sir *Henry* and the Doctor were the first brought to Tryal, and both of them sentenced to die as Traytors: The first, upon the bare Testimony of those three men which had so treacherously circumvented him, which in vain he pleaded; as also the impossibility, a Prisoner, as he was, of performing what he was charged with. The other as a Mute, disowning the Courts Authority, and thereupon denying to plead. The next was Mr. *Mordant*, who also at first disavowed the Courts Authority, but was at length prevailed with to plead, and in the end acquitted only by one voice. In that fortunate interim, while Colonel *Pride* by reason of a Fit of the Stone wherewith he was troubled, had withdrawd himself from the Court, and staid somewhat longer than he intended; the other two being so far favoured, as to have their Sentence mitigated, were on the eighth of *June* beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. The next that were tryed were Mr. *Thomas Woodcock*, Captain *Henry Mallory* and Sir *Humphrey Bennet*: The first made so handsome and discreet a defence for himself, that they could fasten no Accusation upon him, and so were forced to acquit him. Captain *Henry Mallory* (tho' scandaliz'd by some malicious persons) behav'd himself with Resolution and Loyalty, and was condemn'd, but not put to Death. Of the rest that had to do with this High Court, *William Carrent* was acquitted: Colonel *Edward Ashton* and *John Barrely*, the first in *Tower-Street*, the other in *Cheapside*, were hanged and quartered on the seventh of *July*; the same day *Henry Fryer*, ready to have been executed in *Smithfield*, and two days after *John Summer* in *Bishopsgate-street*, and *Oliver Allen* in *Grace-Church-street*, had their Reprives brought them. The same day the two last were Reprived, *Edmund Stacy*, his Sentence remitted, was hanged near the *Royal Exchange*. In the mean time, *Manley*, *Baron*, and *Maunsel* aforementioned, with two others, namely, *Edmund Seymour*, and *Guy Carlton*, having made their escape, were at the *Upper-Bench* (as it was then called) Indicted of High Treason, though absent, and out-lawed.

1658.

Sir *Henry Slingsbey* and Dr. *Hewet* beheaded.

Colonel *Ashton* and others excuted.

The Marquess of *Ormond* makes his escape.

Dr. *Hewet* and Sir *H. Slingsby* committed to prison.

Sir *Henry Slingsbey*, Dr. *Hewet*, Mr. *Mordant*, and others tryed before a *High Court of Justice*.

In *Flanders* Successes came on with a swift Career: presently after the taking of *Mardike*-Fort, *Dunkirk* was straightly begirt by the joynt Forces of the French and English, the French commanded by the Marshall of *Turenne*, the English by the Lord *Lockart*, Ambassadour from the Protector to the French King, who was constituted General in the room of Sir *John Reynolds* deceased. The Relief of this so important a place (it being the chief Sea Port, and, as it were, the Key of all *Flanders*) the *Spaniards* resolved to Assay, though with the hazard of a pitch'd Field; and to that purpose they assembled together all the Force they could make, amounting to about seven thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, Commanded by *Don John* himself in person, together with the Duke of *York*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marquess of *Caracene*; and drawn down from *Fuernes* Fort, were engaged by the Marshall of *Turenne*, and the Count of *Schomberg* joyning with *Lockhart* and his English Forces, who making their way (a good part of them) up a Sand-Hill against the whole Power of the *Spaniards*, were the main Instruments in gaining a clear and eminent Victory over the Spanish Army, most of the Infantry being either slain or taken; and among the taken were divers Officers of the Spanish Nobility, and Persons of high Quality, seventeen Colours, six great Guns, with the whole Baggage of the Field; the Prince of *Conde* was unhorsed in the Fight, and Mounted again by his Cousin *Bouteville*, who was thereby taken Prisoner in the Princes stead. There were slain of the English Captain *Sherwin*, and another Captain, five Lieutenants and two Ensigns, with eighty Common Soldiers, besides three hundred wounded, and some mortally, among whom, Lieutenant Colonel *Roger Fenwick*,

The Siege of *Dunkirk*.

The Spanish Army vanquish'd near *Fuernes* Fort by the French & English

1658. who was reported a ſtout man, and his loſs much bewailed: A day or two before this Battel, the Marſhal of *Hocquincourt* (who had cauſed the important Town of *Heſdin* to revolt from the French to the Spaniard) was ſlain as he went out Picquering upon a Party. No ſooner was this Battle ended, but the French and Engliſh returned again afreſh to the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which the Marqueſs of *Leda* Governor thereof (who had been formerly ſent Embaſſador to the Protector) ſeeing now more ſtraightly than ever inviron'd both by Land and Sea, whereby it was reduced to great extremities; he reſolute to defend the Town, made a bold Sally forth, in which he received his mortal Wound: the Governours death, and the terror of the Granadoes ſhot into the Town wrought ſo upon the beſieged, that they were ſpeedily brought to Articles of Surrender, and on the 25*th* of *June*, marched out with Colours flying, ſo that the King of *France* in Perſon, accompanied with the Cardinal *Mazzarine*, took poſſeſſion of the place, and immediately reſigned it up into the hands of General *Lochart* in behalf of the Lord Protector, and the *Engliſh*.

The Marſhal of Hocquincourt ſlain.

The Marqueſs of Leda Governor of Dunkirk ſlain in a Sally.

Dunkirk ſurrendred to the French and reſigned into the hands of the Engliſh.

The ſixth of *Auguſt*, *Elizabeth* the Protectors ſecond Daughter died at *Hampton-Court* of an Impoſthume in ſome of the inward parts, which afflicted him very much, becauſe he loved her above all his Children; and that ſorrow was increaſed by the length of her Sickneſs, and the grievous torments ſhe endured: A little before ſhe expired (which was in much pain) the Delirium of her Sickneſs prompted her to utter many things, (which though formerly ſhe thought ſhe yet durſt not expreſs) againſt the Injuſtice of many of her Fathers Actions. She was married to one *Claypole*, the Son of a private Gentleman of *Lincolnſhire*; of a moderate Fortune; but ſhe could not be confined to it being of a Spirit as high as if ſhe had been born to that Greatneſs to which her Fathers Ambition had advanced her. She was of a very generous and obliging Diſpoſition, and very much troubled at her Fathers Auſterity, and oppreſſion of the Royal Party, to ſeveral of whom ſhe did many good Offices. The Grief which the Protector had contracted for her death, was very much augmented by his trouble to diſcern, that the Diſcontents ſprung up amongſt many of the inferiour Officers of the Army, were fomented by *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*; the firſt of whom married his Daughter and the other his Siſter, who with *Berry* and *Cooper* Colonels, and *Sydenham* and *Pickering*, two of the Privy-Counſellors were in a Confederacy againſt the preſent Government in favour of a Common-wealth. And a while after he fell ſick himſelf of a *Tertian* Feaver, which at firſt ſeemed not to ſignifie much danger, but by degrees it grew upon him: yet his imagination was ſo far tranſported with enthuſiaſtick ravings, that inſenſible of his own danger, he affirmed That GOD had reſerved him to greater Attempts than ever yet had been performed by him; and that he was aſſured he ſhould not die of this Sickneſs. In which Extaſie he was much heightned by *Goodwin* one of his Chaplains, who openly declared, *GOD had heard the Prayers of his Servants for him and given him his Life*; and therefore he perſwaded ſome of his Friends to keep a kind of private Thankſgiving beforehand for his undoubted recovery. This Confidence amuſed his Phyſicians ſo much, that they were leſs regardful of his Condition. But nevertheleſs it was adviſed, he ſhould be brought to *White-Hall*, where with more conveniency than at *Hampton-Court*, a reſpect might be had to his Health, and the Publick Affairs of the Nation; where he had not been many days, e're it viſibly appeared he had but a few more to live. He had ſometime before his Sickneſs appointed a *Junto*, or Committee of *Nine*, with whom he privately conſulted in the moſt urgent Affairs of the Government. Theſe were *Fleetwood*, *Fiennes*, *Desborow*, *Whaley*, *Thurloe*, *Laurence*, *Berry*, *Cooper and Goffe*, which were mixed of both Factions; that is, of that of a Single Perſon, and that of a Commonwealth, that he might diſpleaſe neither, and that he might by that Confidence divert the latter from deſigns upon his Power. 1658.

The death of Mrs. Elizabeth Claypole, Cromwel's ſecond Daughter.

Her Charity.

Cromwel falls ſick at Hampton Court.

He is removed from thence to White-hall.

Upon *Tueſday* the 31*th* of *Auguſt*, finding himſelf in danger, he commanded his Servants and all other Perſons except Mr. *Thurloe*, and Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, out of the Room, and declared to them, *That in regard he found his Sickneſs and Weakneſs encreaſing, he was reſolved to declare his Succeſſor, according to the Power given him by the* * *late* Petition and Advice; *And therefore he deſired them to take notice, that he Named and declared his Son to Succeed him accordingly.* They asked him which Son: He replyed, *My Son* Richard, *My Eldeſt Son*. Immediately thereupon there came ſome Perſons into the Room, whereby it happened that nothing further was ſaid at that preſent. But * Mr. *Thurloe* and Dr. *Goodwin* immediately conferring together, did conceive that the buſineſs was too great and weighty for them alone to bear the Burthen of the Atteſtation of it; and therefore reſolved to take the firſt opportunity they could to move him again therein, and to deſire him for that Reaſon to call ſome others, to whom he might communicate his mind in that matter: But in Regard that Relations and others (who perhaps would take it ill to be put out of the Room) were conſtantly there, they could not all that day, nor the next gain any opportunity.

The Tranſactions between him and thoſe about him concerning the naming of his Succeſſor.

* *A Syſteme of Government made in the pretended Parliament Anno Dom.* 1654.

* *Cromwell's Secretary of State.*

But on *Thurſday*, perceiving his Diſtemper very much to increaſe, and hourly gain upon him, They reſolved not to defer it longer, and thereupon they asked him, *Whether he remembred what he had ſaid unto them the* Tueſday *before*? Which he ſaid he did. They asked him *whether he continued in the ſame mind or not, touching the Succeſſion of his Son* Richard? He anſwered, *That he did*. They then told him, it would be requiſite he ſhould communicate his pleaſure to ſome others, and that the *Declaration* of the Buſineſs was of too great Concernment and Conſequence for them alone to undertake, if there ſhould be Oppoſition, and therefore deſired him to ſend forthwith for ſome others. He asked them for whom he ſhould ſend? They replyed, whom he pleaſed. Then ſend, ſaid he, for the Committee,

1659. mittee of Nine: whereupon they ſent a Meſſenger forthwith to haſten them thither, of whom three came immediately, *Fiennes*, *Whaley*, and *Goffe*; and theſe five that were then preſent, perceiving him ſtill to decline, went to the Bed-ſide, and one of them asked him touching what he had declared to Dr. *Goodwin* and Mr. *Thurloe*; he thereupon ſaid again, *That he would have his Son, his Son* Richard *to ſucceed him:* and ſo without any more Diſcourſe they withdrew from the Bed, and left him to his reſt: But within few Minutes came in *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, upon the Summons that had been ſent them; to whom the aforeſaid five declared what had paſſed, and offered ſomewhat faintly to move *Oliver* to the Declaration of his mind again, which they as faintly refuſed; but were not much urged to it, they having at their firſt coming declared themſelves ſatisfied with the Atteſtation of five perſons, ſo well known and eſteemed of them.

Cromwel having poſitively declared his eldeſt Son *Richard* his ſucceſſor, gives up the Ghoſt.

Upon *Friday* (the third of *September*, the ſame memorable day of the Year, that in 1650 he overcame the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, and the year following at *Worceſter*) at three of the Clock in the afternoon he departed this Life.

Thus after ſo many hazards in the Field, ſo many Ambuſhes ſaid to have been laid againſt him at home, notwithſtanding the multitude of Enemies, that from all Parties and intereſts whom his violent purſuit of Greatneſs had exaſperated, conſpired againſt his ſafety; contrary to the real belief of many men, the ill-bodings of ſome, and the earneſt wiſhes of others, he died not of a violent, but in his Bed a natural Death. The day of his death was uſhered in by a Night as tempeſtuous as had been ſeen in this Age, as if the Elements had been in Combuſtion at the flight of a Spirit, which had made ſo great a Conceſſion in the Affairs of the World.

Cromwel's Deſcent and Character.

He was born in the Town of *Huntington*, and was the Son of a Second Brother of Sir *Oliver Cromwel* and *Huntingtonſhire*, a perſon of eminent Note in the late Kings time; his Mother was the Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward* of the *Iſle of Ely*, and his Wife *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Sir *James Rouſhier*, by whom he had three Sons (whereof one died young) and four Daughters.

His Family is ſaid to have originally derived the name of *Cromwel* from that great *Cromwel*, who was *Henry* the Eighth's Vicar-General over the Spiritualities; their Lineal Deſcent was from one *Williams* of *Glamorganſhire*, who living contemporary with this Lord *Cromwel*, and marrying his Daughter, in gratitude for the Favours he had done him, took his Name upon him, and tranſferred it to his own Poſterity. As for his Qualities, there is no doubt, though his Diſſimulation, his Ambition, and his many other Vices obſcured what was praiſe-worthy in him; yet there was ſomething of Generoſity in his Nature, as may be exemplified, in the particular care and regard he had for the Relations of ſome that had ſerved him faithfully, and died in his Service; which one that writ his Life, parallels with the Gratitude of the fore-mentioned Lord *Thomas Cromwel*, toward *Seignior Friſcobald* an Italian Merchant, from whom he had received Civilities.

By his Reputation in Arms, he was courted or feared by moſt of the Princes in *Europe*, and the King of *France* and *Sweden* were entred into ſo ſtrict a League with him, as might have troubled the whole World; but Cardinal *Mazarine*, the Chief Miniſter of *France*, held moſt ſecret Intelligence and Friendſhip with him. He was a man of ſingular Courage and Reſolution, and that attended with a moſt proſperous ſtream of Fortune, which is not always the concomitant of Valour. He kept the Armies under him in ſo exact Diſcipline, that they rather ſeemed a Body of well governed Citizens than Soldiers: Swearing, Profaneneſs, Drunkenneſs, Murder, Rapine, Uncleanneſs, the common Vices of their Soldiers, were not to be found amongſt his. His Ambition and deſire of Glory, excited him to make Attempts alſo in other Countreys, in purſuance thereof, whereby a great Renown accrued to our Nation in all parts of the World, And had he not employed that Policy and Sagacity of Parts, which muſt be confeſſed to have been in him, to evil Ends, and by unheard of Impieties traiterouſly aſpired unto that higheſt pitch of Honour which belonged not to him, uſurping his Majeſties Government, he might have been worthy of eminent Place and Dignity in it.

An hour after his death, there met together thoſe of the Privy Council then in Town, that had been the moſt zealous Promoters of the Petition and Advice, and beſt affected to that Government. Theſe were made acquainted by *Thurloe*, with what paſſed on *Tueſday* and *Thurſday*; and alſo, that *Oliver* had ſubſcribed a Paper long before his Death, touching the Succeſſion, wherein *Fleetwood* was declared Succeſſor; and that this Paper having been laid in a Cabinet, known only to *Oliver* and his Wife, and no perſon more (as we thought) was ſearched for, but could not be found.

Oliver's Will concerning his Succeſſor imparted to the Council and Chief Officers.

They then agreed to ſend two of their Number to *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, and to know of them unfeignedly, whether they acquieſced in the Declaration that *Oliver* had made, touching the Succeſſion of his Son: acquainting them, that they knew there had been a Paper ſubſcribed by *Oliver* in his life-time, to the effect aforeſaid: and therefore requeſted to know of them, whether if hereafter any ſuch a Paper ſhould be found or produced, they would notwithſtanding ſubmit to the laſt Will and Parol Declaration of *Oliver*? Whereto *Fleetwood* replied, and promiſed, as in the preſence of God, That if any ſuch Paper then were, or ſhould thenceforth be found or produced, yet he would not inſiſt thereupon, foraſmuch as he cordially acquieſced, as he ſaid, in the ſucceſſion of *Richard*. And thereupon, a Council was forthwith ſummoned, where *Fiennes* and *Thurloe*, gave an Account of *Oliver*'s Appointment of his Succeſſor: and *Goodwin*, *Whaley* and *Goffe* were called in, and atteſted the ſame upon their Oaths. And being withdrawn, the Council unanimouſly declared their Satisfaction; *Desborow* having firſt ſtood up, and adjured them all in the name of the Living God, that if any diſſatisfaction remained upon their Spirits, they would freely declare it; as he profeſſed he would have done, had any doubt remained with him. This paſſed; the Preſident and whole Council

They all conſent to the Election of *Richard*.

1659.

Richard Cromwel proclaimed Protector by the City and chief Officers of the Army.

went at once to congratulate *Richard*, and condole his Fathers Death.

After the Congratulation, *Strickland*, *Skippon*, and some others of the Council were sent to the City, who appeared very well satisfied with what was done; and the next Morning a Proclamation was divulged, subscribed by *Chiverton* Lord Mayor of *London*, and as many of the Chief Officers of the Army, and Counsellours of State as could begot together; wherein *Richard Cromwel* was at *White-Hall*, *Charing-Cross*, and several other publick places in *London*, proclaimed Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. About four a Clock in the Afternoon, after the Proclamation, the Lord Mayor presented his Sword to him which he presently returned; and after some Ceremonies passed (the Council, and many Officers of State, and of the Army being present) *Nathaniel Fiennes*, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England* administred an Oath to him in these words:

The Oath administred to him by *Fiennes*.

I Do in the presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same. And that to the utmost of my Power, I will endeavour, as Chief Magistrate of these Nations, the maintenance and preservation of the Peace and Safety of the Just Rights and Priviledges of the People thereof. And that in all things, according to my best Knowledge and Power, I will Govern the People, of these Nations according to Law.

Thus far matters succeeded well: his Brother *Henry Cromwel* was chief Governour of *Ireland*, and a Gentleman was sent to acquaint him with the present posture of Affairs. Of *Scotland* they had some doubt; but to endeavour to rectifie all things there, *Richard* sent that Evening to Mr. *Thomas Clarges* (Brother-in-law to General *Monk*) to prevail with him, to go immediately into *Scotland*, with his Letters to *Monk*, to know how he stood affected to his Advancement. This *Clarges* was pitched upon as one who had great Interest in the General, and had been lately chosen by his procurement, upon the death of one *Rowe*, to be Agent for the Armies and Council of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, an Employment of good Value, whereby he became interessed in the knowledge and Affections of the Officers of all the Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; for the Regiments of that of *Scotland*, especially of the Horse, were often changed, whereas the Irish Army continue still unchanged. And although at first his having been in the late Kings Service at *Oxford* made them at *White-Hall* unwilling to employ him, yet he was esteemed of a moderate Behaviour, and had so demeaned himself in the pretended Parliament in the Year 1656. by his actings against the Kingship of *Cromwell*, that they would not then disoblige him, lest it should seem to be for that Reason. Besides, all of the contrary faction (of which were the chief of the Army) professed a great esteem of him, not so much in respect of himself, but because it was believed *Monk* engaged him in those Councils; and the opinion of that contributed more than any thing to divert *Oliver* from accepting the Crown. *Clarges* willingly accepted of this occasion to go to General *Monk*, to be able to inform himself particularly of his inclinations: For, although he had a Relation to him by Marriage, the Generals so far distant Residence, gave him little opportunity of other converse with him than by Letters. The City of *London*, and the generality of the people in *England* (having been wearied and tired with the miseries of War, and their Spirits subdued by the Oppressions and Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwel*) seemed outwardly to comply with the necessity of the Time, and submit to an approbation of that they could not remedy. But subtile Contrivances, congratulatory Addresses in all, or most Cities and Counties were framed, subscribed, and presented to him. In *Scotland*, by private advice to some of the Officers of the Army, things were so prepared, that when Mr. *Clarges* came thither, he found them all prepossessed, and doubting one the other; they liked, or seemed not to dislike all that was done at *London*: But the General himself and he had many secret Conferences, and the General then declared himself weary of the uncertain Condition, wherein he found both himself and the Nation inthrall'd by the over-ruling Tyranny of the Soldiers, (who made themselves a divided Interest from the rest of the people) so that they consulted of a Paper to be drawn up, and to be presented to the new Protector, the Heads whereof were to advise him to suppress the division in the Church, by countenancing a sober and Orthodox Ministry; to permit no Councils of Officers; And to model and put the Army into the hands of the * qualified Nobility and Gentry of the Nations, as such whom the people might best trust. From this Conference which was managed by both, with much reservedness, *Clarges* began to perceive the General was in his Principles well fixed to restore his Country to its ancient Government, when ever a fit occasion should present it self for the Attempt. With this Paper, and a Letter of approbation of the choice of the Protector, *Clarges* returned to *London* to him. The Letter he delivered publickly, but the Paper was privately communicated, and well liked of by him: and the prosecution of the Advice thereof in his Attempts to model the Armies, was the main cause of all the Divisions which hapned in them, and the happy Consequences thereof.

1659.

Addresses to the young Protector from all parts of the Nation

The Army of *Scotland* submits to what was done in *England*.

* Such as never had been against the Parliament, to prevent the jealousie of the action.

Mr. *Tho. Clarges* made choice of to be sent into *Scotland* to acquaint G. *Monk* with *Richard's* Advancement.

Mr. *Clarges* returns from *Scotland* to the Protector.

Addresses to the young Protector from all the Regiments of the Army both in *England*, and other Parts.

By the same Arts, as those from the Cities and Counties in *England*, Addresses were promoted, and subscribed by all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. *Lockhart* Governour of *Dunkirk*, who had married his Cousin-Germane, was as forward as any to promote Addresses, both from that Garrison and the rest of the English under Major General *Morgan*, who were yet in the French Army. Commanded by Marshal *Turenne*, and had gained a great fame and reputation to their Country, by many signal Services in that Compagne; for by their valour chiefly

1659. chiefly, a great Victory had been obtain'd, as before mention'd, over the Spaniſh Army near *Dunkirk*, which was followed by the taking of that Town, and the Fort of *Mardike*, and the Towns and Forts of *Bergen*, *Dixmude*, *Ferne*, *Oudenard*, *Mervin*, *Gravelin* and *Ypre*; which laſt place, taken about the beginning of *October*, Old Style, was the firſt Military Succeſs that the Engliſh had abroad under *Richard*'s Government. Marſhal *Turenne* had not hopes ſo late in the year, to gain a place ſo conſiderable; but having beaten a Party of Five thouſand Men under the Prince of *Ligne* that was ſent to joyn with ſome other Forces, and to viſit that Garriſon in their March, he ſuppoſed that the Town miſſing the ſuccor they expected, might quickly be ſurrender'd; they were in it about 2500 old Souldiers, beſides whom, all the Townſmen aſſiſted that were able to bear Arms, being in all about 4000; and it was taken in a fortnight Siege. After the Army had been two or three days before it, *Turenne* ſent for Major General *Morgan*, who commanded the Engliſh, to order him to keep double Guards, for that he had certain Intelligence that the Prince of *Conde* intended, with all the force he could get together, to put relief into the place. *Morgan* informed him, his Men were ſo expoſed, that he commonly loſt five or ſix every time they mounted the Guards, and therefore he propoſed, that rather than weary them out with ſo much continual duty, the Town might be aſſaulted. *Turenne*, who was a wary Captain, was unwilling to hazard the reputation of that Army which had been victorious by many proſperous ſucceſſes that Summer, and therefore at firſt rejected the Advice; but *Morgan* preſſing more upon him, and offering himſelf with 600 Engliſh to go on upon the ſtrongeſt part of the Town, he at laſt conſented. He was ſeconded by two Serjeant Majors, who each of them commanded 600 *French*, and were to attaque two other places, at the ſame time that *Morgan* made his Aſſault; but he with his Engliſh entred and gained moſt of the out-works, and turned the Cannon of the beſieged upon the Town, before his French Succours came in; and immediately after, the Town was ſurrendred upon eaſie Terms; the Prince of *Ligne*, *Barbancon* and *Arembeg* Marched out with the Garriſon. *Turenne* imbraced *Morgan* after this ſervice; and, though he had long before eſteemed him a very expert and valiant Captain, he ever after valued him as one of the braveſt Commanders of his time, and in the Report of this Action to the moſt Chriſtian King, he attributed the merit of it wholly to him; which occaſioned an Invitation of *Morgan* to *Paris*, where it was intimated to him, a good Preſent of Plate was providing to gratifie his Services; but he whoſe modeſty made him ever prefer the vertue of generous Actions, before the Reward of them, choſe rather to return into *England*, to his Family and Relations, after his long and hazardous abſence.

The taking of *Ypre* by the Engliſh under M. G. *Morgan*.

The young Protector not ſo great a well-wiſher to His Majeſties cauſe as was believed.

Some were willing to believe the new Protector had a good affection towards His Majeſty, and would uſe his power to his advantage, as ſoon as he ſhould be confirmed in it, and had the Army in his abſolute obedience, to which they were induced by the obſervation of his former deportment; for in his private Conditions he demeaned himſelf with civility and reſpect to the Gentlemen of the Countrey where he lived, and was always ready to do Offices of kindneſs to perſons in diſtreſs, apparently diſliking of the ſeverity of his Father, and not averſe to overtures for his Majeſties Reſtitution; but it was afterwards evident, that he did but formalize in the doubtful time of his Authority; for when he ſaw himſelf owned and acknowledged by the Army and People, he was very much reſerved to all that wiſhed well to his Majeſty, and either really declined his Service, or had not vertue enough to reſiſt the temptation of greatneſs, or courage enough toward the declenſion of his Power, to uſe that little which remained, to attempt to free his Country from Thraldom and Oppreſſion. 1659.

In the firſt place, after his advancement to the Supreme Dignity, principal care was taken by him and his Council for the Interment of his Father, with all the State and Solemnity accuſtomed at Kings and Princes Funerals; and therefore ſearch is ſaid to have been made into the Records, to ſee what had been expended upon the Burial of King *James*, and the ſame Coſt, if not greater, was to be beſtowed on this: The Corps of his late Highneſs being Embalmed and wrapt in Lead, was removed from *White-Hall* to *Somerſet-Houſe*, there to lie in Regal Pomp and State; a Spectacle to all comers; the order and manner whereof was briefly thus.

The manner of the deceaſed Protector's lying in State at *Somerſet-Houſe*.

Four Rooms one within another were compleatly hung with black; the three firſt with Cloth, the fourth with Velvet; each Room was adorned with Eſcutcheons of his Arms, Crowned with the Imperial Crown, and at the upper-end of each Room, was placed a Chair of State, and over that a Cloth of State, and over the Cloth, a large Majeſty Eſcutcheon, painted and guilt upon Taffata: In the fourth Room where the Corps were, there lay upon a Bed of State, raiſed by two gradual Aſcents, and covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, his Effigies veſted with a rich Sute, Kirtle and a large Robe of Purple Velvet, Laced with Gold, and Furred with Ermines; to the Kirtle was girt an Embroyder'd Belt, by which hung a Sword richly hatcht with Gold, in the right hand was a golden Scepter, in the left a Globe, on the head a purple velvet Cap furr'd with Ermines; behind was placed a Crown Imperial, ſet with precious Stones, upon a Chair and Cuſhion of tiſhued Gold, on each ſide a rich Sute of Compleat Armour, at his Feet his Creſt; the Bed of State was encloſed with Rails and Ballaſters covered with Velvet, at each corner whereof, were Pillars adorn'd with Trophies of Military Honors carved and guilt; on the tops of the Pillars were the Supporters of the Imperial Arms, bearing Streamers Crowned; at the Pedeſtals were Shields and Crowns guilt: within the Rayls ſtood eight Silver Candleſticks, or Standards, five foot high, with long Tapers of Virgin Wax burning in them, and next them four great Standards of his Arms, ſet upright in Sockets, with the Guidons great Banners, and Banrols of Taffata richly painted and guilt. The Effigies having for ſome time been ſeen in this poſture, was afterwards ſhewed in another Room, veſted after the ſame manner, and attended with the ſame Ornaments as is already deſcribed, and this continued until the day of conducting

1659. conducting the funeral pomp to the Church, which was on the Twenty third of *November*; for till then all things could not be prepared and made ready: and then the Effigies placed in a ſtately Funeral Chariot, covered with black Velvet, and drawn with ſix Horſes in like manner mantled, and adorned with black Plumes of Feathers, was attended from *Somerſet-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter* by all the Officers of his Houſhold, the chief Officers of the Army and Navy, the Magiſtracy of the City, the Judges at Law, the Ambaſſadors and Publick Miniſters of Foreign States and Princes, the Members of the late Upper-Houſe, and of the Privy-Council, all in Mourning, each Company being diſtinguiſhed by Drums, Trumpets, a Banner born by one of the chief Ones, and a Horſe of State Mantled with black Velvet, led alſo by ſome one of Eminency. Laſtly, the Horſe of Honour trapped with Embroydery upon Crimſon-Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes, was led by the Maſter of the Horſe, with ſuch other like Formalities uſed at the Obſequies of great Perſons. At the Weſt end of the Abby-Church, the Effigies being taken out of the Chariot, was carried through the Church unto a Canopy of State, born by ſix of his Gentlemen, up to the Eaſt end, where it was placed in a ſumptuous *Catapalco*, or Monument of Wood framed for the purpoſe, with Pilaſters and other Adornments of Architecture, carved, painted, and guilt, to remain for a certain time exhibited to publick view; a ſort of Temporary Monument much uſed in Foreign parts, at the death of great Princes: the Corps had been privately inhumed many days before the Solemnity in *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel.

The Solemnity of his Funeral.

Aſſoon as the Ceremonious Rites of this great Burial were paſt, the Preparations for which had for a time very much put a ſtop to proceedings, both Domeſtick and Foreign, immediately other matters of Publick concernment began ſeriouſly to be taken into conſideration, by the New Protector and his Council. The firſt thing was the ſending of a Naval Supply to the King of *Sweden*, between whom and the old Protector there had been contracted a very firm and inviolable Amity, and Forces had been ſent to this King's Aid out of this Nation, both for Land and Sea-ſervice; for the lattter whereof, he now more than ever had occaſion to make up a good ſtout Fleet; for after that by his Succeſs againſt the King of *Denmark*, he had won him to a Conceſſion of a great part of his Territories, and of half the Dominion of the *Sound*, and had at length withdrawn his Army: the King of *Denmark* judging the Conditions too hard on his ſide, and alledging them not to have been punctually obſerved by the *Swede*, began preſently after the departure of the Swediſh Army, to fly to Arms, for the recovery of what was loſt, being eſpecially encouraged thereunto by a certain aſſurance of Aid from the *Hollander*, beſides his entring into confederacy with the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, againſt the Swediſh King, who having quick Intelligence of the King of *Denmark*'s Deſign, ſpeeded back with his Forces, and was ſet down before *Copenhagen*, e're the *Danes* were well aware of his coming; but the Daniſh King had before-hand (providing againſt the worſt that might happen) ſo well fortified and ſtored the City, that it was able to endure a long Siege; and now the Soveraignty of this famous Bay of the *Baltick* Sea, called the *Sound*, being thus diſputed between theſe two Kings, the Dutch thought it a matter of no ſmall advantage to them, that the *Sound* ſhould continue in the power of the *Dane* their conſtant Ally, leſt the *Swede* gaining too much ſway therein, they might be deprived of the benefit thereof, which was of high concernment to them, and therefore made all poſſible haſte to ſet out a Fleet for the Relief and Supply of *Copenhagen*: the *Engliſh* on the other ſide, thought it no leſs imported them to help the *Swede*, though it were againſt the *Dane* and the *Dutch*, both of them our friends in outward appearance; leſt their joynt Intereſt and prevalence againſt the *Swede*, who, of all other Potentates, was the moſt firmly united in League to this State, might have proved prejudicial to us likewiſe in relation to the *Sound*, which alſo concerned us no leſs weightily than the *Dutch*, therefore a Squadron of luſty Frigots was ſent forth by this State under the Command of Sir *George Aſcough* toward the *Sound*, which having for ſome time been detained upon the Coaſt by contrary Winds, and afterwards ſteering their courſe towards thoſe Northern Seas, which the extremity of the Winter had made innavigable, they were forced, for that time, to return not without ſome damage to the Ships, by reaſon of the Ice, and the loſs of ſome Men, through the bitterneſs of the weather in thoſe parts, ſo that this Enterprize was ſuſpended till the coming on of the Spring, and then a more powerful Fleet was ſet out under the Command of General *Montague*, Sir *George Aſcough* being invited by the King of *Sweden* to take upon him a chief Command in his Navy.

A Squadron of Ships ſent towards the *Sound*.

Another greater Fleet ſet out under Gen. *Montague*.

In the mean time the *Hollanders* Fleet, led by General *Opdam*, and *Witte Witteſon*, arriving at the *Sound* with relief for *Copenhagen*, were aſſailed by the *Swediſh* Rix Admiral *Charles Guſtave Wrangle*, in which Battel the *Dutch* are ſaid to have received a notable Overthrow, ſeven of their Ships being loſt, and *Witte Witteſon* one of their Admirals, with many other perſons of Quality ſlain; nevertheleſs during the Fight, ſeveral *Dutch* Fluyts and Merchant-men paſſed by with proviſion to *Copenhagen*, which ſo ſtrengthened the beſieged, that they thereby became inabled for the ſuſtaining of a long Siege, as hath ſince appeared; and not long after, the *Swedes* in a reſolute effort againſt the City, were repelled with the loſs of a great many Men, and ſome of Eminency.

The Sea-Fight between the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*.

Copenhagen relieved.

The Warlike proceeding between the King of *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

And now in *England*, want of Moneys, and other preſſing occaſions of the State, required the ſudden calling of a Parliament: the young Protector iſſues out his Writs, ſummoning the Members to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 27th of *January*. Elections are made by the Counties, not without ſome canvaſſing of Parties.

Moreover, according to the conſtitution of the Government, Members were elected to the Commons Houſe for *Ireland* and *Scotland*, as well as *England*. The Elections were ſo diſpoſed in *England*, that many honeſt Gentlemen in all parts were choſen, but the Upper (for it did not yet aſpire to the Name of Lords) Houſe, was filled with

1659.

1659. with the Chief Officers of the Army, whereof most were of such contemptible extraction and education, that the Commons were unwillingly brought in any capacity whatsoever to own them. From the time of Summons of this Parliament, to their convening, *Richard* was frequently entertained with the fore-mentioned Addresses, which much heightened the confidence he had entertained of his future Prosperity, and made him think of modelling the Council conformable to designs he had of subjecting the Army to his entire Command; for the Council, as the Government then stood, had a great co-ordination with him in the administration of it, and the major part consisted of such as countenanced in all their extravagancies the Officers of the Army, who were many of them *Anabaptists*, and of other Sects.

He endeavours to new model his Council.

He pretended not to remove any of the Councellors, but to add so many of his friends to them as might make the greater number firm to him, he proposed the Lord *Broghil*, and *Faulconbridge*, who had Married his Sister, but they were not approved of; and instead of these, it was offered by those that opposed them, that Four Colonels of the Army might be admitted, (*viz.*) *Whaley*, *Goff*, *Berry* and *Cooper*: The first two had been of the late King's Judges, but were affected to the Protector and his Family; the other two were Factious and Seditious. These Tranfactions were not agitated in open Council, but privately treated of by particular Persons; but so rumored, that the Army began to be jealous of the Protector, and murmur at his Actions; sometimes they would complain of the Company and Conversation he used, and at other times censure his Religion, exclaiming that Godliness was discouraged by him, and that he rather favoured those of loose Principles, than the zealous Professors of the Gospel. But in this he was injured, for if his private Condition represented him a kind of Libertine, he assumed, together with the publick Person, a more grave and circumspect behaviour, conformed himself to the constant observation of all Religious Duties, and was in appearance at least, if not really so, of a blameless Life and Conversation.

The Army grows jealous and censorious of him.

The Grandees of the Army, doubtful of the temper of the approaching Parliament, moved the Protector to call together some of the Officers of the Army to *London*, (as his Father was accustomed to doe on the like occasions) to advise with him, to obviate any peril that might happen in the beginning of his Power, if the Parliament should attempt Innovations; He was a little surprized at this advice, but thought it not time to refuse it, and thereupon Letters were sent to as many of them as could be spared from their Charges to repair to *London*, to be there at the opening of the Parliament. The Names of his Fathers Privy-Councellors which acted and were continued under him, were *Richard Lawrence* President, *Nathaniel Fiennes* one of the Keepers of the Great Seal; *John Thurloe*, Secretary of State; General *Mountague*, Sir *Charles Woolsey*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, *Philip* Lord *Lisle*, Son to the Earl of *Leicester*; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; Colonel *Desborow*; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Colonel *Sydenham*, *Walter Strickland*, Colonel *Philip Skippon*; of which the six last named, were Favourers and Abettors of the Army; *Lawrence* the President was an *Anabaptist*, but somewhat moderate in his Opinion; the Lord *Lisle* was often absent and uncertain, endeavouring as much as he could to appear to a Neuter. There was another whom I should have named, which was Mr. *Major*, the Protector's Wives Father, but his indisposition of Health rendred him uncapable of Action. *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* had frequent meetings at *Desborow*'s House, who with the Factious part of this Council, and some of the Colonels of the Army that favoured them, which were *Berry*, *Hewson*, *Cooper* and *Ludlow*, consulted to wrest the Power of the Army out of the Protector's Hands, and in order thereunto, *Disborow* was sent to tell him, That the Army was filled with many jealousies and fears of Designs against it, which would put them into Mutiny, and inevitably hazard the subversion of the Government, unless some speedy remedy were taken for prevention; and that no better way could be thought on, than putting the Command of the Army into the hands of some person that had served with them, and of whose Courage and integrity to their Cause, they might have confidence and assurance; and immediately named *Fleetwood* to be the Man, adding, That this would not only satisfie the Army, but give great content to the Godly Party (which was a Name much used by all these Novelists) and free him from much of the trouble, which rendred him now less intent in the more necessary parts of Government: To this he replied, That as to the fears and jealousies of the Army, when he knew their Grounds, he would give them what redress could be desired, not doubting but the Parliament now ready to sit down, would take care both for his and their security, and the peace and quiet of the Nations; But as to the Command of the Army, he freely told them, he should not think himself able to protect himself or them, if he should part with it, which his Fathers Example confirmed him in. And with this Answer dismissed him. His Father, as was before mentioned, was much perplexed before he died, with many Seditious *Anabaptist* Officers of the Army, who were impatient of his Government, but the fear and danger of a division, and respect to his person, kept them in some degree of Obedience; He displaced many of them before he died, and had reduced the rest, and wholly modelled the Army to depend on him, if he had lived a few Months longer: he had introduced his Son, my Lord *Faulconbridge*, and many others into Chief Commands, who were allied to him in Blood, or by their advancement wholly depending on him; all this while matters were carried without much heat, and not out of possibility of accommodation when the Parliament sate down.

The Names of the Protectors Privy-Council.

Seditious Meetings of the Factious Part of the Army and Council at *Desborow*'s House.

Desborow sent to the Protector to perswade him to resign the Command of the Army to *Fleetwood*.

1659.

The King's Letter, which he refused.

At the prefixed time the Parliament meets, consisting as the last Parliament had done in his Fathers time, of two Houses, the *Commons*, and the *Other*, (which now began to be called the *Upper-House*) for the first was chosen Speaker *Chaloner Chute*, a Lawyer, who, within a short while fell sick unto death, as also Sir *Lisebone Long*,

A Parliament called by the new Protector.

1659. *Long* Recorder of *London*, who was chosen *pro tempore* in his stead; for the latter was chosen *Nathaniel Fiennes* Lord Keeeper of the Seal. The *Act of Recognition of the Protector to be chief Governour of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*: which was many days debated in parts, and at last part of it resolved in these words, *viz. That it be part of this Bill to recognize and declare his Highness* Richard *Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.* And it was added, *That neither this nor any other Vote that is or shall be passed in order to this Bill, shall be of force or binding to the People until the whole be passed.* The Protector liked well these Proceedings, and thought himself towards a good Settlement; but of those that were zealous for a Common-wealth, there was in this Parliament, such a considerable number, who had so powerful Influence on publick Transactions, that to procraftinate the time, they cast in several previous Debates, in which, nevertheless, the Assertors of the Protector's Interest being more in number, carried things to their own Advantage by the major Vote, as particularly in the business of the Scotch and Irish Members to be continued in among them, and the owning of the *Upper-House*, and holding an Entercourse with them, after a long Consultation in question of their Authority. However, the Factious Counsellours which abetted discontents in the Army, continued their Meetings to pursue their purpose of wresting the Command of the Army out of his hands, and putting it under *Fleetwood*.

The King creates new Commissioners for the management of his Affairs in *England*.

Several Designs had been in vain undertaken for His Majesties Restauration during the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwel*, which were chiefly managed by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *John Bellasis*, Sir *John Greenvil*, Sir *William Compton*, Colonel *John Russel*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, who for their supposed conduct of the privacy of their Counsels, were commonly called, *The Sealed Knot*: But, though nothing was more prudently and ingeniously contriv'd, all their Consultations were from time to time imparted to *Thurloe* by Sir *Richard Willis*, which was not yet known. Nevertheless, His Majesty about this time thought fit to appoint new Commissioners, and sent over into *England* a blank Commission dated at *Bruxels* the eleventh day of *March*, in the eleventh year of his Reign, which was filled up with the Names of *Arthur Ansley*, Son to the Viscount *Valentia*; *John Mordunt*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*; Sir *John Greenvil*, Sir *Thomas Peyton*, and *William Legg*; which was as followeth:

The Form of the Commission.

CHARLES, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To Our Right Trusty and Well beloved*, &c. *And to every of them* Greeting. *We do by these Presents Constitute and Appoint you Our Commissioners, giving you, or any one or more of you Power to Treat with any Our Subjects of Our Kingdom of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *that are, or have been in Arms against Us, or Our Father of Blessed Memory, or that have contributed to the present Rebellion in* England (*excepting such as actually sate in Judgment for the taking away the Life of Our said Father, or pleaded as Councel Learned against his Life, or attended as Ministers to that odious pretended Court, or laid hands on His Person in the Execution of that Horrid Murder*) *And to assure them in Our Name, That if they shall forsake the present Rebellion, and joyn heartily and effectually for the suppressing of the same, and for Our Restauration to the Rights due to Us by the Laws of God, and of that Our Kingdom; That then We will not only freely pardon their former opposing Us and Our dear Father, and all other their Crimes, and Offences in acting, adhering to, or complying with the said Rebellion, But, that We will Recompense and Reward such of them as shall by any Remarkable Service Merit of Us, either by reducing, or rendering any Town, Fort, or Garrison of the Rebels into Our hands, or into the possession and power of you, or of any other Trustee imployed by Us or you for Our Service: And what you or any one or more of you shall by vertue of this Our Commission in Writing under your hands, or the hands of any one or more of you, promise in Our Name in this kind, We shall Ratifie, and Confirm, and Perform.* Given at Our Court at *Bruxels* this Eleventh day of *March*, 1659. in the Eleventh year of Our Reign. 1659.

These Gentlemen proceeded with much Wariness and Diligence in the execution of this Commission, the Effects whereof shall be made known hereafter; But in the mean time, we shall return to what passed between the Parliament and Army. Besides the private Meetings of some select Officers at *Desborow*'s House, the General Council of Officers (as they called themselves) met in *Fleetwood*'s House, where they acted with as much formality, as if they had been the Supreme Legislators of the three Kingdoms.

It was a little before *Cromwel*'s Death, that great preparation was begun for the setting forth of a Fleet to the help of the *Swedes* against the *Danes*, and that under the Command of General *Mountague*, nor did his Death put a stop thereunto, Sir *George Ascough* being sent with a Squadron of Ships, though hindred from coming up to joyn with them, by reason of the freezing of those Seas, as hath been already mention'd: whereupon, for the better managing of the Charge, it was thought expedient that the House of Commons should be engaged in it, and a Narrative Report was made to them by Secretary *Thurloe* about the latter end of *February* this year, concerning the State of the War betwixt the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in Relation to the *Baltick* Sea, and the command of the *Sound*. This took so

1659. so far, as to gain a Vote for the providing a considerable Navy for the preservation of Trade, which was forthwith equipped, and General *Montague* sent with it to the *Sound* about the latter end of *March*, who was so straightned in his Commission, that he lay there without doing any thing, till he was called back by that part of the Long Parliament that subverted the Power that sent him.

The *Upper House* as it now began to be called in a strain somewhat nearer *Lords House*) favoured the Military Council of Officers, but the Commons took much distaste at it, as if it portended a kind of Force upon their Councils. The Protector in the mean time advised with his Friends, how to free himself from the Embarassments of the Officers of the Army; My Lord *Faulconbridge*, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Colonel *Bridge*, Colonel *Charles Howard*, Major *Knight*, all Officers in the Army, and some few others, counselled him to send a Party to *Desborow*'s house, to seize upon those that met there, which were eight or nine of the Chief Confederates, and immediately after to give their Commands to the next Officers to them, till he could have a fairer opportunity to put them into better hands; and to send for all the rest of the Officers to come to him, and to Command all of them to repair to their respective Commands, that were not obliged by Service in Parliament to attend that duty. These Counsels were very agreeable to his Inclination, but the Secretary of State and some others to whom he brake the business, diverted him from the first; but to the latter, of dismissing the Officers he readily consented; and the next day he sent for them, and dismissed them accordingly: And the same day that this was by him done, the Commons openly debated against this Assembly of Officers, and Voted, *That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Council or Meeting of the Officers of the Army, without direction, leave, and authority of the Protector, and both Houses of Parliament.* And because in the Debate of these Questions, many that favoured the Army, had cunningly cast out some minatory Expressions, insinuating, That this way of proceeding might make them think themselves suspected, and provoke them to break forth into some act of opposition and disturbance, they passed another Resolve, *That no person should have or continue Command in any of the Armies in* England, Scotland, *or* Ireland, *or any of the Dominions or Territories thereunto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free Meeting in Parliament of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their freedomes in their Debates and Councils.* These were transmitted to the *Upper House*, to be confirmed there; but they made a slow progress in them upon divers late contracted Jealousies, not the least of which was from a late Vote of the Commons, wherein they declared at the acknowledgment of their Constitution, *That their acknowledgment of that House for another House of Parliament, should not prejudice the Peerage of the Land, or their Priviledges*: as also believing, that the Protector conspired with the Commons to weaken and divide, or subdue the Power of the Army; in which they were somewhat confirmed, for that these Matters were Debated and Voted the same day he had dissolved the Council of Officers, and dismissed them. The Protector had many of the Chief Officers of the Army fixed to him, but the inferior sort, who were of *Fanatick* Opinions in Religion, and were more numerous; and had most influence upon the Soldiers, were for *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*: For it was artificially instilled into their Heads, *That the Protector did intend to cast them out of their Places, and put the Army into the hands of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nations, thereby to bring in the King, and destroy that Liberty of the Gospel they had so long contended for.* The Debate against the Army in the House of Commons, was on the nineteenth day of *April*, from which time the Meetings of the Officers were more frequent than before, and upon the two and twentieth day, the Protector was informed, that they would either themselves dissolve the Parliament, or compel him to do it. He called his Confidents about him, and made preparations against all accidents that might happen; and in the Evening many of his Friends encouraged him to take Horse, and appear in the Head of some Troops that were ready to receive him. While this was doing, the other party had drawn up some men in the several Avenues to *White-Hall*, and in Saint *James*'s Fields, yet it was believed, if he had appeared with vigour and courage amongst them, respect of his Person would have prevailed much with the Common Soldiers; but he was fearful and unresolved, of a Spirit unbecoming the Quality he assumed; and many of those about him were as irresolute as he, some advised one thing, some another, wasting their time in contradictions; and, as it happens in the Consultations of fearful people, they debated many things fit to be done, till the time was past to put them in execution. *Desborow* his Uncle came to him from the discontented Officers, and pressed him much to sign a Commission to *Fiennes* to dissolve the Parliament, which he a great while obstinately refused, till *Desborow* insolently told him, if he did it not, it should be done without him, and so urged by threats and importunities, he at length, consented to it.

1659.

The Inferiour Officers of the Army jealous of the Commons and the Protector.

The discontented faction of the Army in a posture of hostility against the Protector.

He is forced by *Desborow* to sign a Commission to *Fiennes* for the dissolving of the Parliament

The next morning, the House of Commons having heard of these Transactions at *White-Hall*, Ajourned themselves for three days: but this their Adjournment proved a total Dissolution; for those that had made this breach upon them, proceeded further to compleat their purposes, and besides the aforesaid Commission directed to *Fiennes*, caused a Proclamation to come forth in the Protectors Name, to publish the Dissolution of the Parliament in these words;

The Upper House jealous of the proceedings of the Commons and the Protector.

A Proclamation for the dissolution of the Parliament.

WHereas *We summoned our* High Court of Parliament *to Assemble and meet together at Our City of* Westminster *the Seventeenth and twentieth of* January *last, which hath continued until this present day; And whereas we did by Our Commission under Our Great Seal of* England *bearing date at* Westminster *this present Two and twentieth day of*

April *for divers weighty Reasons, declare Our Pleasure and Resolution to dissolve the said Parliament, and to that end did thereby constitute and appoint Our Right Trusty and Right well beloved Councellor* Nathaniel Fiennes, *One of the Lord Keepers of Our Great Seal of* England, *and other Our Commissioners in Our Name, this said present Twenty second day of* April, *to dissolve Our said Parliament, which was by them done according to the tenour of the said Commission in the usual place, and by vertue thereof our said Parliament, is Dissolved: Nevertheless, We have thought it necessary with the Advice of Our Privy Council, by this Our Proclamation, to publish and make known the same, to the end all persons whom it may concern, may take notice thereof.* Given at *White-hall* the twenty second day of *April*, in the year of our Lord, 1659.

Desborow and *Fleetwood* promise the Protector that his Power and Dignity should be continued

Fleetwood and *Desborough* having (to get the power of the Army to them, and their Party) made this Breach upon the Parliament, and in it shaken the Protectors Government, intended of themselves, as it should seem, nothing less than to dethrone him, though by reason of what they had already done, they quickly found it was not in their power to prevent what they so little intended; they came to him together and apart several times that day after it was done, and protested to him, That his Power in all things, but the immediate Command of the Army, should be preserved intire; and even in that, nothing should be done, but in his Name, and by his privity; telling him, *They had not taken this course, but upon certain Assurance of the Designs of the Kings Party, and others to disturb the publick Peace, which nothing could prevent, but the breaking up of that Parliament.*

He received not much Consolation from these Discourses, and gave little credit to them, well knowing that it was far easier to draw the Officers of the Army into seditious courses, than to moderate them. He told them, he doubted not of their intentions, and that they had been practised upon to do that in haste, which they might have leisure enough to repent, and that they would find now they had made a Concussion of his power, it would be a Providence too hard for them to re-settle it, and so it proved in effect; for at the first Meeting of the Officers at *Walling ford* House, after the emission of the fore-mentioned Proclamation, they would not hear of any thing in behalf of the Protector, and were so far from thinking of the continuance of his Power, that when any thing was moved tending that way, it was obstructed or diverted by propositions of Government. Yet at last, when they had determined, that the Chief Command of the Army should be in *Fleetwood*, with a Power to dispose of all vacant Offices till farther Order, they were perswaded to allow the Protector a kind of Limited Supremacy (somewhat like that of a Duke of *Venice*.) But, the next day, whilst many of the Superiour Officers met at *Wallingford* House, in further consideration of a Model of Government, the inferiour Officers being the most numerous, assembled in the Chappel at St. *James's*, having Doctor *Owen*, and other Independent Ministers with them to assist at their Devotion, where the matter was artificially so contrived, that the prosperity they enjoyed under the latter part of the Commons House of the Long Parliament, was much magnified; with some intimations of Advice to return to that Government, with which the Auditors were very much affected, but nothing more was done at that time. This was promoted by *Lambert* and his Friends, wherein he appeared not openly himself, but set Colonel *Lilburn* to manage the Business, at whose Chamber his Friends had private *Junctoes*.

The Officers of the Army oppose it.

The Superior Officers meet at *Wallingford* house to consider of a Model of Government, and the inferiour at St. *James's*.

The next day *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* were alarmed with this Countermine against their Designs; for the Inferiour Officers came now to open Declaration of their forwardness to restore the latter part of the Long Parliament, and to restore to their Commands *Lambert* and the rest of the Officers who had been displaced by *Oliver Cromwel* for dis-affection to him; yet with so much respect to the Protector, and his Family, that they would have an Honourable Provision made for them. *Fleetwood* endeavoured to oppose this Torrent, suspecting *Lambert's* Ambition would quickly supplant him, if he got Power: but when he perceived it was already too great to be resisted, the Consideration thereof obliged both him and *Desborow* to comply, for the preservation of their Authority. However, to retard their proceedings, they propose, first, to have the Army settled and modelled in a way of Unity before they determined upon the Government, which was thought rational; and at a Meeting of a General Council of Officers, in order thereunto, they removed the Protector from his Regiment, and the Colonels *Ingoldsby*, *Howard*, the Lord *Faulconbridge*, and Colonel *Bridge*, from theirs: Colonel *Norton* they displaced from the Government of *Portsmouth*, which they gave to Colonel *Whetham*, and made Colonel *Edward Salmon* Governour of *Hull*, in the room of Colonel *Smith*, who, by the recommendation of *Fleetwood*, had the Command of that Garrison given him by *Oliver Cromwel*. To Colonel *Sanders* they gave the Protectors Regiment of Horse; to Colonel *Rich* that of *Ingoldsby's*; to Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* Colonel *Howard's* Regiment of Foot, with the Government of *Berwick*, *Carliste*, and *Tinmouth*: To *Lambert* they gave the Lord *Faulconbridg's* Regiment, and to *Okey* that which was his own before, which was lately commanded by Colonel *Bridge*: Major *Packer*, and Captain *Gladman*, Anabaptist Officers, who had been by *Oliver Cromwel* displaced were restored to their Commands: The Inferiour Officers, in all these respective Regiments, were suitably modelled according to the Opinion of their Colonels.

Several Colonels removed from their Regiments and others put in their rooms. As likewise Governours of Towns and other Officers.

Thus *Lambert* was brought into the Army, wherein he quickly recovered much of his former power. After this, the Council of Officers was reduced to a smaller number.

The Officers of the Army consult about restoring the Remnant of the *Long Parliament*.

The twenty ninth of *April* there met at *Fleetwoods* House, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Sydenham*, *Cooper*, *John Jones*, *Berry*, *Hacker*, *Lilburn*, *Ashfield*, *Salmon*, *Zanchy*, *Okey*, *Sanders*, *Clark*, all Colonels, and

1659. and Major General *Kelsey*, and *Barkstead* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, where they debated the Election of a Council, which should have a Negative upon the Remnant Parliament, when it should be restored: But after much Debate, that was thought fitter for the Debate of the Parliament than them.

They next consult about some Articles for the security of themselves and their Friends, and for a Foundation, on which they would oblige their Parliament to establish the Common-wealth Government.

They send to treat with *Vane*, *Hazlerig*. and others.

These Articles being digested into form, and agreed to by the General Council, a certain number of the Officers were deputed to meet with Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Mr. *Scot*, and Major *Salloway*, the prime leading men in this Parliament, to consider how they might be disposed to consent to them. *Vane* and those with him had been Treated with apart; but when they came to publick discourse, they were very reserved in their Answers; yet they gave them hopes of their consents, and of their endeavours to prevail upon others; but said, they could not undertake any previous Agreement, to oblige the Parliament, without their Authority and consent, at such time as they were met together.

This caution of theirs was disliked and suspected by *Fleetwood*, *Desborow* and *Lambert*; but the Inferior Officers were so far possessed in favour of them, that it was not time to contend. They therefore desired them to use means to draw as many of the Members as they could together with all convenient haste, because the Government was a kind of *Inter-regnum*; and the Officers in the mean time drew up a Declaration to invite them to sit, which upon the sixth of *May* was presented to the Speaker by *Lambert*; with about 13 or 14 Officers of the Army in his Company. The Declaration it self we have thought fit to Insert, to shew the inconstancy of these new Politicians, that so soon altered from what they so solemnly declared; The Title was,

A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long Parliament, who continued sitting till the 20*th* of *April*, 1653. to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust.

The Armies Declaration to invite the Remnant of the Long Parliament to sit again.

THE Publick Concernments of this Common-wealth, being through a vicissitude of Dangers, Deliverances and Back-slidings of many, brought into that state and posture wherein they now stand, and our selves also contributing thereunto, by wandring divers ways from Righteous and Equal parts; And although there have been many Essays to obviate the Dangers, and to settle the Nations in peace and prosperity, yet all have proved ineffectual; The only wise God, in the course of his Providence, disappointing all Endeavours therein. And also observing to our great grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appeared amongst us, in the carrying 1659. *on of this great Work, did daily decline; so as the* Good Old Cause *it self became a Reproach: We have been led to look back, and to examine the Cause of the* LORD's *withdrawing his wonted Presence from us, and where we turned out of the way, that through Mercy we might return and give him the Glory.*

And amongst other things, calling to mind that the Long Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued their sitting until the 20th *of* April, 1653. *were eminent Assertors of that Cause, and had a special Presence of* GOD *with them, and were signally blessed in that work (the Desires of many good People concurring with ours therein;) we judge it our Duty to invite the aforesaid Members, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, as before the said* 20th *of* April 1653.

And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued to sit since the Year 1648. *until the* 20th *of* April 1653. *to return unto the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust; and we shall be ready in our Places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmost Assistance to sit in Safety, for the improving present Opportunities, for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of the Common-wealth, praying for the Presence and Blessing of God upon their Endeavours.*

6*th* of *May* Signed by the Direction of the Lord *Fleetwood*, and the Council of Officers of the Army.

Thomas Sanford Secretary.

They agree to accept of the Invitation.

After the delivery of this, many of the most Eminent Members of this Remnant of the *Long Parliament*, having before consulted with as many of the rest as were in *London*, came also and gave a Visit to the Speaker, to signifie their willingness to return to the Exercise of their Trust, (as they call'd it) in pursuance of the Invitation given them by the Army, and that they would meet the next morning, which was the 8*th* of *May*, at 8 of the Clock in the *Painted-Chamber*, where they desired his Presence to accompany them from thence to the Parliament-House; which he accordingly did, and they all went together, and took their Places. Thus ended the Reign, or rather the Usurpation of the *Cromwels*, being overthrown by those of their nearest Relations, from whom by Interest, they might have expected Spport: But such was the Fate of this ill-acquir'd Dominion, to be subverted in its greatest Security, by the Ambition and Malice of those that assisted the Aspirers in the obtaining of it.

And take their places in the House,

1659. Upon the Diſſolution of the Protector's Parliament, diligence was uſed by *Clarges* to acquaint *Monk* with all Occurrences; but the Officers of the Army in Scotland, then in *London*, of *Fleetwood*'s Party, had ſo diſperſed Letters amongſt their Friends, to ingage them for the reſtoring of this latter part of the *Long Parliament*, that when he conven'd ſome of them at *Edenburgh* to ſound their Tempers, he perceived they had been wrought upon; and therefore he judged it moſt prudent, to ſeem to approve of what was done: And to that purpoſe he writ a Letter ſigned by himſelf and his Officers, to the Officers at *London*, which gave them Aſſurance of his Adherence to them; (but if *Richard* had not diſſolved his Parliament, *Monk* had then marched into *England* in favour of it.) They did not fear much any ſtorms from the Army in *Ireland*, who of themſelves could do little, without correſpondence from *England* and *Scotland*.

General *Monk* ſeems to give his Conſent to what was done in *England*.

They publiſh their Intentions by a Declaration.

The words of the Declaration extracted out of the Parliament Journals.

The firſt thing the Remnant-Parliament did when they met, after Election of their Officers, was the paſſing a ſhort *Declaration*, which was ordered to be Printed and Publiſhed; in the Cloſe whereof they declare, *That they are Reſolved through the Gracious Aſſiſtance of Almighty GOD, to apply themſelves to the Faithful Diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in them; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Common-wealth upon ſuch a Foundation as may aſſert, eſtabliſh and ſecure the Property and Liberties of the People in reference unto all, both as Men and Chriſtians; and that without a Single Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers: And ſhall vigorouſly endeavour the carrying on of Reformation, ſo much deſired, and ſo often declared for; to the end there may be a Godly and Faithful Magiſtracy and Miniſtry upheld and maintained in the Nations, to the Glory and Praiſe of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the Upright in the Land.*

Sir *George Booth*, and others of the old ſecluded Members claim their priviledge of Sitting, but are kept out.

Sir *George Booth*, Colonel *Roſſiter*, Mr. *Pryn*, and ſome others, Members of the *Commons Houſe* of this *Parliament*, (formerly ſecluded by the Army) attempted to go into the Houſe, but were all kept back by Adjutant Gen. *Allen*, except Mr. *Pryn* who ſlipt in, but they would do nothing whileſt he was amongſt them, but adjourned till the afternoon; and when he again would have entered he was ſtaid by ſome Officers of the Army.

About four days after the preſent ſmall *Parliament* had ſate, which was ſpent in making a Committee of Safety, and diſpatching Intelligence of their being re-inſtated in their former Power, to ſeveral of their Members abſent in the Country, whom they had not diſabled from Sitting; the Officers of the Army preſent themſelves with their Petition and Addreſs, a thing they often inſiſted to have proſecuted, and was one of the occaſions that heightned the differences betwixt them and this *Parliament*.

The Title was, The Humble Petition and Addreſs of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of *England*. The Addreſs it ſelf was in theſe words following: 1659.

The Humble Petition and Addreſs of the Officers of the Army to the Remnant Parliament.

CAlling to mind the former Declarations of Parliament, and the Grounds therein inviting us to take up Arms, and thoſe many ſignal Providences, wherein the Lord hath owned You and your Forces both by Sea and Land, in aſſerting that Righteous Cauſe, wherein the Civil and Religious Liberties of the People of theſe Nations were involved, ſo as that all open oppoſition was beaten down before you; and likewiſe weighing with our ſelves how in the ſeveral late Changes in Government, that publick Spirit which appeared in that Work, hath ſince that time been diſcouraged, and another raiſed up, drawing back to the ſame things you had contended againſt, even to the hazarding the Eſſentials of that Cauſe; we did upon ſerious thoughts of heart think it our duty once more to appear againſt thoſe back-ſliding ways: and Providence having brought the ſtate of Affairs to the condition they were in ſome few days before your ſitting, we found it neceſſary to aſſert amongſt our ſelves ſome of the Fundamentals of our Good Old Cauſe, *with ſome other things conducing to the Preſervation thereof, with a full and fixed reſolution, through the Aſſiſtance of GOD, effectually even to the hazard of our Lives to endeavour the Recovery and ſecurity of the ſame. And the ſame Good* Providence *holding forth an opportunity to us, to open unto You a Way for the further diſcharge of your remaining Truſt in* Parliament, *we did by our* Declaration *of this inſtant* May, *humbly deſire you would be pleaſed to return to the exerciſe and diſcharge thereof, as before the* 20th *of* April, 1653. *And having to our great rejoycing ſeen your* Declaration *of the ſeventh Inſtant, ſhewing, that you are reſolved through the Gracious Aſſiſtance of Almighty GOD, to apply your ſelves to the faithful diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in you; and to endeavour the Settlement of this* Common-wealth *upon ſuch a Foundation, as may aſſert, eſtabliſh and ſecure the Liberties of the People, in reference unto all, both as Men and Chriſtians, and that without a* Single Perſon, Kingſhip, *or* Houſe of Peers, *reſolving vigorouſly the carrying on the Work of Reformation, ſo much deſired, and ſo often declared for, to the end there may be a Godly and faithful Magiſtracy and Miniſtry upheld and maintained in theſe Nations; which ſo fully anſwers what our hearts were drawn forth*

1659. *forth to desire, that we could not any longer forbear to express our thankfulness for this door of hope again, opened towards the attaining a consummation of those things so much breathed after by the good People of this* Common-wealth. *And however we find our selves in some measure prevented, by the late* Declaration *and* Resolves *of this* Parliament: *Yet this nevertheless we have judged it our Duty to represent what was chiefly and unanimously upon our hearts, when we engaged in that which made way for your Return, which we humbly (as becomes us) lay before you:* 1659.

1. That the Liberty of the Persons, and Property of the Estates of all Free People of these Nations, be maintained, preserved, and kept inviolable according to Law, under the Government of a *Free State and Common-wealth*, without a *Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers.*

2. That there may be such a just and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Justice and Equity, as that they may be a Protection, and not vexatious or oppressive to the People of these Nations.

3. That by an *Act of Oblivion*, all and every person and persons who have since the 19*th* of *April*, 1653. mediately or immediately advised, acted, or done any matter or thing whatsoever, in reference to the several Changes or Alterations in the Government of these Nations since the said 19 of *April*, 1653. or in order to the Publick Service, Peace, or Safety of these Nations, be Indemnified and saved harmless, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

4. That all *Laws, Ordinances, Declarations*, and *Establishments* made in the several *Changes* and *Alterations* of *Government*, that have been in these Nations since the 19*th* of *April* aforesaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good in Law, until particularly repealed.

5. That such Debts as have been contracted for the Publick Service and Affairs of this Common-wealth, and for the Charges of the Government, since the Twentieth of *April*, 1653. be carefully paid and satisfied.

6. That all persons who profess Faith in GOD the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, God Co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Testament* to be the Revealed or Written Word or Will of God, shall not be restrained from their Profession, but have due encouragement, and equal protection in the profession of their Faith, and exercise of Religion, whilst they abuse not their Liberty to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in their way of Worship: So that this Liberty be not extended to *Popery* or *Prelacy*, nor to such as shall practise or hold forth Licentiousness or Prophaneness under the profession of Religion: And that all Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances, and Clauses in any Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary, may be declared null and void.

7. That a Godly, Faithful and Painful Gospel-Preaching Ministry be every where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained.

8. That the *Universities* and *Schools* of *Learning* be so countenanc'd and reformed, as that they may become the *Nurseries* of *Piety* and *Learning*.

9. That such persons as have at any time since the Twentieth of *May*, 1642. aided, or assisted, or adhered to the late King, *Charles Stuart* his Son, or any other person or persons whatsoever of that Party, against the Parliament or Common-wealth of *England*, and all other persons whatsoever that have made use of any Authority or Power under pretence of Law, or otherwise, to deprive or abridge any of the good People of these Nations of their Christian Liberty, or have or shall express themselves in any way mockers, scoffers, or revilers of Godliness, or of the Professors thereof, or are other wayes scandalous or loose in their conversations, or have not given good satisfaction of their affection and faithfulness to this Cause, may be speedily removed out of all places of Power or Trust in the Magistracy, or other management of the Publick Affairs of these Nations, and that no such persons may be admitted unto any such Place of Power or Trust for the future.

10. And forasmuch as no godly or other good Interest can be preserved, or maintained, unless the persons who are chiefly

1659. chiefly intruſted with the management and exerciſe of the Government, be of ſuitable Spirits to thoſe Intereſts, That thoſe who are or ſhall be intruſted therein, be ſuch perſons as ſhall be found to be moſt eminent for Godlineſs, Faithfulneſs, and Conſtancy to the good Cauſe and Intereſts of theſe Nations.

11. That to the end the Legiſlative Authority of this Common-wealth may not by their long ſitting become burthenſome or inconvenient, there may be effectual Proviſion made for a due Succeſſion thereof.

12. And for the better ſatisfaction, and more firm Union of the Forces of this Common-wealth, in this juncture of Affairs, for preſerving and maintaining the Principles and other matters thereunto ſubſervient, We do unanimouſly acknowledge and own the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* Lieutenant General of the Army, to be Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces of this Common-wealth.

13. That in order to the eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the Peace, Welfare, and Freedom of the People of theſe Nations for the ends before expreſſed, the Legiſlative Power thereof may be in a Repreſentative of the People, conſiſting of a Houſe ſucceſſively choſen by the People, in ſuch way and manner as this Parliament ſhall judge meet, and of a ſelect Senate, Co-ordinate in Power, of able and faithful Perſons, eminent for Godlineſs, and ſuch as continue adhering to this Cauſe.

14. That the Adminiſtration of all Executive Power of Government, may be in a *Council of State*, conſiſting of a convenient number of Perſons qualified in all reſpects as aforeſaid.

15. That all Debts contracted by his late Highneſs, or his Father, ſince the Fifteenth of *December* 1653, may be ſatisfied, and that an honourable Revenue of Ten thouſand pounds *per annum*, with a convenient Houſe, may be ſettled upon him, and his Heirs for ever; and Ten thouſand pounds *per annum* more upon him during Life: And upon his Honourable Mother Eight thouſand pounds *per annum* during her life, to the end a mark of the high eſteem this Nation hath of the good Service done by his Father, our ever Renowned General, may remain to Poſterity. Theſe having been the Thoughts and Deſires of our hearts, unanimouſly agreed upon before your returning to Sit, and finding the ſpirits of divers of the honeſt faithful People of this Common-wealth led forth for the ſame things, and your ſelves by your late Declaration and Reſolutions in a great meaſure aſſiſting them; We thought it our Duty to the Nations, to You, and to the Honeſt People, humbly to preſent theſe, and beg the Bleſſing and Preſence of the Lord with you in the proſecution and bringing forth ſuch a Settlement as may be for the Honour of God, the Union, Joy and Rejoycing of all the peaceable People of the Common-wealth. 1659.

And we ſhall pray, &c.

This Petition was preſented by *Lambert* the Twelfth day of *May*, accompanied with *Desborow*, and *Barkſtead* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with Twelve other Colonels, and Two Lieutenant Colonels. We find entred in the Parliament Journal the words which *Lambert* ſpake at the delivery of it, which were theſe:

Mr. Speaker,

WE are Commanded by the Officers of the Army, to preſent before you their humble Petition and Addreſs; there are ſeveral things contained in it, which have been a long time upon their Hands, and no viſible way of redreſs; Finding to their great Joy and Satisfaction, that you are Returned; in diſcharge of their Truſt, they thought it not fit to neglect this opportunity, but have Commanded us to preſent this Petition.

Lambert's words to the Speaker at the delivery of the Humble Petition and Addreſs.

When he had ſaid theſe words, he withdrew with thoſe that were with him; and the Houſe upon Debate Order'd their Speaker to return them the following Anſwer, which is likewiſe entered in the Journal of that Days proceedings.

I am

The Speakers Speech.

I *Am Commanded by the* House *to tell you, That they have read the* Petition and Addreſs *that you have made here to Us; They have commanded me likewiſe to tell you, That as they found your Affection before they came hither, ſo they find that Affection continuing.*

For the things contained in your Petition, they are things of great weight, and many more things of great weight are lying before the House; *and it is concerning the Settlement, for which the Divine Providence of GOD hath brought us hither, who we hope ſhall never depart from us.*

The Houſe finds in your Advice *much of Love and Affection, and have commanded me to acknowledge that Love and Affection you have ſhewn, and to give you thanks, very hearty thanks for your love and expreſſions of it; And accordingly in their Name I do give you very hearty thanks.*

The Houſe by Votes agreed to all the Articles of this Petition at the firſt Debate of it, except ſuch as concerned the publick Revenue, Government, and the *Protector*, which were referred to a Committee, whom they directed to go to the Protector, and receive an acknowledgment from him of his Submiſſion to the Government, before they would do any thing for him, and to take a State of his Debts: which being declared to him, with the Reſolve of the Houſe, the occaſion of that Meſſage: After Conſideration, he delivered the following anſwer to them in Writing, with his Name to it.

The Protector *Richard's* ſubmiſſion to the Powers in being.

I *Have peruſed the Reſolve and Declaration which you were pleaſed to deliver to me the other night, and for the information touching what is mention'd in the ſaid Reſolve, I have cauſed a true ſtate of my Debts to be tranſcribed and annexed to this Paper, which will ſhew what they are, and how they were contracted.*

As to that part of the Reſolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themſelves, how far I do acquieſce in the Government of this Common-wealth, as it is declared by this Parliament:

I truſt my paſt Carriage hitherto hath manifeſted my Acquieſcence in the Will and Diſpoſition of GOD, and that I Love and value the Peace of this Common-wealth much above my own concernments; and I deſire that by this, a meaſure of my future Deportment may be taken, which through the Aſſiſtance of GOD ſhall be ſuch as ſhall bear the ſame Witneſs, having, I hope, in ſome degree, learned rather to reverence and ſubmit to the hand of GOD, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out amongſt us) however in reſpect of particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the Government of the Nations, yet thorow the Goodneſs of GOD, I can freely acquieſce in it; being made, and do hold my ſelf obliged as (with other men) I expect Protection from the preſent Government, ſo to demean my ſelf with all peaceableneſs under it, and to procure to the utmoſt of my Power that all in whom I have any Intereſt, do the ſame.

Richard Cromwel.

A Schedule of his Debts were annexed to this Paper: what was contracted for the Funeral of his Father, they abſolutely rejected, and made ſlow progreſs in the reſt, and delayed to ſettle any Revenue upon him or his Mother, as was deſired; but gave him Two thouſand pounds to diſcharge part of his own private Debts, and required him and all his Dependents, to remove from *White-Hall* in ſix days. *Fleetwood* diſcovered a little Diſcontent at this contempt put upon his Brother *Cromwel*, and that Family; but as ſoon as it was ordered that he ſhould be Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Land Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for one year, in compliance with the Twelfth Article of the Armies *Petition and Addreſs*, he was leſs ſolicitous in the concernments of his Wifes Family: When the Houſe Voted he ſhould Command the Armies, they likewiſe Voted, *He ſhould have power to Sign and Seal ſuch Commiſſions for the Conſtitution of Officers under him, as ſhould be approved by the Parliament*, and nominated by Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſterig*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and the Colonels, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow*, and *Berry*, or the Major part of them, who were made Commiſſioners for that purpoſe. And for his better Eſtabliſhment, they directed a Bill to be prepared and brought into the Houſe to be paſſed into an Act for his Conſtitution; which was done accordingly; but upon the ſecond Reading of it, they would not admit of that Clauſe, to Authorize him to Sign Commiſſions, but Ordered, *That all Commiſſions, both to the Commiſſion-Officers of the Army, and the Captains of the Fleet, ſhould be ſigned by the Speaker of the Parliament of the Common-wealth of* England, *to be written by the Clerks attending the Council of State, and delivered to the Officers* gratis, *by the Speaker in the Parliament Houſe.* They alſo at the ſame time Ordered, *That the Government of* Ireland *ſhould be by Commiſſioners nominated, and appointed by Parliament, and not by one Perſon, and that Colonel* Henry Cromwel *ſhould be acquainted with the Order, and required forthwith to repair to the Parliament.* This Gentleman had made himſelf very popular in *Ireland*, in his Government of that Kingdom, under his Father, and his Brother; but in regard there was a Council co-ordinate with him in civil matters, many of the Members whereof were of ſevere and rigid behaviour, the generoſity of his Diſpoſition was ſomewhat over-rul'd; nevertheleſs, moſt people in diſtreſs there did receive ſuch Effects of his Civility, where he had any manner of capacity to ſhew it, That they acknowledged he deſerved to have been the Son of a better Father.

Fleetwood Voted Commander in Chief of all the Forces.

All Commiſſions to the Officers of the Army ordered to be ſigned and given by the Speaker.

Henry Cromwel called from the Government of *Ireland.*

He had the *Iriſh* Army under good Diſcipline, and was ſo well beloved of the Officers, that it is probable he would not have conſented to the change of Government, if he had had time to prepare againſt it; For his Brother gave him no intimation of what had hapned, nor any Commands to appear on his behalf; what he had heard, being only from the intelligence of private Friends. At the firſt Alarm, he adviſed with his Confidents what to do, and to prevent Confederacies againſt him, by any

Com-

Combinations of the Officers of his Army he commanded all of them to their Charges, and (to uſe his own words) *not to hearken to any deſign of Innovation, how ſpeciouſly ſoever the ſame might be preſented to them.* Likewiſe he diſpatched Cornet *Monk* to *Scotland* to General *Monk* (who came thither not till fifteen days after the alteration of the Government) to inform himſelf how he and his Army ſtood affected to it; who returned no other Anſwer than a Copy of the Letters the Officers of his Army had obliged him to ſend to the Parliament.

In all probability, if Colonel *Henry Cromwel* had drawn his Army together, and fixed them to his Authority, and then declared againſt their proceedings at *London*, he might have ſhaken much the new foundation of the Common-wealth; for the Armies in *England* and *Scotland* were not then modelled, and the Officers many of them (as hath been ſaid) Relations or Dependents of the Family of the *Cromwels*; but he was ſo doubtful of the ſucceſs, that he undertook nothing, but peaceably ſubmitted as his Brother had done, (though in more generous terms) to the Authority then introduc'd.

We purpoſely omit many particulars of theſe tranſactions, and others in the Journals of the Parliament, as their Conſtitutions of a Council of State for the more immediate executive Power of the Common-wealth, the Nomination of Judges, Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and Commiſſioners for the Admiralty, and Government of the Navy, and Colonel *Henry Cromwel*'s Letter to the Parliament, when he ſubmitted to it, as not very eſſentially pertinent to this Hiſtory.

Fleetwood and his Friends were troubled at the reſtriction of his Commiſſion, yet he diſſembled his paſſion, and yielded to neceſſity, till a more favourable conjunction might give him opportunity to inlarge his power: however, both he, *Desborow*, *Lambert*, and many of them were diſſatisfied with the way of receiving their Commiſſions from the hands of the Speaker, and would have remonſtrated againſt it; but by enquiring into the temper of the inferiour Officers, they found them well enough affected towards it, and therefore did not proceed for that time. And *Fleetwood* himſelf, to diſſemble his acquieſcence, with great Submiſſion and Proteſtation of Obedience to the Parliament, received his Commiſſion in the Houſe, from the Hands of the Speaker, and after him *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, and the reſt of them in and about *London*, who had Commands in the Army.

Fleetwood, Lambert, and others receive their Commiſſions in the Houſe from their Speaker.

The Parliament now became confident of its Power, and meditated to ſubject the Army wholly to it (which made them jealous of each other.) Although all the Armies and Navy had declared their concurrence in obedience to them; yet they diſplaced thoſe Officers in both, whom they ſuſpected in any manner to have been affected to *Cromwel*, or Monarchical Government. The ſeven Commiſſions before named, to whom the nomination of the Officers of the Army was firſt committed, were continued in that Authority and very active in it. Thoſe of the *Anabaptiſt* perſwaſion, were by them eſteemed moſt firm to a Common-wealth, and by their Information they were much guided in the diſpoſition of Places; but where they had been put out by *Cromwel*, for diſſatisfaction to him, they were reſtored as of courſe. Colonel *Lockhart*, Governour of *Dunkirk*, had made his ſubmiſſion; but ſhortly after, there was a deſperate Mutiny in the Garriſon, at firſt ſuſpected to be for the King, but it was quickly appeaſed, and found to be otherwiſe. And the better to regulate the Affairs there, and quiet the place, Lieutenant Colonel *Pierſon*, Colonel *Aſhfield*, and Colonel *Packer*, are forthwith ſent over. Thus all things ſucceeded fortunately to them. Embaſſadors from all parts making haſte to congratulate the felicity of their Government.

The Governour of Dunkirk ſubmits to the change of Government.

The Embaſſador from the United Provinces, was prepared with his Credentials for Audience within a fortnight after the firſt beginning of this New Common-wealth, and at his Audience, in the name of his Maſters, he made a more than ordinary Profeſſion of Amity, and deſire of Unity and Confederacy with them. The Commiſſioners who had that in Charge, made great diſpatch both in modelling the Army and Navy, *Pierſon* and *Maſon*, two *Anabaptiſts*, Lieutenant-Colonels under General *Monk*, undertook to know ſo well the Army in *Scotland*, that their information was much credited in the ſetling of it, and to weaken *Monk*'s Power, they had deſigned to remove thoſe he moſt truſted, and put others of their own Creatures into their places. Of all theſe paſſages the General had very good Intelligence, his Agent *Clarges* not omitting to acquaint him with all that paſſed with theſe Commiſſioners. And after a while he took publick notice of it in a Letter to the Houſe, in which, among other expreſſions, he told them he had heard of their Intentions to diſplace many of his Officers, which he conceived they did not from any knowledge they had of their Perſons and Qualifications, but the Informations of others; and that he thought himſelf as fit to be credited in that matter as any, and did aſſure them, they were all honeſt and ſtout Men, and ſuch for whoſe Fidelity and good Behaviour he would be ingaged.

The Dutch Embaſſador courts our reſtored Senate in a high manner.

Gen. Monk digeſts not the Juſtices deſigns of Modelling his Army.

This Letter put a little ſtop to their Cariere, but did not divert their Revolutions: yet to give him ſome ſatisfaction, they ſent him back word, they would be very careful in the placing or diſplacing of his Officers, and that in his own Regiments of Horſe and Foot, there ſhould be no alteration till ſuch time as he were conſulted in it. *Monk* was not ſatisfied with their Anſwer, but privately adviſed ſome of thoſe Officers, whom he heard they would put from their Commands, to go to *London*, to ſolicite their own Concernments, and as much as they could obſtruct and retard the proceedings of the Committee. That which was of moſt advantage to the preſervation of his Officers, was an Order made, That ſuch Officers as were new conſtituted for *Scotland* or *Ireland*, becauſe they could not come to the Parliament to take their Commiſſions, ſhould receive them from ſuch Commiſſioners as ſhould be appointed for the Civil Government of thoſe Kingdoms

He uſeth his utmoſt induſtry to obſtruct it.

doms respectively. And none being yet appointed for *Scotland*, that Affair rested a while in suspense, yet was not so far neglected as to hinder the designment of the remove of many, whom nevertheless the General underhand kept still in their Commands, till further order.

An Old Act of Assessment revived.

In the pretended Parliament begun at *Westminster*, in the year 1656. An Act had passed for a three years Assessment upon *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, at thirty five thousand pounds *per mensem* on *England*, six thousand *per mensem* on *Scotland*, and nine thousand a Moneth on *Ireland*, to determine the 24*th.* of *June* 1660, of which one years proportion was yet uncollected, which made the House to pass an Act on the 18*th.* of *June* this year, to authorize the collecting of that money, knowing it to be less difficult to continue a Tax already imposed, than after the expiring of that to raise a new one. In this Act, they appoint the whole years Assessment to be paid into the Treasury, one Moiety on or before the tenth of *August*, and the other on the tenth of *October*.

Commissioners appointed for the Government of *Ireland*.

Having, as is aforesaid, recalled Colonel *Henry Cromwel* from *Ireland*, they appoint for the Civil Government of that Kingdom certain Commissioners, namely, *Steele*, *Robert Goodwyn*, *Matthew Thomlinson* and *John Jones*; and for the Command of the Army, Colonel *Edmund Ludlow*, who with the Title of Lieutenant General was immediately upon receipt of his Commission dispatch't away.

The Kings Commissioners active endeavours to raise the Country for his Majesties Service.

In the mean time, the Kings Commissioners were not idle in ingaging as many as they could for his Service; and Captain *Titus* was sent by his Majesty to treat with Major General *Brown*, and such others in the City of *London* as he knew to be well inclined to his Interest. When he came to *London* and sent to *Brown*, he refused to have any Communication with him, and therefore he used the mediation of Mr. *Charlton*, and Mr. *Beverly* of *Lincolns-Inne* to treat with him, and they had several Conferences without any effect; for he being a Prudent Wary man, was unwilling to hazard himself till he saw some Body of Men together, to busie the Army, and divert the Forces in *London* and *Westminster*. *Titus* then addressed himself to Mr. *Mordant* and the rest of his Majesties Commissioners, and was very assistant to them. So Active were these Commissioners, that most of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, and *Wales* were engaged by them, and a day in *July* fixed for the Rising. Sir *George Booth* was to raise *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Shropshire* and *Flintshire*. Sir *John Carter*, *Denbighshire*. The Earl of *Stamford*, *Leicestershire*. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, (who also advanced money to buy Arms) *Suffolk*. Colonel *Rossiter*, *Lincolnshire*. Colonel *Popham*, *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*, and to secure *Bristol* and *Taunton*. Mr. *Edward Dunch* and others, *Berkshire* Major General *Massey*, and the Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, and Mr. *How*, *Gloucestershire*. Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Thomas Leverthorp* and Mr. *Fanshaw*, *Hartfordshire*. Mr. *Mordant*, Sir *Francis Vincent*, and Sir *Adam Brown*, *Surrey*; with many more in all places too long to name.

The first Rising was to be of such as had never engaged on the Kings side in the late Wars, thereby to draw the Army to less opposition; for the *Declaration* had no mention of his Majesty, but was called, *The Declaration of the Lords, Gentlemen and Citizens, Freeholders and Yeomen, in this once happy Nation.* The words of it were these:

The Declaration of Sir *George Booth* emitted at the time of his Rising.

SInce it hath pleased Almighty God to suffer the Spirit of Division to continue in this distracted Nation, and to leave us without any setled Foundation of Religion, Liberty, and Property, the Legislative Power usurped at pleasure, and contemned; the Army raised at first for our Defence abused, and misled into unwarrantable Actions by the Cunning and Ambition of some of the Superiour Officers; no Face of Government appearing either in any single person, or a Body of Men in Council lawfully constituted, to whom the Grievances of the People may with any Probability of Success be properly addressed. Therefore we being Conscious of our Duty, and sensible of our own and the Nations Ruine, if these Distractions continue, or issue in a more fixed oppression by some Settlement inconsistent with the Laws, Peace and Interest of these Nations, have taken Arms in Defence of our selves, and all others who will partake with Us in the Vindication and Maintenance of the Freedom of Parliaments, *against all Violence whatsoever of the known* Laws, Liberty, *and* Property *of the Gobd people of this Nation, who at present groan under Illegal, Arbitrary, and Insupportable Taxes and Payments unknown to our Ancestors, This being our Duty to GOD and to Man, and our only Design, we cannot dispair of the Blessing of him who gives Victory; nor of the chearful concurrence of all Good people, nor of the undeceived part of the Army, whose Arrears and increase of future pay, and Advancement of high Command, We shall by all means procure, suffering no Imposition of force on any mans Conscience; And to this We doubt not but all honest* English-men *will say* Amen, Amen.

Sir *George Booth's* Rising aided by the Kings Friends from all Parts.

But yet many of the Kings Friends in all parts were to bring in their Aids, Colonel *Richard Arundel* and *Trelawny* undertook, if his Majesty would bring five hundred Horse into *Cornwall*, and Arms for as many more, they would raise the other five hundred: And Major General *Egerton* did as much in *Staffordshire*; and many others in other parts. The Preparation could not be expedited with that haste as was intended, so that the day of Rising was deferr'd to the first of *August*, and Mr. *Cooper* was sent by Mr. *Mordant* to his Majesty to acquaint him with it; who was so soon dispatch't, that he returned in five days to those that sent him to let them know, his Majesty would be present with them in a short time: With him Colonel *Roger Whitley* came into *England*, with some verbal Instructions to Sir *George Booth*, and some blank Commissions to disperse in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire* and *Flintshire*; He staid no longer in *London*, then to receive Mr. *Mordant's* Commands, and some of the forementioned *Declarations* to carry with him to *Booth*. Captain *Titus* was sent to the King, to let him know all was ready: His Majesty

His Majesty removes from *Brussels* to *Calais*, to be ready if occasion were to come over.

thereupon remov'd privately from *Brussels* to *Calais*, about the first of *August*, which was two days after *Titus* came to him: he had in his Company only the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristol*, Dr. *Quatermaine*, Mr. *Daniel Oneal*, and one *Maurice Delaval*, a Servant of the Marquess of *Ormond*'s, with two other Servants, one belonging to the Earl of *Bristol*, and the other to *Oneal*, nor did they travel thither together, but by two and two. His Majesty had not only Dr. *Quatermaine* with him, and the first place he came to from *Brussels* was a little Village where *Monsieur Marsin* met him, with whom he had much discourse about his Affairs. *Marsin* accompanied his Majesty to St. *Omers*, where they parted; and then he went directly to *Calais*, where the rest met him; but to avoid being known they dispersed into several Lodgings, and his Majesty had with him only *Maurice* to wait on him. The Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, were at *Breda*, and were sent for to *Brussels*, but they arrived not till the day the King parted from thence, and after he was gone. The Duke of *York* with *Titus* followed his Majesty to *Calais*, but the Duke of *Gloucester* by his Majesties appointment continued at *Brussels*, ready prepared to come over upon the first intimation. The King staid three days at *Calais*, and a Shallop was ready at *Boulogn* for his Transportation in *Kent*, upon the first news of any considerable Parties being in Arms.

The Duke of *York* follows from *Breda*.

The main of the Design prevented by discovery.

But in the height of this Expectation, one Mr. *Baron* arrived from *Mordant* with the ill News of the disappointment of much of the Design in all the *South* and *West* parts of *England*, which was thought to be discovered by a Letter intercepted at *Reading* from the Lady *Mary Howard*, about the Latter end of *July*, but it was known long before that Letter, to *Scot*, and some few other Members of the *Council of State*, which hastened them so much in a more than usual care in modelling the Army, and setling the whole Militia of the Kingdom, wherein the meanest Commission-Officer in any of the Trained Bands, Troops, or Companies, was to be approved in Parliament, and they had privately laid a contrivance to have Soldiers at most of the Risings of the King's Friends all over *England*: So that their accidental intercepting of the Lady *Mary Howards* Letter by the Officious diligence of a Post-Master, was rather a Service than a disadvantage to his Majesty since thereby his coming to *England*, which might have exposed his Person to inevitable Peril, was prevented. Notice of this discovery could not be soon enough dispersed to prevent the appearance of many Gentlemen in divers parts. The Earl of *Lichfield*, with Sir *Adam Brown*, my Lord *Mordant*, (so we now stile him, in regard he here first declared his having received the Dignity of Viscount) and about twenty five others Rendezvouzed near *Guilford* in *Surrey*, but by reason of the taking of Sir *Francis Vincent* an active Servant of the Kings, there was so little appearance, that all divided to shift for themselves: the Earl of *Lichfield* and my Lord *Mordant* came disguised by Water in the Common Barge from *Chertsey* to *London*, and got privately to Alderman *Robinson*'s House, where they were for a while concealed.

The most considerable Body that got together was under Sir *George Booth*, who with the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Kilmury*, and Major General *Egerton*, were met at the time appointed at *Warrington*, at first with a small Party; but they having the very Flower of the Gentry and Gallantry engaged among them, their numbers increased every minute: Colonel *Roger Whitley* delivered his Message to Sir *George Booth* from his Majesty, and the Declarations he had received from the Lord *Mordant*, with an account of his Majesties Preparations beyond the Seas, and his readiness to come over upon the first notice; which was no small Satisfaction and Joy to the whole Party, which then consisted of about Five hundred men. The first thing they resolved, was to march towards *Chester*, and the first night they marched to a place called *Tradsam*, where they met Colonel *Werden*, who assured them that the Gates of *Chester* would be opened to them: And the next day they marched thither, and took possession of the Town, but the Castle was defended against them by *Croxton* the Governour thereof for the *Parliament*, who had one Company in it. The next day Major General *Egerton* was sent with a Party to *Chirk-Castle*, where Sir *Thomas Middleton* hearing of his approach, opened the Gates and joyfully received him. The next day he went with them to *Wrexham* (having left his Son to command the Castle for the King) and there many came in to them. The next day after, Colonel *Whitley* was sent with a party to put a Garrison into *Harding-Castle* in *Flint-shire*, which was newly left by a Party of the *Parliament* Soldiers that marched from thence to *Denbigh-Castle*, their next Garrison, but were seized by the Country, and brought Prisoners to Sir *George Booth*'s Party. Colonel *Ireland* at the same time declared for them in *Leverpool*, and Mr. *Brooks* one of the present Members of the *House of Commons*, willing to expiate his former mistakes, cordially joyned with them for the freedom of his Countrey, and met at the first Rendezvouz.

Sir *George Booth* appears with several others in a considerable Body

They take possession of *Chester* City, but the Castle holds out against them.

Chirk Castle deliver'd to them by Sir *Thomas Middleton*.

Colonel *Ireland* and several others declare for them.

The *Parliament* somewhat apprehensive of these Proceedings, caused all the Horses in and about *London* to be seized, and all the Avenues to the City to be guarded, and divers Troops and Companies to be placed in all the ways toward the *West*, and *North-west* Parts. They had every hour news of the dispersing of several little Parties, and *Lambert* was ordered with a Brigade to march to suppress Sir *George Booth* and his Party. The Lord *Mordant*, as the most active Agent for his Majesty, was summoned on a great penalty to appear; and Mr. *Edmond Dunch* and *Brooks*, two Members of the House whom they suspected to be ingaged for the King, were on the penalty of a hundred pounds a piece required to attend the service of the House.

They at *Westminster* prepare for Defence, and send *Lambert* against Sir *George Booth*.

Mr. *Monk*, a Minister sent into *Scotland* to solicite his Brother the General, to the imbracing his Majesties Interest,

Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a Reverend Minister, a Person of most firm Loyalty to his Majesty, and the only Brother to General *Monk*, came at this time to *London* in his way to *Scotland*, from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Sir *Thomas Stukely*, and other of his Majesties Friends in the *West* of *England*

England. His business was to ingage his Brother in his Majesties Cause, to promote the present Design being directed to receive further Instructions from Sir *John Greenvile*. He came directly to Mr. *Clarges* before he saw any one, and communicated his business to him, and afterwards to *Greenvile*, who much encouraged his undertaking, and shewed him two Letters he had received from his Majesty, one to General *Monk*, and the other to himself; which may not be impertinent to this History to be here inserted, to manifest the great Vigilance of his Majesty, whose eye was in every place where he had any prospect of assistance to his Affairs. That to *Monk* was as followeth:

His Majesties Letters to General Monk and Sir John Greenvile.

SIR,

I Cannot think you wish me ill, for you have no reason so to do, and the good I expect from you, will bring so great a benefit to your Country, and to your self, that I cannot think you will decline my Interest. The Person who gives or sends this to you, hath Authority to say much to you from me; and if you once resolve to take my Interest to heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it intirely to your own Judgment; *And will comply with the Advice you shall give me. The rest I refer to the person who conveys this to you; and it is in your Power to make me as kind to you as you can desire, and to have me always.*

Your Affectionate Friend,

July 21st 1659. CHARLES R.

The other was to Sir *John Greenvile* of the the same date, in these words, *Viz.*

His Majesties Letter to Sir John Greenvile.

I Am Confident that George Monk *can have no Malice in his heart against me; nor hath he done any thing against Me which I cannot easily pardon, and it is in his Power to do Me so great Service, that I cannot easily Reward, but I will do all, I can; and I do Authorize you to Treat with him; and not only to assure him of my Kindness, but that I will very liberally Reward him with such an Estate in Land, and such a Title of Honour as himself shall desire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my Interest: And whatsoever you shall promise to him on my behalf, or whatever he or you by his Advice, shall promise to any of his Officers, or the Army under his Command (which Command shall still keep) I will make good and perform upon the Word of a King.*

CHARLES R.

Greenvile earnestly pressed to have *Clarges* ingaged, and Mr. *Monk* moved it to him, with a promise of Great Advantage from his Majesty upon his Restitution. *Clarges* replyed, *That he needed not these Temptations to oblige him to his Duty*; and refused to have any Discourse concerning those Matters with Sir *John Greenvile* at that time, well knowing, that the least jealousie of his actions from those in power, might make him useless for that future Service which could not be done without him. Mr. *Monk* negotiates with Mr. *Clarges* about the foresaid business.

But because all the ways to *Scotland* were obstructed, he took care to provide a Frigot for the Transporting of Mr. *Nicholas Monk* thither, and convey'd him safe on Shipboard fully instructed how to manage his Negotiations with Caution, and to communicate with none but the General, except Dr. *Samuel Barrow* Physician to the Army, a very discreet Gentleman, and Mr. *John Price*, his Chaplain: The first of which was ejected out of *Trinity*-Colledge in *Cambridge* for his affection to his Majesty; and the latter, the Son of a Sequestred Minister, always educated in Principles of Loyalty, a good Scholar, and an honest Man; both recommended by *Clarges* to the General at his first going into *Scotland*, to be near his Person. *Clarges* secretly conveys Mr. *Monk* on Shipboard for his Transportation into *Scotland*.

The King when he received the News from the Lord *Mordant* of the disappointment of the Design, went from *Callais* to *Bulloign*, and from thence by easie Journeys, and very privately to *Rouen*. The Duke of *York* and Captain *Titus* stayed behind a while at *Bulloign*, and the parts adjacent, to be ready upon all occasions if any thing should intervene. His Majesty at *Rouen* was in Consultation which way to move, when Dr. *Allestry* came to him with the news of Sir *George Booth*'s being in Arms, with Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and others, with great Forces in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire* and *North-Wales*, which put him in good hopes of Success. The first rumour of this Rising represented it very formidable, forasmuch as his Majesties Friends that lived at distance from it, were willing to receive it with the greatest advantage, so that the Numbers were believed to be much greater than they were, and by imagination advanced to what the willing Affections of the favourers of his Majesties Cause would have them. His Majesty sent the Marquess of *Ormond* to *Paris* to Transact some Affairs there, and went himself to St. *Maloes* by *Caen*, where he met the Earl of *Bristol*, and Mr. *Oneal*. His Majesty removes privately from *Calais* to *Rouen*. Thence to St. *Maloes*.

They at *Westminster* in the mean time were very active in dispatching *Lambert* on the Expedition against *Booth*, but first they issued forth a Proclamation to proclaim Major General *Egerton*, Colonel *Robert Werden*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and their Adherents, Traytors and Rebels, which was commanded to be proclaimed in all Market Towns, and read in all Churches. Major General *Massey*, the Lord *Herbert*, and others stir for the King in *Glocestershire*.

Major General *Massey* was very active in *Gloustershire*, and if by an accident of the interception of a Letter his Design had not been ruin'd, he had certainly taken *Glousester*;

and what with his own reputation in these Parts, and the assistance of the Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, Colonel *Barrow*, Captain *Glaynford*, and others of the Kings Friends, they would have got together about three thousand Men, Miners and others, out of the Forest of *Dean*, and from about *Stroud-Waters*, and other places. There was in *Glouceſter* a Troop of the Army Horse under one *Dale* and a *Militia*-Troop commanded by one *Crofts*, who upon this Discovery caused three hundred Foot to be presently raised, and sent a Party of Horse to take the Lord *Herbert*, *Massey*, *Barrow*, and *Glaynford*: They took the Lord *Herbert*, and brought him to *Glouceſter*; *Barrow* and *Glaynford* defended themselves in *Barrow*'s House, and upon Parol, to render themselves at *Glouceſter*, were not taken. *Massey* and his Servant being taken Prisoners, *Massey* himself was set on a Horse, and a good stout Trooper set behind him to hold him in his Arms, two rode on each side, and some Troopers before his Horse, and others behind: It was about the close of the Night, the Evening very dark and Tempestuous with Rain and Hail, insomuch that when they were going down a very steep Hill by *Nimpsfield*, Road, about ten miles from *Glouceſter*, the way to *Bath*, *Massey*'s Horse, with the man that rode behind him fell headlong all together, and tumbled down that steep Hill, whereby it hapned that the Fellow let go his hold, and most of the rest also; so that all the Prisoners, except the Lord *Herbert*, and *Massey*'s Servant, escaped.

The Lord *Herbert* taken.

And Major Gen. *Massey*.

Massey escapes, together with several other prisoners.

The Parliament sent to *Dunkirk*, for three Regiments to strengthen the Army; and Colonel *Zanchy* brought out of *Ireland* his Regiment of Horse, and *Axtel*'s Regiment of Foot, which landing at *Angleſey*, marched to joyn with *Lambert*, who at his first march from *London* had not above fifteen hundred, but by Conjunction of several Troops and Companies that met him, increased to above five thousand before he engaged; Sir *George Booth* had not half the number, and those he had were without any Order or Discipline, because many of them being Noblemen and Gentlemen of Quality, were not without great Emulation, every one aspiring his Command, whilst no body obeyed. Sir *George Booth* having intelligence of *Lambert*'s drawing near to him, thought to have got a days march before him into *Lancaſhire*, to have encreased his numbers; and to gain time, he and Sir *Thomas Middleton* sent a Trumpeter with to Ministers, to shew the ground of their raising an Army, and desired a Treaty to save effusion of Blood: To which *Lambert* agreed, on condition they would first lay down their Arms, and surrender to him the Garrisons in their power. To this there was no reply; but some of *Lambert*'s Men pressed so hard the next morning upon *Booth*, that at a Bridge near *Northwich*, a sharp Encounter was made between the Forces of each Party. The *Boothians* with much Courage defended the Pass, till they were over-powered by numbers. Captain *Morris*, a gallant Loyal Gentleman was killed, and some few others of *Booth*'s Party; of *Lambert*'s very few fell, and those that did, of no great Note; all the vanquished dispersed themselves; Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton* got away. The Lord *Kilmury*, *Brooks*, Major General *Egerton*, Sir *William Oneale* and others were taken Prisoners, and all the Garrisons immediately submitted to *Lambert*.

Lambert marcheth against Sir *George*, and increaseth his Force.

Sir *George Booth*'s Forces ingage with *Lambert*.

Sir *George* defeated.

Sir George, although he had the good Fortune at that time to escape, was not long free, being seized at *Newports-Pannel* in a Disguise, as he was riding towards *London*, in order to his Transportation into some Foreign Part.

Taken prisoner at *Newport Pannel*.

The Curious that made Remarques on this generous Undertaking, as commonly wiser in the Discourse than Execution of any great Design, did much censure the Conduct of it. They said, that they had many Opportunities to have ruined their Enemies, but omitted all; That Colonel *Zanchy* from *Ireland*, landing in *Angleſey*, might have been met, and with good probability of Success fought with, e're he could have joyned with *Lambert*, they being with all their Force betwixt him and them; and that Colonel *Lilburn*, who was gathering men together in *York-ſhire*, might easily, by any any small Force from *Lancaſhire* have been broken, and hindred in his Levies; and that many other little Parties, which in small numbers came from several Parts might have been met and dispersed, before they united; and that one Blow given to any one of them, would have added so much to their Reputation, that it might have brought great Accessions to their Party. Others, were of Opinion, that nothing was more destructive to his Majesty than these Plots and Contrivances of Rising for him; and that the best Resolution he could have taken, since the end of the first War, was to have sate in Expectation of some favourable Advantage to himself from the Division of his Enemies; For what could new raised men do against experienced and Successful Soldiers? And where the late King with all his strength could not prevail, Parties could less expect to conquer. But doubtless this was a great mistake; for it was nothing else, but the restless and invincible Spirit of the Royal Party, that by keeping the Usurpers in a perpetual distraction and Alarm, hindred them from proceeding to a final Establishment of their Power; and supported the very Life and Credit of the Cause. And certainly, the Generosity of those Noble Persons cannot be enough commended, since they valued no hazard, in respect of their Duty to their Soveraign, and the Vindication of the Laws and Liberty of their Country, and have left such an Example of Loyalty to their Posterity, as we hope will be maintained, as long as the Fame of their Vertues and Honour shall endure.

The management of this Rising censured by many.

General *Monk* in *Scotland*, was so much prevailed upon, by the report of Sir *George Booth*'s prosperous Success in his Enterprize, and the importunity of his Brother *Nicholas Monk*, that he resolved to march into *England* in pursuance

General *Monk* preparing to have marched into *England*. and joyned with Sir *George Booth*.

ance of *Booth*'s *Declaration*, which was very ſuitable to his own Inclinations.

He conſulted in this Matter beſides his Brother, only Major *Ralph Knight*, Major of his own Regiment of Horſe, Captain *Jeremiah Smith* likewiſe of his own Regiment, Dr. *Samuel Barrow* Phyſician to the Army, Dr. *John Price* his Chaplain, and Dr. *Thomas Gumble* then Chaplain to the Council of *Scotland*, in regard he had many Seditious Officers in his Army, who were Spies upon all his Actings, and therefore was obliged to be very wary, and circumſpect in his Proceedings; inſomuch, that when Colonel *Atkins*, a Royaliſt of his ancient Acquaintance, came into *Scotland* to him, about the ſame Errand that his Brother did, *Monk* (for fear of awakening the Jealouſie of the Factious about him) durſt not ſhew him any Countenance or Reſpect, but rather the contrary, ſending him away ſomewhat diſcouraged: When all was ready for his March, and a *Declaration* to that end prepared, he demurred for two days, upon the ſtop of the *Engliſh* Packet, in expectation of Intelligence from his Agent *Clarges*, from whom he two days after received the fatal News of the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*.

Is diverted by the News of his Defeat.

The King receives News thereof at St. Maloes.

The King being ſtill at St. *Maloes* in preparation of a Veſſel to tranſport him into *Egland*, had the firſt notice of theſe Misfortunes from Mr. *Brett*, an *Engliſh Benedictine Monk*, which in a while after was confirmed to him by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, who came to him from *Paris*, with Particulars of it: The King (aways preſent to himſelf in the moſt difficult Accidents of his Life) diſcovered not much alteration at this, though it ſeemed a Croſs, that it might very well no leſs ſenſibly affect him, than whatever had yet happned to him improſperous, and giving Check to his Fortune; becauſe hereby all his hopes became deſperate, of his being ever reſtored to his Subjects, without ſuch Foreign Force as ſhould be able to afford aſſiſtance and Supply to their Endeavours for him, by holding his Enemies ſo long in Play, till by acceſſion of his Friends, they might be ſtrong enough to reſiſt their greateſt Power and Force: yet even in this Reflection, he had many Doubts in his Mind, for that many late Succeſſes of the *Engliſh* in *Flanders*, had made them ſeem invincible to thoſe, from whom His Majeſty was to expect Aſſiſtance. But ſince now nothing but Foreign Aid could viſibly raiſe his hopes, he reſolved ſeriouſly to apply himſelf to the Treaty now in Agitation upon the Borders between *France* and *Spain*, about a Peace betwixt thoſe two Crowns, which was managed by Cardinal *Mazarine*, and *Don Lewis D' Haro*, the two chief Miniſters of the two Kings, to which His Majeſty had an Eye long ſince, not doubting but he ſhould in ſome meaſure be comprehended in it, ſo as to receive Aſſiſtance from thoſe Princes his Allies, aſſoon as they ſhould be freed from their Embaraſments; and in proſecution hereof he had commanded Sir *Henry Bennet*, a perſon of great Prudence and Addreſs, his Embaſſadour Reſident in *Spain*, not to fail to attend *Don Lewis D' Haro* to the Treaty, and to be preſent there to negotiate his Affairs. The Treaty being near Concluſion, His Majeſty, for fear it ſhould be ended before he came thither, made all poſſible haſte to repair to thoſe Parts; and in order thereunto, took his Journey forthwith from St. *Maloes* to *Reimes*, where he met Sir *George Carteret*, and after ſome ſmall ſtay with him, went from thence to *Nants*, and there his Company divided till they met again at *Thoulouze*; from thence he went by the Paſſage of *Oleron*, over the *Pyrenean* Hills, to *Saragoſa*, the chief City in *Aragon*, and there he continued eight or nine days, and diſpatched Mr. *Omale* to *Fontarabia*, to inform himſelf of what paſſed at the Treaty; who, when he came thither, after ſome Confederence with *Bennet*, they agreed to haſte away Mr. *William Dungan*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman to the King, to let him know, the Treaty was prolonged, and that his Preſence would very much quicken and advance his Affairs. His Majeſty then immediately haſting by Poſt to the Treaty, continued *incognito* (as he had done all his Journey) till he came within three Leagues of *Fontarabia*; where he was attended by *Bennet* with Coaches to augment his Equipage; and from thence he reſumed his State, and went in Publick.

He begins to deſpair his chiefeſt hopes from the Peace between France and Spain.

Sir Henry Bennet Negotiates for his Majeſtey at that Treaty.

His Majeſty repairs thither himſelf.

He was met by the Baron of *Batteville*, a Perſon of great Honour and Civility (Governour of *Fontarabia*) with a Troop of Horſe, a Mile and a half without the Town; and when he came near it, all the Guns were diſcharged, and *Don Lewis* himſelf met him within the Gate. During his ſtay there, he was entertained in as ſplendid a manner as the time and place would handſomely admit. And during the Treaty, he had frequent Conferences with *Don D' Haro*, and was every day viſited by him.

And is honourably entertained by the Spaniard.

The Governing Power in *England* imployed at the ſame time to attend on Cardinal *Mazarine* at this Treaty, and to promote their Concerns, *Lockhart*, who had continued ever ſince *Oliver*'s Death, Extraordinary Embaſſadour in *France*. The Cardinal lay at St. *John de Luz*, the neareſt Town to *Spain*, on the *French* Borders, where he ſhewed ſo much Countenance and Reſpect to *Lockhart*, that the King thought it not decent to give him a Viſit, but he received many from divers of the *French* Nobility.

Lockhart at the ſame time Agent at this Treaty for the the Engliſh Commonwealth.

Is countenanced and favoured by Cardinal Mazarine.

General *Monk* was inwardly very much troubled at theſe Diſaſters; and the more, becauſe he found himſelf every day more and more incapable to remedy them: for the Houſe diſplaced Colonel *Daniel*, the Governour of St. *Johnſtons*, and many other Officers whom he much truſted, and were about to remove the reſt: ſo that ſeeing which way things were likely to tend, and thinking it better to reſign of his own accord, than to be worm'd out of his Command; or at leaſt remain but like the Image of a General, and ſerve only for a Prop to other Mens deſigns, he ſent a Letter upon the Third of *September*, to *Lenthal* the Speaker, to be communicated to the *Parliament*, to deſire a Diſmiſſion from his Command; pretending, *That he was infirm in his health, and had long continued in that remote Country; and therefore requeſting, now that*

General Monk ſends a Letter to the Houſe, ſignifying his willingneſs to be diſmiſt from his Command.

that all Insurrections, which threatned disturbances to the Peace of the Nations, were allayed, he might be permitted to return into his own Countrey, to end his days in quiet.

This *Letter*, though it was not sent to *Clarges* to be delivered, as usually all his Packets were, because he suspected he would have opposed that resolution of his, and been very backward and dilatory in the delivery of the Letter; yet Mr. *Nicholas Monk* giving him Intimation of it, the Matter was so ordered, that the Letter came to his hands, and by him delivered to the *Speaker*, with whom he dealt so effectually, that he agreed to delay the offering of it to be read for ten days, till a Packet came from *Scotland* to contradict it: Yet *Clarges* was put to great perplexity in this Business; for *Vane*, *Salway*, and those that affected not, or suspected the General (having private advice of this Letter) often call'd to have it read; and had not earnest and dextrous prevention been used to divert the House with other business, by some that loved the General well, and were prepared by *Clarges*, he had by this Despondency rendred himself incapable of doing that, for which he seemed by *Providence* especially chosen and markt out.

The said Letter through *Clarges* his perswasion is kept off by the *Speaker* from being Read.

The Army begins to contrive the recovery and advancement of their Power.

The Defeat of Sir *George Booth* and his Party, heightned much the Spirits of the Chief Officers of the Army, who began now to contrive how to restore the Military Power to its former Greatness, which was somewhat of late lessened by the *Parliament*, and in Designation to be wholly subjected to them. To effect this, there was a strict and private Correspondence held between some of the Officers at *London*, and *Lambert*, and those with him in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and Parts adjacent. The Difficulty was, how to ingage the inferiour Officers (who were somewhat affected with their immediate Dependance on the House, by receiving Commissions from the Hands of the *Speaker*) to obviate this. It was advised to attempt nothing at the General-Council of Officers in *London*: but to begin with those of *Lambert's* Brigade, as most exalted by their late good Fortune; and therefore apter to be seduced by any plausible advantages of Power. These therefore were all conven'd to the number of Fifty at *Derby*, the 16*th* of *September*, the first thing on which they began their Debate, was the Constitution of the Army; the Unity, Discipline, and Conduct whereof, they said was invaded by a Party of Neuters and Malignants: They complained of several Miscarriages in the Civil Administrations of Government, and of the Inactivity and Backwardness of Persons in Authority and Trust in the Counties, and the Defection of many Corporations, both which appeared in the time of the late Insurrection. They also seemed much to resent the Parliaments unwillingness to prosecute the *Proposals* of the Army at their first sitting, as an Expedient for Settlement, with many other things of like Concernment. These things were artificially insinuated into the Minds of the inferiour Officers who were easily enough drawn to an Opinion of their own Power, and to think themselves qualified to give Laws to all but themselves.

Consultations among the Officers of the Army, promoted by *Lambert*, in dislike of some Miscarriages of the *Junto*.

However, these Matters were at first only Treated of in Generals, It being moved and agreed, that Colonel *Zanchy*, Colonel *Michael*, Major *Creed*, and some few others, should meet as *Committees* for the rest, to reduce them into Form, which was accordingly done. *Lambert* himself went privately to *London*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Duckenfield*, a great creature of his, presently followed, to acquaint the General Council of Officers with these Proceedings; and shortly after, the whole Matter being digested into the Form of a *Petition*, was sent up in a Letter inclosed to Colonel *Ashfield*, Colonel *Cobbet*, and *Duckenfield*; by whom, or any one, or more of them, it was to be delivered to *Fleetwood*, to be communicated to the General Council of Officers: and at the same time, when this was sent to *London*, an Officer was dispatched with a duplicate of it to General *Monk*, and a Letter with it to desire his Concurrence, and that the Officers of his Army might joyn with them: which Letter was subscribed by Fourteen of the Chief Officers imployed under *Lambert*.

Their Desires concluded to be drawn up into the Form of a Petition.

Sir *Arthur Hasterig* had secret Intimation of these Consultations at *Derby*; and the next day after the *Petition* came to *London*, which was on the 22*d* of *September*, he moved the *Parliament*, at their first Sitting, against it, exclaiming with much earnestness against the Officers of the Army, who (he said) were attempting alterations in the Government, to the setting up a Single Person over them.

Hasterig vehemently opposeth the Armies proceedings.

This put the House into a Jealousie of *Lambert*; to whom, in their private Discourses, they attributed the whole Contrivance; and though he outwardly appeared passive in it, they said he aspired to succeed *Cromwel*: And because it was not yet time to effect his purpose, in his own Person, he would set up *Fleetwood* to be General of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and establish himself in the next Command to him, to be thereby able, with less envy, to compass his Ends. For *Fleetwood*, they said, was of an easie nature, and would be contented with the Name of General, allowing *Lambert* the power of it, till he should find a fair Occasion, to assume it in his own Right; and when he should have so gotten the Sword, he would not long want the Scepter.

And possesseth the House against them.

The *Junto's* Censure of *Lambert*, in reference to this Business.

Fleetwood confessed he had the Copy of a Petition, but seemed much perplexed at *Hasterigs* laying such an Imputation on the Officers of the Army, and endeavoured to justifie their Innocence, as tending nothing less than what was alledged; but all he said could not allay the Heat raised by *Hasterig*, insomuch, that they ordered, that *Ashfield*, *Cobbet* and *Duckenfield*, whom he affirmed to have the Original in their hands, should that Afternoon attend the House with it, and appointed *Fleetwood* to give them notice thereof, and to bring with him the Copy he had. *Monk* made no Progress in *Scotland* in this Affair, nor did he think fit to call together his Officers about it; but some of them that were *Anabaptists* attempted privately to get Subscriptions, till they heard of the severe Reflection that was made upon it by the House: Whom in the Afternoon

Fleetwood endeavours to justifie the Officers of the Army, but in vain.

Ashfield, Cobbet, and Duckenfield attend upon the House with this Petition.

noon, the three Officers mentioned attended with their *Petition:* And because it was *That*, on which the chief Foundation was laid of that difference betwixt the Remnant *Parliament* and *Army*, which ended in the Diſſolution of both, and was never yet Printed, We have thought it material enough to be here word for word inſerted.

To the Supreme Authority of theſe Nations the Parliament *of the* Common-wealth *of* England, *&c.*

The Humble Petition and Propoſals of the Officers under the Command of the Right Honourable the Lord *Lambert* in the late *Northern* Expedition.

Humbly Sheweth,

The Tenour of the Armies Petition and Propoſals.

THat whereas we, with others who deſire to fear the Lord in theſe Nations (though by our provocation we were ripe for deſtruction) have been again ſaved by the Lord, and have had a late view of his appearance as of old; in the beholding of whoſe gracious Footſteps, as we cannot but rejoyce, ſo our ſelves tremble, leſt the fruit of all (which the Lord may expect, and his people long earneſtly for) become abortive now in the day of our deliverance: We therefore preſent unto your Honours Conſideration theſe enſuing Propoſals *which we humbly lay before you:*

1. *That the* Humble Petition and Addreſs *of the* General Council of Officers *at* Wallingford-Houſe *to the* Parliament, *which was ſo unanimouſly and chearfully agreed to, and approved of, in a day of our greateſt Confuſions, may not be laid aſleep, but may have freſh Life given unto it; It being upon farther and clearer grounds ſtill upon our hearts, as the beſt and only Expedient yet offered (notwithſtanding many Eſſays) to a happy and durable* Settlement, *being a fixed and firm Fence and Boundary (under God) for the ſecuring the Civil and Spiritual Liberties which the Spirit of the Nation is unwearied in travel, not only to invade, but upon every opportunity (as We have often ſeen, and lately had a clear Evidence of) is ready to attempt the ruine and deſtruction of the ſame.*

2. *That whereas God having given a Spirit to the Army fixed and faithful to the Intereſt of his People, and Our Good Cauſe; when many who had been Friends, were either* Apoſtates, Malignants, *or* Neuters, *joyning with the old Enemy, leaving the* Parliament *and Army, and their few active Friends ſingly to conflict with their late difficulties; And having now no ſuch hopeful way like to prevail, to ruine and fruſtrate what we have ſo long Conteſted for, as by working Diviſions in the Army, making Breaches, begetting Miſ-underſtandings, and diſſolve its Unity, wherein, under God, its greateſt ſtrength lies: We do therefore, as the moſt effectual means for the maintaining the Diſcipline and Conduct thereof, and preſerving its Unity inviolable,* Humbly Propoſe, *That his Excellency the Lord* Fleetwood *may be ſettled Commander in Chief of the Armies (his Commiſſion expiring within a few Months;) that the Lord* Lambert *be the General Officer and Chief Commander of the Army next and under him; and alſo, that the Lord* Deſborow *be the Chief Officer of the Horſe under them: And that General* Monk *be the Chief Officer and Commander of the Infantry: They being all Perſons under whoſe Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity, We have had eminent Succeſs, Victory and Deliverance in the days of greateſt Straights, and have been ſignally bleſſed and owned by the Lord; to Whom, and not to Man, be the Honour of all.*

3. *That having had very ſad experience of a grand Apoſtatizing Spirit gone through the Nations, and amongſt many of thoſe who were intruſted for the ſafety thereof, very few acting or appearing in ſeveral Counties for the preventing the Plots, and ſuppreſſing the Power of the Enemy in the late Rebellious Deſign, and many others not only flattering, but falling in with them, whereby a total ruine was threatned, and had been effected, had not the Lord in Mercy prevented:* We therefore humbly propoſe, *That there may be a diligent enquiry in all parts, by faithful men imployed to that purpoſe, what intruſted Perſons have been guilty of any Contrivance, and acted againſt the* Common-wealth *Intereſt, and that they may be proceeded againſt accordingly. And likewiſe what Perſons upon wicked purpoſes have been Neutral in ſuch a diſtracted day, when their aſſiſtance, according to their Imployments and Truſts, would have been not leſs uſeful than ſeaſonable; and that all ſuch may be removed from their Places and Imployments, Civil and Military; and that ſuch, who on the contrary in this Juncture of the diſcompoſed Affairs, declared their owning of this Intereſt, either in the County Troops, or Militia Volunteers, or otherwiſe, may be looked on as Friends; encouraged, ſatisfied their* Arrears, *protected from Injuries, countenanced by you, and as they are capacitated, inveſted with Authority in their ſeveral Countries.*

4. *That in the late* Inſurrections, *ſome conſiderable Corporations, have not only aided, abetted and countenanced the Enemies Deſign, but have alſo made uſe of the Arms lodged with them, and themſelves appeared in the Rebellion, willingly received the unmerous acceſſion of all engaged therein:* Therefore we humbly propoſe, *That ſuch* Corporations *may be diſcountenanced, and that you would be pleaſed to give your ſignal mark of diſfavour againſt them; As alſo for the future, ſo to regulate* Corporations, *that ſuch Perſons well Qualified according to the* Government *of a well Conſtituted* Common-wealth *may be intruſted with Authority of* Majeſtracy *in every of the ſeveral Towns:* That ſo the Footſteps of Monarchy may be rooted out.

5. We humbly offer, *That all Perſons whatſoever,* Magiſtrates, Miniſters, *or others, who have openly or ſecretly ſtirred up, or provoked the* Inhabitants *of theſe Nations to War and Commotions againſt the* Parliament, *and particularly to the late* Inſurrections, *(of which is viſibly apparent, many of them have not only been Abettors, but in their Perſons appeared with Inſtruments and Weapons of War, as ſome of us know) may be proceeded againſt, as You in your Judgment ſhall think fit.*

After

The House signifie their displeasure, and Vote against the effect of the Petition.

After the Reading of this Paper, the *House* adjourned till the next Morning, and ordered then to resume the Debate of it, and that no other business should intervene; And at their Meeting, they Voted, *That to have any more General Officers in the Army than are already setled by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the* Common-wealth; *and that* Fleetwood *shall acquaint them with this Resolve.*

They had it under Consideration, to have Imprisoned those that brought the Petition; but because the chief and most remarkable design of it tended to set up some new General Officers in the Army, they thought it enough to declare against it.

The Officers resolve upon more moderate Proposals.

Fleetwood the next day, at a Meeting with many of the Leading Officers at his own House, informed them of the *Parliaments* displeasure signified in their late declarative Vote against the *Petition* and *Proposals*, and they thereupon resolved to decline the insisting thereon; but agreed, that some of their number should draw up somewhat in Writing of a more moderate nature, to be presented to the House, to profess an adherence to their Authority, in opposition to the King and his Party, (whom they styled the *Common Enemy*) and that they would stand by them in the Settlement of the *Common-wealth* against all disturbances whatsoever: And that this should be prepared and brought to be read and considered by a General Council of Officers to meet for that purpose the 27*th* of *September*, in the Chappel at *Somerset-House*.

Another Petition brought into the Council of Officers more high than the former.

And the said Petition was at the appointed time prepared, and brought into the General Council by those to whom the care of framing it was committed, with a long Preamble, and many Proposals far different from what was expected by many that were then present; for there seemed at their former meeting, to be a general sense and opinion, that they should humble themselves for what they had before done with the permission and consent of their Masters, and make some Declaration of their intention, never to interpose more in matters of Government. But contrary to this, they arraigned them for what they had done against the Petition of *Lambert's* Brigade, and for what (they said) had been groundlesly and without cause alledged against them; and were so far from acknowledging their offences, thereby to recover the good opinion of the House towards them, that they justified their own proceedings with a kind of Reprehension of those that mis-informed the House concerning it. Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Hacker*, Colonel *Sanders*, Major *Daberon*, Major *Barton*, and Major *Breman*, with many others, did much oppose the carrying on of this Representation, which retarded the Progress of it. And some of the dissenting Officers writ to General *Monk*, and sent him a Copy of what was brought in, with all the debates thereupon, desiring him to imply his Credit with *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* to put a stop to it; as *that which would, if not prevented, put an irreparable Breach betwixt the* Parliament *and the* Army.

Monk writes his sence of it in a Letter to *Fleetwood*.

Monk was somewhat at a stand to know how to behave himself in this matter, but to avoid suspicion, he writ to *Fleetwood* a Courteous Letter of his opinion of the whole Affair, but insisted chiefly on that part of the Petition, wherein it was proposed, *That no Officer or Souldier should be cashier'd or dismist from their Places, without a due Proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own consent, except in case of Reducement or Disbanding*; desiring they would add (after the words *Court-Martial*) *or by order of the Commander in the Chief of the Army upon the place*; alledging, *That although the removing or displacing of Officers or Souldiers, otherwise than by Sentence of Court-Martial, was a thing rarely practised: yet if a General, or the Supreme Authority, should be understood to be restrained therein, it might encourage the more inferiour Officers and Souldiers to affront the Superiour, and the General himself, and would in time, make the Army a kind of separate Corporation from the Parliament.*

Monk offers himself to March into the Assistance of the Parliaments Party.

This Letter came not to *Fleetwood*, till the greater part of the Officers had agreed to the Representation to be presented to the House. But *Monk*'s intention was to make his advantage of this division, and to that end, sent his Brother *Nicholas* to *London* to *Clarges*, to Authorise him principally to acquaint such of the Members as he thought most fit, *That if they would assert their own Authority, he would March into* England, *to justifie it against any opposition.*

During this debate at *London* of the General Officers, all imaginable endeavours were used by the Dissenters, to protract and lengthen the time, but they were by much over-numbred. And the Petition was Signed by 230 Commission-Officers of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, who were then in and about *London*.

Orders made by the *Junto* of Commons, for the incouragement of the Souldiers, the better to ingage them to their Interest.

The Leading Members had from time to time Notice of the Progress of this Petition, and the matter of it, so that to prevent the Officers of the Army, even in the most reasonable of their Demands, they made many Orders concerning Pay of the Souldiers, and Mariners, and Provisions for the Maimed Souldiers, and Orphans, and Widows of such as were killed in their Service. To the Souldiers they ordered, that all the Arrears, as well of those of the Army, as the Militia-Troops and Companies should be paid out of the Moiety of such Moneys as should be raised by the Sale, or other disposition of the Estates of Delinquents Sequestred, and to be Sequestred upon the late Insurrection, and out of one Moiety of Money to be raised by the Sale of Forests and Chaces, excepting *New Forest*, and the Forest of *Deane*. And excepting such Timber and Trees as should be thought fit to be reserved and made use of, for the use of the Common-wealth. And to the Officers and Mariners of the Navy, they ordered the other Moiety of the Money to be raised upon Delinquents Estates. And also that *Hampton-Court*-House, Parks, and *Somerset-House*, (except the Chappel which was reserved for a *French* Congregation) and all other Mannors, Parks, Houses and Lands contained

Orders for the sale of *Hampton-Court*, *Somerset-House*, &c.

containing in the several Acts for Sale of the King and Queens Lands, should be sold, and the Money go to that use. And for the maimed Souldirs, Orphans and Widdows, of such as were slain in their Service, they ordered the Committees formerly constituted for inspections into the Publick Treasuries, to pay two months pay to them, and to take care to put such of their Children to be Apprentices as were fit for it. They likewise, to gain themselves the more general Esteem, considered of some ways to satisfie part of the Debts contracted to raise Arms against the King, at the beginning of the War, upon the Publick Faith of the Parliament, which had been long neglected, and in order thereunto, they ordered, that the other Moiety of the Money to be raised by the Sale of the Forests (except as aforesaid), should be employed towards the payments and satisfaction of those Debts. The House imagined that these their Proceedings would so far satisfie the Generalities of the Officers of the Army, as to divert them from the delivery of their Petition; and many of the most active Members in credit with the leading men did what they could to hinder it, but could not prevail. And upon the 5th of *October*, Colonel *Desborow*, with many others, came to the Door of the *Parliament*, and Sent the Serjeant to inform the Speaker, that he, with some others of the Officers of the Army, attended with something to be presented to them, whereupon he was called in with those in his Company, and in the name of the rest spake these following words.

The remnant indeavour in vain to divert the delivery of the Petition.

Desborow's words at the delivery thereof

"I Am Ordered by the General Council of the Army, with the rest of these Gentlemen, to wait upon you, to present unto you their *Humble Representation* and *Petition*; and they humbly desire you would accept it, as that which proceeds from the Hearts of those who desire nothing more than that the Lord would strenghen your Hearts in carrying on that good Work of setling these Nations upon the Foundation of a Free Common-wealth, whereby the Religious and Civil Liberty of the good People thereof may be preserved and secured.

Having said this, he and those with him withdrew, and the *Petition*, being delivered by the Serjeant at Arms attending, into the *Speakers* Hands, was by his direction read. The Title was,

The Humble Representation and Petition of the Officers of the Army; to the Parliament *of the* Common-wealth *of* England.

The substance of the Armies humble Representation and Petition.

In the *Preamble* they set forth, "That having had by their Order some late *Votes* of *Parliament* Communicated unto them by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* their Commander in Chief, occasioned by a Debate in Parliament upon the *Petition* and *Proposals* of the Officers under the Command of the Lord *Lambert* in the late *Northern* Expedition; they have enquired diligently into their Hearts and Ways with reference thereunto, and finding nothing amongst them but Faithfulness and Integrity to the Parliament and Common-wealth, they are sensible that there have not wanted some Persons who have endeavoured to beget misunderstanding betwixt the Parliament and the Army, and to that end have represented their Actions and Intentions so, as it is taken for granted, that there hath been irregularity amongst them, at which they feel they have taken offence, whereas if there had not been an Anticipation, they are perswaded it would have appeared to all unprejudiced Spirits that neither they (who for the generality of them were ignorant (*for so they pretended*) of that whereat the offence was taken, nor their Faithful Brethren of the *Northern* Brigade, who signed the said Petition and Proposals, did design or intend any thing tending to the interruption of the Parliament, the prejudice of the Peace of the Common-wealth, or any other by-ends whatsoever respect, not becoming the Trust reposed in them. Wherefore being sensible of the Evils that Persons abroad may make from the least apprehensions of Difference betwixt the Parliament and the Army, and that they may, as much as in them lies, remove all occasions of surmise, justifie their own Innocency before them, and frustrate the expectations of any, who by blowing up the Coals of Dissention, hope to warm themselves thereby; They have thought it their Duty to present their naked Thoughts to them, hoping they will find so much of Integrity and approved Faithfulness in them, for the welfare of the Common-wealth, as may continue a firm Confidence of them, and engage their Zeal against all such as shall go about to reproach their Faithful Army, or any Member thereof for the future, especially considering that the Peace of these Nations depends much upon a Cordial and Affectionate Union of the Parliament and Army, and an uninterrupted good understanding of each other.

It could not rationally be believed, that these men could think this their manner of Proceeding suitable to the temper of Subjects to their Superiours, or that it could tend to any thing but that which they seemed to avoid, namely, a Breach betwixt their *Parliament* and them. But a clearer manifestation of this was apparent in their *Proposals* annexed to this *Preamble*, ushered in with Four bold Declaratory Assertions; of all which we shall insert the words themselves as they were presented. Where they say,

We do humbly and plainly declare,

The Armies Proposals.

1. *That notwithstanding what any persons may suggest or say to the contrary, We are not for, but against the setting up of any* Single Person *whatsoever in supreme Authority: And for a demonstration hereof, We may appeal to your own Judgements, upon our late Actings, wherein since our*

our Declaration of the sixth of May last, We have with all Industry and Faithfulness endeavoured to render our selves serviceable to you and the Common-wealth, and have Chearfully observed your Commands, some of Us with our Lives in our hands in your late Service; wherein to our great encouragement the Lord hath once more appeared to own you and your Army, and the Good Old Cause, for which we have contended. And at the late Return of this Parliament to the Discharge of their remaining Trust, We did with simplicity and plainness in our Humble Petition and Address presented to you, manifest our Hearts and Desires, and that with much unanimity and fulness of consent which we apprehended was well accepted by you.

2. That we have not since changed our Principles, tending to a well-regulated Common-wealth, wherein the Liberties of the People thereof both Spiritual and Civil may be fully secured, and Persons of known Integrity, Piety and Ability employed in Places of Trust and Commitment; but resolve by the assistance of God to remain constant to them: And make it our humble Prayer to God, that he would incline your Hearts effectually to prosecute the same, and make you Instrumental in bringing forth such a Foundation of Government, whereby all the Good People of these Nations may rationally expect that such Liberties and Rights shall be preserved to them and their Posterities. And we can truly say, that it is in our Hearts earnestly to desire, that God would Crown you with the Honour of making these Nations happy by such a Settlement, as may not be liable to every Change of Governments, to have the Peace thereof disturbed by introducing new Governments.

3. Whereas a Petition and Proposals were lately drawn up by the Officers of the Brigade, that (under the Command of Major General Lambert) hazarded themselves in your Service with good success, whereby through the Blessing of God upon them, and others of your faithful Friends and Servants, the Peace of this Common-wealth is still continued: And the said Petition was sent up to some Officers here, to be presented to the Lord Fleetwood; which had been by some interpreted to evil and sinister Ends, and from thence suggestions derived, as if there were intentions to vindicate the Parliament, to set up a Single Person, or another General: In order thereunto, We do sincerely profess, (what ever the design of any Persons may be to promote such Causeless Jealousies) We have had no other than Faithfulness and Candor in our Hearts and Albions towards the Parliament; nor do we apprehend (with submission we may speak it) any reason or cause of offense to be conceived against your faithful Servants, who lately gave so ample proof of their Fidelity and courage.

4. We cannot but esteem our selves unhappy to have been so mis-represented to the Parliament; as should occasion such a publick Admonition upon Record; and considering what evil use may be made of these things by the Publick enemy, and to the end they may be disappointed of their hopes, and all such Persons discouraged as shall go about for the future to promote Jealousies, or by mis-information to beget Divisions between the Parliament and their Faithful Servants the Army: And that a good understanding may be preserved between them; We humbly pray,

1. That the Officers of the Army, and particularly those who have reason to bear the marks of your Favour for their Faithfulness in the late Northern Expedition, may stand right in Your Opinion, and have your Countenance.

2. That whatsoever person or persons shall for the future Groundlesly and Causelisly, inform the House against your Servants, thereby creating Jealousies, and scandalous Imputations upon them, may be brought to Examination, Justice and condign Punishment.

3. That it being an undoubted Right of the People to have a Liberty in a peaceable and submissive way, to Petition the Supreme Authority, which Liberty hath been by your selves asserted, allowed and approved of; We cannot but also assert the said Liberty, and humbly Conceive, that your Faithful Servants of the Army have no way forfeited their Rights as Freemen, and that therefore they hope it will be no offence for them to submit their humble Desires to the Parliament.

4. That you would be pleased to take into Your serious Consideration, the necessitous Condition of the poor Souldiers, of your Armies, and that all possible care may be taken for their timely supply, their Wants being such as earnestly call for it: And that some speedy and effectual course may be taken to provide for the Maimed Souldiers, and the poor Widows and Orphans of such as have been slain in Your Service, that the blessing of God may be upon you.

5. That such who have freely offered themselves in the several Counties and Cities of these Nations, to own and stand by you and your Cause in the late Insurrections, with the hazard of all which is dear unto them, may have your Encouragement, and be imployed in Places of Trust and Command.

6. That it being a thing granted by all, that without due Execution of Martial Discipline, the Peace, Union and good Government of an Army cannot be preserved; the Discipline of the Army may be preserved inviolable, and in particular, that no Officer or Souldier of the Army may be Cashiered or Dismissed from their Places without a due proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own Consent, except in cases of Reducement or Disbanding.

7. That it being judged necessary by the Parliament, for the keeping of the Army under such a Conduct as may render the same Serviceable to the Common-wealth, to appoint a Committee of Nominations, for the proposing of Officers to the Parliament, for their Approbation; We humbly pray, That no Officers may be brought into the Army, but such as shall first come under the Consideration of the said Committee, and be by them presented.

8. The Office of the Commander in Chief of the Army being of so Great concernment to the Peace of this Common-wealth, and his Commission as present (as we conceive) expiring within a few Months, We humbly pray, that the Consideration of that matter, may come before you, and some such effectual course be taken therein, as may prevent our fears, and the hazard of leaving the Army to Confusion.

9. And that you would retain a good Opinion of your Army, and against all discouragements whatsoever

ſoever, proceed in the carrying on of that good Work intruſted in your Hands, for the Glory of God, and advantage of theſe Nations. In the proſecution whereof, through the help of our God, We ſhall be found (notwithſtanding all endeavours to the contrary) faithful to You and this Commonwealth.

The Inſolency of theſe *Propoſals*, gave our preſent Senators reaſon to ſuſpect their Authority to be of no long continuance; but in regard many Officers of the Army diſſented from the Repreſenting and Propoſing Party, they imagined the reſt would not be very haſty to make a Rupture: Therefore they reſolved to aſſert their Power at any hazard; in order whereunto, they had many ſharp Debates, about this *Repreſentation* and *Petition*; but in the end they concluded with moderation, and directed their *Speaker* to call the Petitioners into the *Houſe*, and acquaint them "That the Par-
"liament had read their Repreſentation and
"Petition, and taking notice of the good Ex-
"preſſions therein of their Affections and
"Faithfulneſs to this Parliament and Common-
"wealth, had Commanded him to give them
"the Thanks of their Houſe for them; and
"to let them know, that they had already ta-
"ken into conſideration the Relief of the Poor
"Widdows, Orphans, and maimed Soldiers,
"to whom Penſions had been formerly allow-
"ed; and had alſo ſetled a way for ſatisfaction
"of the Arreats due to the Officers and Soldiers,
"and would endeavour to bring the ſame to
"ſpeedy effect.

The *Junto* diſſemble at firſt their diſguſte at theſe Proceedings of the Army.

Desborow gives an Account of this Anſwer to a General Council of Officers who aſſembled that Afternoon on purpoſe. It was not unknown to them, that the *Houſe* reſented their Addreſs, and that in ſuch a degree, that it was evident they intended to alter the Conſtitution of the *Army*. To provide againſt this, they thought fit to ſtrengthen their Party, by getting more Subſcriptions to their *Repreſentation* and *Petition*, and immediately they agreed upon the Form of a Letter to be ſent to *Ireland*, and another to *Scotland*, and to every Regiment in *England*; for the Signing and Diſperſing of which, they nominated from among themſelves a ſelect number in the nature of a *Committee*. That to General *Monk*, was in theſe Words:

The Council of Officers labour to get Subſcriptions to their Repreſentation.

Right Honourable,

A Letter from a Committee of the Council of Officers to General *Monk*, concerning the Armies *Repreſentation*.

"WE do by Command from the Gene-
"ral Council of the Officers of the
"Army now in *London*, tranſmit the incloſed to
"you, being a true Copy of the *Repreſentation*
"and *Petition*, which was this day by them hum-
"bly preſented to the Parliament; and the *Votes*
"of the Houſe paſſed thereupon: And are further
"to ſignifie as their Deſire, that the ſame may be
"communicated to all the Commiſſion-Officers of
"that part of the Army under your Command,
"and the Subſcriptions of all taken to their *Repre-*
"*ſentation* and *Petition*, that are free to Sign the
"ſame; which being ſo Signed, it is deſired you
"will be pleaſed to cauſe them to be cloſe ſealed
"up, and returned to *Thomas Sandford* Eſquire,
"Secretary to his Excellency the Lord *Fleetwood*,
"who is to give an Account thereof. As we
"have thus fulfilled the General Councils Plea-
"ſure, we are well aſſured you will be pleaſed to
"comply with their Requeſt; which is all at pre-
"ſent from

Your humble Servants,

J. Lambert, Rich. Creed, John Desborow, John Maſon, William Packer.

The General had intimation of this Letter, from *Clarges* before it came to his hands, with a full Narrative of the Occurrences that paſſed upon the delivery of the *Repreſentation*; which made him reſolve to admit of no Subſcriptions in *Scotland*. And when the Letter came to his hands, He returned in Anſwer to it; *That he thought it unfit to have any Subſcriptions made to that, to which now the* Parliament *had given an Anſwer, leſt it ſhould be underſtood to make a Party againſt them.* And in purſuance of this Reſolution, he ſent Orders to all the Regiments under his Command, to forbid them to ſubſcribe.

The Subſtance of General *Monk*'s Anſwer.

The *Houſe* a little before this Agitation, had begun to Court General *Monk* very much, as thinking it a matter of no ſmall importance, to gain him wholly to them. And he having ſent a Letter to them, (which they received two days after the delivery of the *Repreſentation* of the Army) to acquaint them with the peaceable condition of *Scotland* in obedience to their Government, wherein he moved ſomething in favour of ſome of his Officers, and commended the temper of his Army: They returned him anſwer the ſame day with the thanks of the Houſe, and let him know, *The high eſteem they had of the Services, which with ſo much Valour, Prudence and Faithfulneſs he had performed; and that they had granted the deſire of his Letters, with aſſurance to him and his Officers and Soldiers under his Command, of returns of Favours from the* Parliament *anſwerable to their merit.*

He is Courted by the Parliament party.

And complemented by a Letter with gratulatory expreſſions for his good Service.

Upon the tenth of the ſaid Month, they took the *Propoſals* in the Armies *Repreſentation* into Debate.

To the Firſt they Anſwer,

"That the Officers of the Army have re-
"ceived, and ſhall from time to time receive
"marks of the Favour of the Parliament, and
"countenance anſwerable to their Merit and
"Faithfulneſs.

To the Second they Anſwer,

"That it is the Duty of all Perſons, eſpeci-
"ally the Members of Parliament, to inform
"the Houſe of any thing, which in their appre-
"henſion may concern the publick Safety;
"And it is the undoubted Right of the Par-
"liament to receive, and debate thoſe Infor-
"mations, and to reſolve what they think fit
"therepon.

The *Houſe* takes into Debate and anſwers, one by one, the Armies *Propoſals*.

To the Third they Declare.

"That every Member of the Army, as Free-"men of *England*, have right of Petitioning "the Parliament: but withal, think fit to let "them know, that the Petitioners ought to "be very careful both in the manner, and in "the matter which they desire; That the way "of promoting and presenting the same may "be peaceable; and the things Petitioned for "not tending to the disturbance of the Com-"mon-wealth, nor to the dishonour of the "Parliament: And that it is the Duty of Peti-"tioners to submit their Desires to the Parlia-"ment, and to acquiesce in the Judgment there-"of.

In Answer to the Fourth Proposal.

"They Order Two months Pay to be "forthwith paid to the Officers and Souldiers "of the Army in *England*, out of the Six "months Assessment of Five and Thirty thou-"sand Pounds a month now due; And that "the Council of State do give Order, that the "same be paid accordingly; And that Two "months Pay be also issued to the Officers and "Soldiers in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. To that "part of the *Proposal*, to provide for the maim-"ed Soldiers, and the poor Widows and Or-"phans of such as had been slain in their Service, "They refer the former *Votes* made in their be-"halfs.

To the Fifth Proposal they Answer.

"That such Persons as have been Faithful and "Active for the Parliament in the late *Insurrection*, "the Parliament will take care to give them all "due encouragement as occasion shall be of-"fered.

This Resolute Procedure of the Members at *Westminster*, filled the Army with strange Rumours: And they in the mean time to provide against all Accidents, consulted, If any Breach should be made upon their Government, how to leave them that did it as destitute as might be of Means and Authority to maintain themselves in such Actings. And since nothing could more weaken them in such Confusion than want of Money, They for a time deferred their further Consideration on the *Proposals* of the *Representation*, and made an Act against the raising of Money upon the People without Consent of *Parliament*; wherein they enacted,

An Act of the Remnant against raising of Money without Consent of Parliament.

That all Orders, Ordinances *and* Acts, *made by any Single Person and his Council, or by both or either of them, or otherwise, or by any Assembly or Convention pretending to have Authority of Parliament, from and after the Nineteenth day of* April, 1653. *and before the Seventh of* May, 1659. *and which have not been or should not be Enacted, Allowed and Confirmed by this present* Parliament, *should be declared, deemed, taken and adjudged to be of no force or effect from and after the said Seventh day of* May, 1659. *And that no Person or Persons shall after the Eleventh day of* October, 1659. *Assess, Levy, Collect, Gather, or Receive any Customs, Impost, Excise, Assessment, Contribution, Tax, Tallage, or any Sum or Sums of Money, or other Imposition whatsoever, of this* Common-wealth, *without their Consent in* Parliament, *or as by Law might have been done before the Third of* November, 1640. *And that every person offending contrary to this Act, should be adjudged to be guilty of High Treason, and forfeit and suffer as in case of Treason.*

That which chiefly provoked them to the hasty making of this Law, was a *Letter* which had been communicated to them under the Hands of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Ashfield*, *Cobbet*, *Packer*, *Barrow* and *Creed*, directed to Colonel *Okey*. It was much to the same purport with that sent to General *Monk* before mentioned, and in the same Form: This *Letter* was by accident delivered to *Okey*; for there being many *Letters* signed, to be sent to the several Regiments, which were left to be disposed of by *Fleetwood*'s Secretary, he, amongst others, directed one to *Okey*; who, as soon as he had it, shewed it to Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, and he to the House; who looked upon the Contents thereof, to be such as tended to the fomenting of the Army against them; but respited the Consideration of it till the next morning, which was the twelfth of *October*.

A Letter to *Okey*, the chief cause of the speedy putting forth of this Act.

That Night Mr. *Nicholas Monk* arrived (after not above four days Journey from *Scotland*) and had Orders from the General to tell *Clarges*, *That he was resolved, if the Parliament would be resolute in asserting their own Authority against the Army, he would assist them in it, and if required thereunto, march into* England *in their Defence.*

Mr. *Monk* arrives from *Scotland*, with private Orders from the Gen. to *Clarges*.

Clarges, early the next morning, communicated this to *Walton*, *Hasterig* and *Scot*, who were so much encouraged by it, that at the first sitting of the House, they moved, that the Doors might be shut, that none of their Members might go out; and then after a long and brisk Debate, they Ordered that the Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Ashfield*, *Cobbet*, *Packer*, and *Barrow*, who subscribed the said *Letter* should be void.

The Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, and others voted void.

They had it in motion, to declare at the same time, that the next immediate Officers to them should have their Commands conferred on them, but delayed that till the next day, yet ordered the Names of those Officers to be brought to them, and before they parted, they made an Act appointing Commissioners for the Government of the Army; wherein they first repealed and made void the ACT, *Constituting* Charles Fleetwood, *Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised, and to be raised by Authority of* Parliament, *within* England *and* Scotland, *and all Power and Authority thereby given: And that all the Armies for the future should be governed by Commissioners, in the place and stead of a Lieutenant-General.* These Commissioners were, *Fleetwood*, *Monk*, *Ludlow*, *Hasterig*, *Morley*, *Walton* and *Overton*, who were impowred to execute all and

An Act appointing Commissioners for Government of the Army, and removing *Fleetwood* from the Chief Command thereof.

and singular the Powers and Authorities, incident or belonging to the Office of Lieutenant-General, from the 11th *of* October, 1659. *to the* 22d *of* February, 1659, *&c.*

They likewise Ordered the Serjeant at Arms to carry the Orders for Discharge of the said Officers Commissions, to the respective Persons whom it concerned: And because *Lambert* was the most considerable Person, and the next Officers to him were Men they knew, and in whom they confided, they immediately ordered *Camfield*, his Lieutenant-Colonel, to have the Command of his Regiment; and that *Skepper* the Major should be advanced to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain *Bradshaw* to be Major of the Regiment. Three of these lately Constituted Commissioners for the Government of the Army, met at Night, in the *Speakers* Chamber at *Westminster*, and ordered Colonel *Morley*'s and Colonel *Mosse*'s Regiments, as a Guard to the *Parliament*, who possessed themselves of the *Palace-Yard*, and the Great Hall: *Lambert* on the other side, seeing what was like to become of him, if Matters were driven on at that rate, as they were begun against him, thought best to play his Game, while it was in his Power to prevent; and to that end drew some Regiments together, who marched to *Kings-Street*, and possessed themselves of all Avenues to the *Parliament*.

Lambert removed from his Regiment, and the Officers under him successively advanced.

Col. *Morley* and *Mosse* ordered with their Regiments to Guard the House.

Lambert, with the Regiment that adhere, stops the Passages to the Parliament House.

In the morning the *Speaker* came with his Coach towards the House; but at the Entry into the *Palace-Yard*, he was stopt by Lieutenant-Colonel *Duckenfield*; and after a little Expostulation was forced to return. The Souldiers on both sides kept their Station till towards the Evening in a posture of Hostility, ready to have fired one against the other, only expecting when the Word would be given for Onset; so that it was verily thought the Business would have come to a sharp Conflict between them: but they were better advised, insomuch that the *Council of State* meeting at *White-Hall*, and ordering all of them to draw off to their Quarters, both Parties agreed thereunto, and marched away that Night: However, *Lambert's* Party obtained their Desire, forasmuch as none of the Members were permitted that Day to assemble; and for the future, *Fleetwood* took care always to keep good Guards at the Door of the *Parliament-House*, to prevent them from Meeting. The next day divers of the chief Officers of the Army met at *White-Hall*, and chose Ten Persons as a Council for carrying on the Affairs and Government of the *Common-wealth*, till further Order. These were *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Desborow*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major *Salway*, *Berry*, *Sydenham*, and *Archibald Johnson* a *Scotchman*, commonly called the Laird of *Warreston*; And at *Wallingford-House*, the same Day, the General Council of Officers agreed, that *Fleetwood* should be Commander in Chief Over all the Armies; that *Lambert* should be the next Chief Officer under him; and *Desborow* Commissary General of the Horse; and that all the Officers to be constituted in the Army, should be nominated by Sir *Henry Vane*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow* and *Berry*; but in especial manner they took care for the preparing of *Articles of War*, for the good Government and Discipline of the Army, as that which would be most necessary for their Consistence. In this they were very industrious; and in all the time since the first modelling of their Armies, their Discipline was so exact, that the Carriage of their Souldiery was very tolerable to the People, and that made their Enormities, in reference to the Government, less obnoxious to Vulgar Censure. Some mentioned General *Monk* to be considered in their Distribution of Offices, but were not hearkened to; and those that opposed it, assured the rest, that he had little power over the Officers of his Army; and if he disagreed to their Counsels, he might easily be displaced: they had not yet received his Resolution concerning the Subscriptions about which they writ, to be made by his Officers to their *Representation* and *Petition*, and therefore were ignorant of his Dissent from their Actions: So that in Confidence of his Concurrence, they dispatched Colonel *Cobbet* to him, with a large *Narrative* of the Reasons of their Proceedings.

Lambert and his Party dissolve the Remnant Parliament, by hindring the Members from coming into the House.

A Council of Ten Army Officers appointed to be managers of the State Affairs *pro tempore*.

The prevailing Party of the Army no great Favourers of General *Monk*.

The Lord *Mordant*, and some others of the Kings Friends lying at *Callais*, immediately upon the News of these Disorders in *England*, dispatched Mr. *Nicholas Armorer* to his Majesty, who was then at *Fontarabia*, industriously soliciting for Supplies of Men and Money, of which he had large promises from the *Spaniards*, and for the defraying the Expences of his Journey, he received from *Don Lewis D' Haro* a Present of Twenty Thousand Crowns: His Majesty had once a purpose to have gone directly to *Madrid*; but upon the Advice brought to him by Mr. *Armorer*, in hopes that something might fall out in *England* to his Advantage, he chose to return to *Bruxels*. The Earl of St. *Albans* coming up to the Borders to the King, just upon the Dissolution of the Treaty, met His Majesty at *Bayon*, in his Return from *Fontarabia*; Cardinal *Mazarine* being before departed from St. *John de Luz*, not having received any Visit from His Majesty before his departure.

Mr. *Armorer* sent by the Lord *Mordant* to the King at *Fontarabia* to inform him how matters were in *England*.

The King returns from *Fontarabia* toward *Bruxels*, meeting the Earl of St. *Albans* by the way.

The Earl of St. *Albans* conferred much with the King whilst he staid with him, which was not long, and then he went to *Paris*, whither the King followed him *incognito* by easie journeys; and after some stay there, went from thence to *Brussels*.

At this time such of the Kings Friends as had opportunity were very active in his Service, amongst whom the endeavours of Mr. *Evelin* of *Says-Court* near *Debtford* in *Kent*, is not to be omitted, who having some acquaintance with Colonel *Herbert Morley*, one of the five Commissioners for the Command of the Army, whose Birth, Education and Interest in his Country rendred him unlikely to be cordially inclined to prostitute himself to the ruine of his Country; he attempted with just and honest Arguments to draw him to the Royal Party, to which he believed he might be very useful, as having a greater credit than any of his Party in *Sussex*, where he lived, in case His Majesty should Land there, and having also

also a good Influence upon the Fleet, and two of the Army Regiments.

Morley, after some Hesitation, was perswaded by Mr. *Evelin* to return to his Allegiance, and he desired him to intercede with the King for a Pardon to himself and some few others of his Relations, (which he named) and then departed into his Country, and gave him notice how to correspond further with him.

The Council of Officers consult about a Frame of Government.

The Council of Officers had frequent Meetings at *White-Hall*, and a *Junto* of the wisest of them were in deep Consultation, how to make such a Frame of Government as should be durable and lasting against all Attempts whatsoever. They found most of the Gentry in *England* to be some way or other involved in the late Endeavours for the King, and were advising of a way to seize all their Estates, and divide them amongst their own Party; whereby the Riches of the Nation, the most powerful of all Interests, would be absolutely changed into the Hands of Persons irreconcileable to *Monarchy*. This was such Advice, as if it had succeeded, might have proved fatal, and laid a Foundation to Slavery, never to have been subverted.

A certain number of Persons called to take upon them the Government, under the Title of a *Committee of Safety*.

The General Council, on the Twenty sixth of this Month, nominated Twenty three Persons to be intrusted with the Management of Publick Affairs, whom they called a *Committee of Safety*; and the next day they invited them to sit, and gave them Powers and Instructions; of which the chief were,

Their Instructions.

1. *To execute all the Powers of the late* Council of State, *together with Authority to call all* Delinquents *to Accompt, that were in the late* Insurrection, *and to proceed to a bringing them to* Justice, *and to give* Indemnity *to all Persons that had acted for the Service of the* Common-wealth, *since the Year* 1649.

2. *To oppose and suppress all* Rebellions *and* Insurrections.

3. *To treat with* Foreign States *and* Princes.

4. *To raise the* Militia *in the several* Counties.

5. *To dispose of all Places of* Trust *that are void, and to remove such as are Scandalous.*

6. *To make Sale and Compositions for all* Delinquents Estates.

Their Names.

The Names of these Governours were, *Bulstrode Whitlock*, lately made Keeper of their Great Seal, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Steel* Chancellour of *Ireland*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, *Salway*, *Walter Strickland*, *Berry*, *Lawrence*, Sir *James Harrington*, the Laird of *Warreston*, Alderman *Ireton*, *Tichborn*, *Hewson*, *Clark*, *Bennet*, Colonel *Lilborn*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Henry Brandriff*, and *Robert Thomson*.

They likewise published a *Declaration*, in the Close whereof they Declare; That,

The substance of their Declaration.

'They think themselves obliged, for preventing the manifold Evils and Inconveniences 'which must necessarily fall upon the other *Good People* of the Nation, as well as themselves, by 'reason of the several *Orders*, *Acts*, pretended *Acts*, 'or other *Declarations*, or any of them, Enacted, 'made or past on *Monday* the Tenth of this Instant *October*, and on *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* then 'next following, to declare them, and every of 'them null and void to all intents and purposes: 'and likewise all *Acts*, *Orders*, and *Proceedings* 'thereupon had or done in as full and ample 'manner, as if the said *Orders*, pretended *Acts* 'or *Declarations*, and every of them, had never 'been: all which they publish and declare, that 'all Persons concerned may take notice thereof, 'and no Person whatsoever suffer any further prejudice thereby, hoping that all peaceable, 'well-minded, and unprejudiced persons, will acquiesce in the necessity and Justice thereof.

'They further Declare to the World, that 'it is upon their Hearts, and they earnestly desire, and shall endeavour, that a due Liberty 'may be assured to all the Free-Born People of 'these Nations, both as Men and Christians; 'That a full and through *Reformation* of the *Law* 'may be effected; as also, that a Faithful, Godly, and Painful *Gospel Preaching Ministry* may 'be incouraged and provided for, by some certain Way that may be less troublesome to 'them, and less vexatious to the People, than 'that of *Tythes*. And further, that they have 'no Aim or Ends to set up a *Military* or *Arbitrary Government* over the Common-wealth: 'But have already provided, that the Civil and 'Executive part of Government shall be lodged 'in a *Committee of Safety*; and they obliged in a 'short time, to prepare such a *Form* of *Government*, as may best suit and comport with a *Free-State* and *Common-wealth*, without a *Single Person*, *Kingship*, or *House of Peers*: and that 'they shall to the utmost of their Endeavours 'labour to obtain those desirable things so 'often declared for; and to maintain and preserve the Peace of these Nations in their 'several Stations and Places; and shall hope, 'that God for his own Glory, and the good 'of his own People, will give a blessed end of 'these Troubles, by a happy Settlement upon 'the Principles formerly declared for; and 'which have been, and still are, so earnestly 'breathed after, by all those that truly fear his 'Name.

And then to Cajole the Godly Party (as they called them) they proceeded to tell them;

'They doubt not but such being truly sensible of the many Temptations besetting them 'on every hand, the great Difficulties they laboured under (and know not what further 'Straights a Day may bring forth) will say 'on their behalfs, *Who are sufficient for these Things?* And out of former Experiences being taught, That the Lord is a present Help 'in time of Trouble, will cry aloud for them 'before the *Throne of Grace*, That the LORD 'himself may appear, and carry on his own 'Work in their Hands: And if it shall please 'him by his Spirit, to stir up those that fear 'his Name to be instant on their behalf, they 'shall not fear what evil Man can do unto them.

These

The Exorbitancy of their Actions somewhat restrained by the advice of some moderate men among them.

These unreasonable Men, impatient of all Government, thought by these insinuations to silence all Gain-sayers, and to make the People believe, they could frame any Government, and not be obliged to submit to it. Their Confidence was great, and their frequent Invasion of several Constitutions so successful, that they thought they were not by any to be opposed, in the most extravagant of their Actings; yet in this Design of theirs, they had the better grounded hope, in regard *Vane*, *Whitlock* and *Salway*, and some others of the most prudent of their Party, assisted in their Councils.

Whitlock, indeed, was much censured for his Conjunction with them; but some wise Men, that marked his Demeanour, and the Moderation he used, did believe, that if he had not in a great measure restrained the Exorbitancy of their Intentions, they had in the short time of their Tyranny, done much mischief to many of the King's Friends.

The substance of General Monk's Letters to Fleetwood and Lambert.

That which put the greatest Check to their Career, and gave some Life to the fainting Hopes of all good Men, was the Arrival of *Letters* from General *Monk* in *Scotland*, to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, which came to them the Twenty eighth of *October* in the Evening. He complained therein, *Of their Violation of Faith to the* Parliament, *and declared his Resolution to endeavour to restore them to their Power, against all Opposition whatsoever.*

Fleetwood, *Lambert* and *Desborow* immediately met at *White-Hall* in much Confusion; and about Twelve at Night they sent Major *Haynes* to desire *Clarges* to come to them; who when he came, after some question of his knowledge of the Generals Proceedings (to which he made very wary Answers) they desired him to go into *Scotland* with Colonel *Talbot*, (whose Regiment was then at *Edenburgh*) to prevail with *Monk* for a Treaty of Mediation, to prevent the effusion of Blood. They said, they chose *Talbot* to accompany him, because he was very grateful to the General.

Clarges dispatched away into *Scotland* by the Grandees of the Army, together with Col. *Talbot*, to solicit *Monk* to a Treaty.

Clarges was very glad of this opportunity to get away, (for he feared to be much worse Treated,) and they were so pressing for his Departure, that they allowed him but three hours preparation for his Journey.

Monk well inform'd of all passages in England.

In the mean time, *Monk* in *Scotland* had by an express from *Clarges*, which came to him the 17th of *October*, received exact Information of the Interruption of the Parliament; and at several times before, he had notice of all the Proceedings introductory to it, which made him expect no less, and therefore gave him time to prepare for what happened.

He had in *Scotland* at this time Ten Regiments of Foot Compleat, each consisting of a Thousand Souldiers, besides Officers; except four Companies which had been drawn into *England* a little before upon the Alarm of Sir *George Booth's* Rising; his numbers of Horse were but small, having had Two Regiments of them likewise removed upon the same occasion: so that there remained with him but two Regiments of Horse, *viz.* his own, and Colonel *Philip Twisleton's*, and one Regiment of Dragoons, Commanded by Major General *Morgan*. The Foot were dispersed at great distances, Eight Companies of his own Regiment lay at *Edenburgh*, and two of them at *Dalkeith*, where his Residence usually was: All Colonel *Talbot's* Regiment was quartered in *Edenburgh*; Nine Companies of Colonel *Wilks* his Regiment were in the Citradel at *Leith*, and one of them in the Castle at *Edenburgh*; Nine Companies of Colonel *Read's* Regiment were at *Sterling*, and the Tenth in *England*; Eight Companies of Colonel *Overton's* Regiment at *Dundee*, and two of them in *England*; Colonel *Daniel's* Regiment lay at St. *Johnston's*; Colonel *Saunrie's* Regiment at *Aire*; Colonel *Cobbet's* at *Glascow*; Nine Companies of Colonel *Fairfax's* Regiment at *Aberdeen*, and the other in *England*; and part of Colonel *Smith's* Regiment at *Innerness*; and the rest of the Garrisons in the *High-lands*: The Horse and Dragoons lay in several places near the Foot Quarters; but at such distances, as might not incommode the Country.

The late Commissioners of Nomination, whilst they sate at *White-Hall*, had much changed the Officers in all the Regiments both of Horse and Foot, which raised great Discontents amongst them: They had given Colonel *Daniel's* Regiment to *Pierson* his Lieutenant Colonel, an *Anabaptist*; They had also displaced *Hubblethorn*, who was Major to Colonel *Talbot's* Regiment; *Hughes*, who was Major to *Wilkes*, they had reduced to be but Captain, and preferred one *Knolles* an *Anabaptist* to his Command; *Johnson* the Eldest Captain in his own Regiment of Horse, they put out, (and many more too long to mention) in all the Regiments; few or none of those New Officers chosen at *White-Hall*, to supply the places of those removed, were yet come into *Scotland*: So that General *Monk* taking that Opportunity to retain all the displaced Officers in their respective Commands, made them, who had been thus obliged before, thereby intirely depend on him.

Monk keeps in those Officers whom the Commissioners had displaced.

Having resolved to stand upon his Guard, and Declare against the Army in *England*; the first thing he did, was to Consult which way best to secure these Regiments, and the several Garrisons with least hazard; and knowing that in Actions of great Concernment, there was more use of Execution than Council, he made very little hesitation in what he intended to Act: He was most diffident of his own Regiment of Foot, (which, during his Absence in the *Dutch* War, had been so transformed, that most of the Officers were become *Anabaptists*) and the three Regiments in *Glascow*, *Aire* and St. *Johnston's*.

And removes those whom he himself distrusted.

The first minute that he had Notice of the Disorders at *Westminster*, which was on the before-mention'd 17th day of *October*, he sent Captain *Jeremiah Smith* of his own Regiment of Horse, to *Edenburgh* and *Leith*, to signifie his Pleasure to Major *Hubblethorn*, Major *Hughes*, and Captain *Johnson*, to have them come to him to *Dalkeith*: The first was Major to *Talbot's* Regiment of Foot; the other to that of *Wilks's*, quarter'd at *Leith*; and *Johnson* commanded

commanded a Troop in his own Regiment of Horſe.

The General ſignifies his Reſolution to ſeveral of his Officers, to March into *England* to re-eſtabliſh the Parliament, and hath their conſent and incouragement.

Theſe came immediately upon Summons to the General, and there they met Captain *Morgan* of his own Regiment of Foot, and *Miller* of *Wilks*'s his Regiment, who had the Guards of *Dalkeith* Houſe: The Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major of the General's Regiment, were both *Anabaptiſts*, and at that time abſent; Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloberry* of *Read*'s Regiment, was by chance there, and was adviſed with. The General communicated his Intelligence to them, and his Reſolution to march into *England* with a part of his Army, to re-eſtabliſh the Parliament; To which they all freely conſented: *Hubblethorn* gave him perfect aſſurance of all *Talbot*'s Regiment of which he had now the Command; becauſe the Colonel, and *Pounel* the Lieutenant-Colonel were both in *England*: And indeed much muſt be attributed to the Courage and diligence of that Gentleman, whoſe Regiment was by him intirely, both Officers and Souldiers, made at the General's Devotion; which being then quartered at *Edenburgh*, gave a great Reputation to the whole undertaking: For although ſome in all the Regiments, and many in moſt, were ready upon the Confidence they had in the General's Courage and Conduct, and were well inclined towards him; yet they were all apter to follow in any Deſign (as moſt naturally are) than to begin the action: Captain *Johnſon* had been by the Nominators at *London* removed from his Troop, but was now by the General reſtored to it; and as he was the Eldeſt Captain of the Regiment, by the abſence of Major *Knight*, he had the Command under the General of all his Regiment of Horſe, and was well beloved by them: Major *Hughes* gave him hopes of making all Colonel *Wilks* his Regiment at his Service: *Hubblethorn* (whom he made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment) was ordered to draw it early the next Morning into the High-Street at *Edenburgh*, and to let all the Muſqueteers have Matches lighted, with Powder and Bullet; and *Johnſon* was Commanded to be ready in *Edenburgh* at the ſame time, with his own Troop; and that of one Captain *Symnel*'s, an honeſt ſtout Officer: *Hughes* was appointed in the abſence of his Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel, who were ſent for the next morning, to confer with the General, to ſecure the *Citadel* at *Leith*: He had upon ſome kind of expectation of Change, kept Captain *Witter* (of the Regiment lying at St. *Johnſtons*) and Captain *Robſon* (of the Regiment of *Aire*) both at *Edenburgh*, and had ſent for them to him; and upon Conference with them, they both undertook, one to ſecure the *Citadel* at St. *Johnſtons*, and the other at *Aire*; which was very difficult ſervice to perform, in regard that moſt of the Officers in thoſe Regiments were very ill-diſpoſed towards the General: Little more was done that Night, but the ſending an Expreſs to Major *Knight*, who was then in *Yorkſhire* at his own Houſe, to haſten him to his Command.

Great preparations in *Monk*'s Army, for the fortifying themſelves againſt the prevailing Faction in *England*.

The next day after Dinner, the General Marched to *Edenburgh*, with only Captain *Smith*'s Troop of Horſe, having before diſpatched away *Witter* and *Robſon*. *Morgan* had been ſent before to *Edenburgh*, to draw up his Regiment, but had Orders to give them neither Match, Powder nor Ball: As ſoon as he came into the High-Street, and found the Regiments in that Order he expected, he retired a little into his Quarters, to model his own Regiment, and ſent for *Morgan* to him, whom he immediately made Lieutenant Colonel; Captain *Nicholas* he promoted to be Major, and at the ſame inſtant diſplaced all whom he knew to be diſaffected to him, and ſuch of them as were dangerous to be impriſoned; which done, he marched with both the Regiments to the *Gray-Friers* Church, where he called together the Officers, and told them, *That the Army in* England *had broken up the Parliament out of a reſtleſs uncontroulable diſpoſition of being pleaſed with nothing that tended to the welfare and happineſs of the People; that though they had lately taken ſhame to themſelves (in their publick Declaration) for their former Apoſtacies, yet now, finding the Parliament ready to humour them in all their Extravagancies, they were weary of them: He ſaid he was reſolved to make the Military Power ſubſervient to the Civil, and that ſince they had their Protection and Entertainment from the Parliament, it was their Duty to ſerve and obey them againſt all oppoſition; which ſhould be his Practice, and he expected their Concurrence and Aſſiſtance to joyn with him. But if any were diſſatisfied, and would declare it to him, they ſhould have free Liberty, without Reflection, to leave the Service, and have Paſſes to go home.*

The General Marches to *Edenburgh*, and there orders all things to his beſt advantage.

His Speech to his Officers.

Upon this, Colonel *Wilkes*, and his Lieutenant-Colonel, with all that were preſent, unanimouſly declared to live and die with him; Captain *Johnſon* was then diſpatched to *Berwick*, to ſecure that Garriſon, which was then under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Mayers*; and he did it very effectually, and it was a Service of great Advantage to *Monk*'s Deſigns; Captain *Hatt*, and Captain *Dennis*, two well approved Officers of Colonel *Cobbet*'s Regiment, being both at *Edenburgh* when theſe tranſactions were, and having received private Orders to model that Regiment then quartered at *Glaſcow*, and to March with it to *Edenburgh*, came thither before any knowledge of the alterations at the Head-Quarters, and privately conſulted with ſuch of the Regiment as they were confident of, before they publickly diſcovered their Orders: Lieutenant Colonel *Young*, who was there in Chief, in the abſence of the Colonel and Major, did as much as he could to oppoſe it; but he being preſently ſecured, *Hatt* and *Dennis* performed their Inſtructions, and immediately Marched the Regiment to the General.

Captain *Johnſton* ſecures *Berwick*.

Capt. *Hatt* and *Dennis* bring off Col. *Cobbet*'s Regiment to the General.

Captain *Witter*, as ſoon as he came to St. *Johnſtown*, drew up two Companies, whom he moſt confided in, upon the Sands before the Cittadel, and propoſed to them what he had in Charge from the General; whereupon they all ſhouted in conſent to it, at the noiſe whereof the Souldiers coming in confuſion out of the Cittadel, he Marched with the aforeſaid Companies

Capt. *Witter* takes poſſeſſion for the General of the Cittadel of St. *Johnſton*'s.

panies into it, and took poſſeſſion thereof; He made Lieutenant-Colonel *Keine*, and Major *Kelk* Priſoners; the firſt whereof was afterwards upon his conſent to joyn with the General releaſed from his Impriſonment, but *Kelk* was ſtill detained. Of this Regiment at St. *Johnſtown*, *Witter*, for his handſome performance of this undertaking, is by the General advanced to be Major.

And is made Major of the Regiment.

Robſon at *Ayre* was more deliberate in the execution of his Orders; he dealt ſo with the Officers, that moſt of them except the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, agreed to comply with the General. The Lieutenant-Colonel privately got away to *Carliſle*, and ſecured that Garriſon for the Army in *England*; the Colonel temporiz'd a while, but finding his Arts ſucceſsleſs, and there upon flying away into *England*, the General gave the Command of the Regiment to *Robſon*, for his good Service; and ſent into *England* for Colonel *Daniel*, who had been a little before diſplaced, (and *Pierſon* his Lieutenant-Colonel advanced to the Command of that Regiment) to take again his Command of Colonel thereof.

Robſon gets poſſeſſion of the Cittadel at *Ayre*.

And is made Colonel of the Regiment.

The ſettlement of theſe two Regiments gave much incouragement to the General in reference to the carrying on of his deſign; and the rather, in regard he himſelf had look't upon it as none of the eaſieſt works to compaſs.

He made no alteration at firſt in thoſe Companies which belonged to Colonel *Overton* at *Dundee*, becauſe he had hopes to gain him to declare for him with the Garriſon at *Hull*, then under his Command; and in regard they were on that ſide of the River *Tay*, they could not have done much if they had oppoſed. He ſent to Colonel *Fairfax*, who quartered with his Regiment at *Aberdeen*, to haſte with it to *Edenburgh*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloebery* was ſent to *Read*, his Colonel at *Sterlin*, to appoint him to march to the General with all his men except two Companies, which were to be left for the ſafety of the Town and Caſtle. And at the ſame time, he ſent a Commiſſion to *Innerneſs* to Colonel *Man*, to be Colonel of that Regiment, in the place of *Smith*, who adhered to the Army in *England*) and appointed him to ſend three of his beſt Companies to *Edenburgh*. He diſpatch'd alſo ſome truſty Officers to the Horſe Troops, and then went himſelf to *Leith*, to ſettle the Cittadel and Regiment in obedience; to him upon his firſt coming, he diſplaced *Knolles*, and confined him, and reſtored *Hughes* to be again Major to the Regiment, and likewiſe ſome other *Anabaptiſt* Officers were put out, and others placed in their rooms; Capt. *Clifton*, who with a Company of this Regiment from *Leith*, had the Command of *Edenburgh* Caſtle, upon promiſe of faithfulneſs and Service to the General, was by him continued in his Command with Truſt and Confidence. And thus theſe three Regiments of Foot at *Leith* and *Edenburgh*, were in one Afternoon pretty well ſettled till more time could be allowed to refine them.

Smith's Regiment at *Innerneſs* given to Colonel *Man*.

The General marched to *Leith* to ſettle the Cittadel, and Regiment there.

Upon the 21ſt. he marched ſome Companies of Horſe and Foot to *Linlithgow*, intending to go thence to *Glaſcow*, to ſettle *Cobbet*'s Regiment of which he was in ſome doubt; but he there received intelligence of what was done by *Hutt* and *Dennis*, and therefore went no further.

And thence to *Linlithgow*.

He there alſo had notice of the ſubmiſſion of the Cittadel at *Ayre*, and that *Barwick* was rendred to him, where Colonel *Cobbet* was ſtayed and detained in Priſon, as he was coming into *Scotland* with his Regiment, and it was ſeaſonably done; for if he had been permitted to paſs, the opinion which was had of him by the Souldiers, might have much hindred the General's proceeding. He was brought with a Guard to *Edenburgh* Caſtle, and kept there, the General being much incenſed againſt him, upon private advice that he had inſtructions to have ſeized him, if he had not agreed to the Armies Actions in *England*. At *Linlithgow* at a Council of Officers, it was adviſed that ſome way ſhould be uſed to draw off the *Independant* Churches in *England*, from favouring the *Engliſh* Army, which would have much weakened that Party, if it had ſucceeded, for moſt of the inferiour Officers were of that perſwaſion; for the effecting of this a Declaration was framed, agreed to, and publiſhed and diſperſed all over *England*: And at the ſame time, another Declaration was alſo made to ſatisfie the Kingdom in general, with the reaſon of his taking Arms, alledging that he did it for the vindication of the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the freedom of *Parliaments*.

Col. *Cobbet* detained priſoner at *Berwick*.

Two Declarations publiſhed by the General, in vindication of theſe proceedings of his.

Two Expoſtulatory Letters were alſo writ, the one to *Fleetwood*, and the other to *Lambert*, blaming the violence of their Proceedings againſt the Parliament, and another to the Speaker, to be informed of the Condition wherein the Houſe then was; declaring therein, that whereas there ought to be a right underſtanding between the *Parliament* and the *Army*, he would be ready, in caſe the Army perſiſted to diſobey their Orders, to aſſiſt them with the Forces under his Command, according to his Duty.

By this time, Major *Knight* was returned out of *England*: for hearing of the diſorders at *London*, and that ſome jealouſies had been entertained of him, upon an Information that he had been ſome months before engaged with the Lord *Caſtleton* in Sir *George Booth*'s Riſing, he thought beſt for his own ſecurity, to make all poſſible haſte down to his Command; his Arrival fell out to be three days after the General had firſt declared; *Morgan*'s Regiment of Dragoons, was made a Regiment of Horſe; and Major *Farmer* was ſent with a Troop to ſecure *Carliſle*, who when he came thither, did not march into it with Confidence, as *Johnſon* did into *Barwick*; but ſent in to treat with the Governor, and was ſo long doing it, till *Elton* that Commanded the Town, had fixed the Souldiers to a Reſolution of keeping him out. Moreover, *Monk* conſidering that his Army could not be got together in ſix weeks time to march into *England*, he therefore to amuſe the Faction there, ſent Major *Knight* with four Troops of choice Horſe, and ſix Companies of Foot, to ſurprize *Newcaſtle*. The Horſe-Troops

Major *Knight* arrives in *Scotland*.

Maj. *Farmer* ſent by the General to poſſeſs *Carliſle*, is kept out by the Souldiers.

Major *Knight* ſent with a Party to ſeize *Newcaſtle*, but is prevented.

were Commanded by *Knight*, *Johnſon*, *Wilmot*, and *Simnel*, and the Foot by *Miller*, *Manſfield*, *Collins*, *Winter*, *Seymour* and *Belcham*, all Gallant and well reſolved men. But being come as far as *Morpeth*, he had advice, that ſome Forces were got into *Newcaſtle* before him, which being intimated alſo to the General, he preſently countermanded him and his party to *Anwick*, where he ſtaid for ſome time; the not-taking *Newcaſtle*, was no diſcouragement to the General or his Army; for upon more deliberate conſideration he thought the miſs of it rather fortunate, than prejudicial to him, ſince if he had taken it, it would in all probability have been immediately beſieged by *Lambert*. And then he muſt have been obliged to attempt the relief of it, and fought before he could have been well enough prepared for it, and thereby have hazarded his whole deſign.

Monk invites Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* in *Ireland* to a conjunction with him.

The General at the ſame time that he ſent the before-mentioned Letters to *London*, did likewiſe ſend a Meſſenger with Letters to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, who Commanded the Army in *Ireland*, to move him to joyn with him, or at leaſt to repreſent to him ſo fair an account of his Action, as might induce him not to be his hinderance in any of his Undertakings.

Col. *Lilburn* in *Yorkſhire* makes all poſſible oppoſition againſt General *Monk*.

Colonel *Lilburn*, who lay at *York* with ſome Forces, upon the firſt Rumour of *Monk*'s Declaration, drew what Forces together he could, and without ſtaying to be well informed of the Reaſons of *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*'s breaking up the Parliament; He drew all the Officers in thoſe parts to enter into Aſſociation againſt *Monk*, and to joyn with the Army at *London*, in whatſoever they deſigned.

He endeavours to ſeduce the General's Secretary from his Service, but prevails not.

He alſo writ to Mr *Clarke*, the General's Secretary, who was an active uſeful Inſtrument in his affairs, to ſeduce him from his Service; the truth is, the greateſt part *Clarke*'s Eſtate was in *England*, and he was a man of ſo civil and ingenious a converſation, that he might have been the better excuſed in a Neutrality to both Parties, and his intereſt did direct him to it. But he was reſolved to hazard all his Fortunes in the Generals Bottom, and would not by threats or cunning, (which were both uſed by *Lilburn* to him) be prevailed with to quit his Party. For which his Fidelity and Conſtancy at this time, he was ever after ſo much eſteemed by the General, that he truſted him with his moſt ſecret tranſactions.

He intercepts the Generals Letters to Maj. Gen. *Morgan*.

Major General *Morgan* had lain long ſick of the Gout at *York*, and began about this time to recover his health. The Letter which *Monk* ſent to him was intercepted by *Lilburn*, which *Morgan* little reſented, but thought it adviſable ſo far to conceal his paſſion (till he might have convenient opportunity to get into *Scotland*) as to ſeem to *Lilburn* rather to diſlike than approve of the Generals proceedings.

Talbot and *Clarges* arrive at *Edenburgh*, and are well received by the General.

Colonel *Talbot* and *Clarges* came not to *Edenburgh* till the ſecond of *November*; they were both very well received by *Monk*, but eſpecially *Clarges*, being his Brother-in-law, with whom he had that night much Conference in private. The General wondred that *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* would ſend him, and thought it a good *Omen* to his Succeſs, that he had him to aſſiſt his deſigns. *Clarges* frankly asked him what was the true end he aimed at in their Enterpriſe; telling him, that it was impoſſible for him to be ever truſted after this Rupture if he patched up a Peace with the *Engliſh* Army, and withal acquainting him that he obſerved a great Conſternation in the Officers and Souldiers as he paſſed, and that he believed many of them would fall off to him.

He diſcovers to *Clarges* ſome glimmering of his intentions.

The General (as the moſt reſerved man then living) was in ſome trouble to be preſſed to diſcover his Intentions, and at that time opened himſelf no further than to let him know, he was reſolved to endeavour to free his Native Country from the ſlavery it was under, and to effect it, he thought it one of the beſt Expedients would be to reſtore the Parliament; but in their Admiſſion to ſit (if it were by his Arms) he would make no difference betwixt them, but let in as well the Secluded Members as others. Having ſaid this, he conjured *Clarges* to ſecreſie, being very ſenſible that the jealouſie had on him by the Army was ſo great, it having been often caſt in his diſh, by ſome of his ill-willers, that the King was in the bottom of his Deſigns) that all he could contrive, would be little enough to beget a Confidence, even in his own Party to engage with him.

The preſent condition of *Monk* for Money an Ammunition.

As to the preſent Condition of his Affairs, he acquainted him that he had about Seventy thouſand pounds in money, part whereof was already in his Treaſury, and the reſt would in a ſhort time be paid into it. And that all his Magazines were very well ſtored with Ammunition, Arms, and all other neceſſaries, and that he had in part modelled his Army fit for his purpoſes, and ſhould in a while perfect it. *Clarges* let him know, that the wants in *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*'s Army were very great, and that upon *Lambert*'s Expedition they were not able to advance one months Pay for his Army, which would make them by free-Quarter be very burthenſome and diſtaſtful to the Country. So that if by a Treaty, or any other means he could protract time, his buſineſs might be done without hazard. The General replied, That he thought the Overture of a Treaty from *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* might be improved to his great advantage, for he could not in a months time draw his men together. And that his ſending *Knight* with a Party to lodge at *Anwick*, was to make them think him in greater readineſs than he was, the more thereby to diſtract their Levies. The General then reſolved upon a Treaty, and the next Morning ſummoned his Chief Officers together, to nominate Commiſſioners, and to reſolve upon Inſtructions for them, he choſe to adviſe with his Officers in all theſe matters to free them from Suſpition. Colonel *Talbot* was very glad his journey was ſo ſucceſsful to obtain a Treaty ſo eaſily. The General and his Officers met, and at the firſt Propoſition they conſented to the motion for a Treaty, and when he put them to name fit Perſons to be Commiſſioners, they referred it to him.

Lambert's Army in great want of Money.

Gen. *Monk* takes hold for his advantage of *Lambert*'s Overture for a Treaty.

He

Mr. *Knight*, Col. *Cloberry*, and Col. *Wilks* made choice of to be the Generals Commissioners in this Treaty.

He then appointed Major *Knight*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Cloberry* to be two, and put it to them to name a third, and they proposed Colonel *Wilks*, who was reputed to be a good Religious man, and acceptable to *Fleetwood*, and the Officers in *England*. They then came to consider of Instructions, and were so hot in debate, that the question was not without much contest carried for allowing them a fortnights time for the Treaty. The General was perplexed in his mind at this; for he would not have them limited to time, because that was the only thing he wanted, yet he discovered no displeasure: however, in the rest of the Instructions, he so invented matter to confound their Debates, that they had no power given them to conclude any thing; and they were to insist on the restoring the *Parliament*: But if the Members should refuse to sit, then to debate of some other Form of Government. They were likewise to provide for an Act of Indemnity for all Acts done since the first of *October*, and to take care that the Arrears of such part of the *English* Assessment as was appropriated to the Pay of the Army in *Scotland*, should be forthwith paid; and that a Godly, Learned and Faithful Ministry, with competent maintenance, and other incouragements, should be continued in the Three Nations; the like regard being had to Schools and Universities, with many other matters sufficiently remote from the present Affair. Moreover, it was particularly inserted, That they should provide, that the Acts of the Army in *England*, should not be deemed the Acts of a General Council of the Army, without the Concurrence of the Officers of the Armies of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Their instructions.

They meet *Lambert* at *York*, and began the Treaty there: but not agreeing, they set forward to *London*.

These Commissioners were hasted away, and *Lambert* was so far advanced with his Army, as to meet them at *York*, where he told them he had full Power from *Fleetwood*, the Officers of the Army, and the *Committee of Safety*, to treat and conclude with them of all differences. They seemed not averse to it, but when they began to enter upon the matter, and proposed the Restitution of the *Parliament*, he told them, *Fleetwood* and the Officers at *London* had agreed with him and his Officers not to conclude of any thing concerning that matter, without the common consent of all, and so they went forwards towards *London*. Nevertheless, as a thing previous to the Treaty, it was by both Parties accorded, that the Forces of neither should advance from their Quarters, and that there should be a free uninterrupted intercourse of Letters during the Treaty.

Monk's Army inferiour to *Lambert*'s in number but better paid.

The Army of Horse and Foot with *Lambert* did amount to near twelve thousand, and *Monk* had not above half the number; nevertheless he had this advantage, that he paid all his Men, and the other did not. The way he had for providing Money, was very accidental: The late *Parliament* (so called) about the latter end of *June* (as is before expressed) had made a short Act to authorize the payment of a years Tax upon *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, appointed to be raised by one of *Cromwel*'s *Parliaments*: and they in that Act directed *One Moiety of Money to be paid the First of* August, *and the other the tenth of* October *following*. The Proportion for *Scotland* to pay of this Tax was Six Thousand pounds a Month; and in regard the Country was poor, and burthened with many other payments, the General writ to all the Commissioners of Shires, and indulged them so far as to grant them forbearance of payment till the tenth of *October* for the first Moiety, and two Months after for the rest, which they readily undertook to do and performed it for the most part: And this he had represented so effectually by *Clarges* his Agent to the Parliament, that he got twenty thousand pounds in Money to be sent into *Scotland* towards the pay of his Army, till that money could be collected. And that was the bulk of all the Money he had in this undertaking; but it was increased by *Excise* and *Custome*, and other Duties; for after he declared, he seized on all. And of this we make the more particular mention in this place, because some ignorant of these Transactions, have published, That the General had an *Assessment* raised for him at a Convention of the Nobility of *Scotland*; which was first invented by the Seditious in *England* to his prejudice, and afterwards, because uncontradicted, believed for a Truth.

Major Gen. *Morgan* takes his Journey into *Scotland*, to Gen. *Monk*.

Lambert was informed by his confident *Lilburn*, that Major General *Morgan* (who had been some time sick of the Gout in *York*) was dissenting from General *Monk*'s Proceedings, and that he would be willing to go to him to dissuade him from the pursuit of them; and therefore he dealt with him to take a journey thither (on pretence of repairing to his Charge, which was then in *Scotland*) to use the credit he had with him to an Accommodation betwixt them: *Morgan* (who waited only for an occasion to get away) was glad of this Overture, and undertook to do his part in this business, so that at a days warning he began his Journey from *York* towards *Edenburgh*. He had with him one *Trowbeck*, a Chirugion (upon pretence of taking care of his health) a very subtile Intelligent Person, excellent in his Profession, and withal of great Discretion, and much beloved by the Souldiers of both Armies, and of considerable Interest among them. These got safe to *Edenburgh* about the seventh or eighth of *November*; and the coming of *Morgan* was a good Accession to *Monk*'s Party, and a great encouragement to all the Officers and Souldiers: For he was esteemed by them to be next the General, a Person of the best Conduct of any then in Arms in the Three Nations, having been near Forty years a Souldier, and present in the greatest Battels and Sieges of Christendom for a great part of that time; and particularly in *Flanders*, where he Commanded a Brigade of Foot, he acquitted himself to the astonishment of his Enemies, and the admiration of Marshal *Turenne*, and all the *French* Commanders in that Service with him. At his first coming to the General, he asked him aloud merrily, *If he would lay down his Arms, and be Friends with* Fleetwood *and* Lambert? To which he was answered by him, *if they would restore the* Parliament, *he had little more to say, and if he pleased, he might let*

His joyning with *Monk*, a matter of much importance.

The Discourse between the General and him at their first meeting.

them know as much. Morgan *replied, I promised to ask you the Question, but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it: I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your Fortunes in all your undertakings; You know I am no Statesman; I am sure you are a lover of your Country, and therefore I will joyn with you in all your Actions, and submit to your Prudence and Judgment in the Conduct of them.*

This generous Friendship was kindly received by *Monk*, and it was the more valuable, in that it was done in a time when the Army in *England* was at it's greatest height; and that in *Scotland* very inconsiderable in respect of the other, and not yet well settled; for a day or two before one of the Troops of *Morgan*'s own Regiment ran over *Tweed* to *Lambert*.

He privately delivers a Letter to the General from Mr. *Bowles* a Minister of *York*.

In the evening *Morgan* was private with the General, and delivered him a Letter which he brought from Mr. *Bowles* a Minister of *York*, a very eminent Man of those parts, and of great Credit with my Lord *Fairfax*, and many others of good Note in that County, (*Clarges* being yet at *Edenburgh*, and consulted with in the business.) The Letter imported, *That the Lord* Fairfax, *and many others of good Interest in* Yorkshire, *were willing to joyn with the General, but that they disapproved of his* Declaration *which was restrained to the restoring of that Part of the* Parliament *only which sate after the Secluson of the rest; and was filled with many Protestations for the asserting of no other than a* Common-wealth *Government.*

The effect of the Letter.

To this the General answered, *That* Clarges *could witness his Intentions in those Particulars, That what was printed in his name, was not (at that Conjuncture) to be regarded as the Result of his own Reason, because his Writings were drawn by other hands; and till his Affairs had a firmer Consistency, and he more Power in his hands, it was unseasonable for him to contradict what was done; since all that was writ could scarce prevail with the Army to believe he had not a design to set up the King in his Government.* The Conclusion of this was to send *Clarges* to *Fairfax*, *Rossiter*, and several others to engage them; it being thought expedient at the same time, to imploy all possible care to amuse the Parliament and Army, till the General could get a power in his hands to justifie other Counsels. *Clarges* was dispatched to *Bowles*, with a Letter of Credit to him, to cause a belief in him of what he should acquaint him with, on the part of the General, and another Letter to the same purpose to my Lord *Fairfax*, from whom he was to have an address to *Rossiter* in *Lincolnshire*.

Clarges sent to *Fairfax*, *Rossiter*, and others to engage them to General *Monk*.

Col. *Talbot* prevailed upon by *Lambert* to take part with him.

Talbot knew nothing of these Traverses, but carried himself with much moderation all the time of his stay, and with so much profession of respect to the General, That he assured him, *If he would go to* London *and be a Neuter, he would preserve his Regiment for him:* Which he promised to do, but was afterwards by the importunity of *Lambert*, prevailed upon to act contrary to that Engagement, and (some think) to his own Inclinations; for he was esteemed by all that knew him to be a Person not averse to a better and more just Government than he at that time lived under, and was obliging to all the Gentry where he lived, that needed his assistance and help.

Capt. *Dean* Mr. *Caryl*, Col. *Whaley*, and *Goffe* sent by *Fleetwood* to G. *Monk*.

Fleetwood could not conceal his fears; for the same Week that *Talbot* and *Clarges* were sent to endeavour a Reconsiliation, before he had any return from them, Captain *Dean*, one of the Treasurers, and not long after Mr. *Caryl* the Minister, with Colonel *Goffe* and *Whaley*, were sent to the General on the same Errand: Likewise Mr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Barker* were deputed in the name of the Independant Congregations in and about *London*, to mediate a Peace betwixt the two Armies.

Fleetwood by Letters courts *Monk* to side with him.

Mean while, *Clarges* and *Talbot* took their leaves of the General to return home. The pretence of *Dean*'s coming into *Scotland* before *Caryl* and *Whaley*, was to look after his Charge; for he was one of the Treasurers at War; but he privately dispersed Tickets as he travelled, to seduce *Monk*'s Souldiers from him, bringing him withal a Letter from *Fleetwood*, which contained an Offer of what Command in the Army he should desire, upon the least private intimation of his inclining to take part with him. This made the General to believe there was some jealousies betwixt *Lambert* and him; which he might have improved to the breaking of one of them; but he chose the more generous way, and refused the Offer; letting him know, *He sought not himself, but the good of the Nations, and when that was obtained, he would rather lay the Command he had, down, than seek to enlarge it.*

The ruling Faction in *Ireland* declare their resolution not to joyn with Gen. *Monk*.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Barret* came at the same time from *Ireland* with a Letter from Sir *Hardress Waller*, *John Jones*, and the ruling people of that Country, (for *Ludlow* was then in *England*) declaring their Refusal to joyn with the General; letting him know by their said Letter, bearing date the fourth of *November*;

That at a General Meeting of the Officers of the Irish *Army, they Unanimously resolved not to approve of the Resolution he had taken, which tended (as* they alledged) *to the Engaging of part of the Armies of these Nations against their Brethren, or the dividing of them in Interest or Affection; being well assured that such a Practice would be found in the Issue to be nothing else but the opening of a door for the* Common Enemy *to come in, (whatever Umbrage should be put upon it) and destroy those very Persons and Authority, in whose behalf their Affections inclined them to undergo very great Difficulties.* Adding, *That they held it a Duty incumbent on them towards him (as their honourable Friend of whom they had a very high esteem) in the behalf of all the People of the Lord in these three Nations, to bear their Witness against any such Resolution or Practice, and to improve their utmost endeavours to prevent the same.*

Another Party in *Ireland* inclineable to the General.

The General was not at all discouraged at this return to his Civil Letters and Declaration sent thither, having at the same time received Advice from Cornet *Monk* by another hand, *That Sir* Charles Coot, *Sir* Theophilus Jones, *and a very considerable part of the Army were resolved to Assist him; That Sir* Hardress Waller *himself might in time be drawn to joyn with them, and that he*

he doubted not in a ſhort while to receive good effects of their endeavours.

Dean and *Barret* ſent back into *England* with a check.

But in the mean time, upon notice that *Dean* and *Barret* were active to withdraw the affections of the Souldiers from their Duties, they were thereupon ſent away from *Scotland* with a ſevere Rebuke; the General being unwilling to puniſh them by Impriſonment or any ſevere courſe, becauſe they came to him on publick Buſineſs.

These Men did much miſchief amongſt the Souldiers, who were many of them by their inveiglements ſeduced; two Troops of *Twiſleton*'s Regiment of Horſe, commanded by *Aſhley* and *Dean*, refuſed to joyn with the General, and Thirty three of them were diſmounted, diſarmed and caſhiered, and Foot-Souldiers put on their Horſes; but Forty of *Dean*'s Troop with their Colours ran into *England*; and two Companies of Foot of the Regiment which came from St. *Johnſton*', being quartered at *Dunbar*, had like to have been betrayed to *Newcaſtle* by one Captain *Guillim*, who had been lately of that Regiment, and was diſcharged; This *Guilim* procuring leave to go into *England*, came to *Dunbar*, where he made the Souldiers believe that he was by the General reſtored to his Command, and had order to ſecure Captain *Thomſon*, who then Commanded them, and to carry them in Boats to *Berwick*; ſome of the Serjeants ſo far gave Credit to him, that they placed a Guard upon *Thomſon*, whileſt he in the mean time was hiring Boats to carry them, and was ſo earneſt in it, that he would have taken any, though never ſo leaky, for their Conveyance: This put the Men into ſome jealouſie, inſomuch, that they deſired to ſee his Orders, whereupon he leaped upon his Horſe, and ran away.

Cap. *Guillim* endeavours to betray two Companies of the General's Men, but is found out.

The General takes care to reform his Regiments.

At *Sterlin*, a Troop of Colonel *Sanders*'s his Regiment were in the like Diſorder, and about thirty of the Men diſmounted, and others put in their places. This obliged the General to be more circumſpect in the reforming his Regiments; ſo that he diſcharged all the Officers whom he any way ſuſpected, and ſent them into *England*. In Colonel *Fairfax* his Regiment Eighteen Officers were diſplaced; and in moſt of the reſt ſome were put out, in all, to the number of Sevenſcore Perſons: Thoſe Regiments wherein leaſt alteration was made, were *Talbot*'s and *Read*'s; the firſt, through the diligence of *Hubblethorn*, who a while after deſervingly, upon *Talbot*'s joyning with *Lambert*, had the Regiment conferred upon him; and the latter, by the Care and good Example of the Colonel, who was a Perſon that always loved and eſteemed the General.

Clarges excuſes Major General *Morgan* to *Lambert*.

Lambert was much troubled when he heard that *Morgan* had deſerted him, and when *Talbot* and *Clarges* came to *York*, he complained of it as a kind of Breach of Faith, but was quickly by *Clarges* better ſatisfied: for he aſſured him, he heard him move General *Monk* to a Peace with him; but being Major-General of that Army, he could not refuſe to do his Duty, in ſtaying there where his charge was, ſince the Difference between the two Armies was not yet come to that degree, to make it beyond hopes of Reconciliation; and that he might rather further the ſame by his Preſence, than Abſence.

Clarges his Conference with Mr. *Bowles*.

Clarges, as hath been already mentioned, had received a Letter to the Lord *Fairfax*, from the General, and ſome Inſtructions to *Roſſiter*, and ſeveral others; about which he was ſecretly to confer with *Bowles* the Miniſter at *York*, to whom alſo he brought a Letter of Credit, for what he ſhould propoſe to him; *Bowles* with whom he had much Diſcourſe, deſired to be fully informed of the General's Intentions, and was by *Clarges* ſo well ſatisfied in them, that he undertook to negotiate with the Lord *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethel*, and ſeveral others in *Monk*'s behalf; and for Evidence of it, he adviſed him to ſtay privately in *York* till he went to confer with the Lord *Fairfax* at his Houſe at *Nun-Appleton*, ſix Miles from thence, (that he might know what Advice to ſend into *Scotland*) which he accordingly did. And at his return, acquainted him, That *Fairfax* would riſe by the midſt of *January*, and he might be confident *Bethel* and *Smithſon* would joyn with him, who were Men of good Intereſt, and well-beloved of the Souldiery in *Lambert*'s Army: On the other ſide, *Bowles* preſſed to know what expectations the General had from other places, and was by *Clarges* informed, that Colonel *Wherham* at *Portſmouth* was a great Friend to the General, and he doubted not, but he would take the firſt Opportunity he could to declare with that Garriſon for him, which he liked very well, for *Wherham* was a moderate Man. He told him likewiſe, that Colonel *Hacker* with his Regiment would raiſe ſome Men in *Nottinghamſhire* and *Leiceſterſhire*, and Colonel *Hutchinſon* and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* would joyn with them; and that *Okey* was labouring to make diſturbances in *London* amongſt the Regiments there. *Bowles* at firſt was not well pleaſed that he ſhould make uſe of theſe Aids: but when he was acquainted by *Clarges* with the Reaſons which induced him to it, he was ſatisfied.

The firſt thing the General deſign'd, was to break *Lambert*'s Forces, to make himſelf Maſter of all the Armies; and to effect this, it was requiſite to refuſe no help, ſince the major part of the whole would be ſuch as he could make uſe of to model the reſt, to any purpoſe he ſhould imploy them in. Then they found out a ſecret Meſſenger to ſend with intimation of this Conference to *Monk*; and *Clarges* went towards *Lincolnſhire* to purſue his Negotiations; but about *Doncaſter* he had ſo grievous a fall from his Horſe, as he was riding Poſt, that his Life was deſpaired of; but after a little ſtay there, he was brought to a Village betwixt *Tuxford* and *Newark*, where he was forced to ſtay ten days ere he was able to travel; nevertheleſs, in the mean time he ſent Expreſſes ſeveral ways, and by the means of one *Briſtow*, a Confident of Colonel *Roſſiter*, he had opportunity to ſend to him, and had his Anſwer; which was, *That he would joyn with* Fairfax, *and do what he ſhould direct.* When he came to *Leiceſterſhire*, he heard nothing of *Haſlerig*; but that he had, in deſpair of doing

Clarges Negotiations retarded by a Miſchance that befel him.

any

Hasterig having promised Aid against *Lambert*, withdraws for fear of giving incouragement to the King's Party.

any thing, retired to *Woodstock*; and the Reason he gave for it, was, *That if he should raise Forces in his County, it might give occasion to the Kings Party to Arm, and thereby hazard the whole Cause; and that therefore it would be better to close with the Army in all their Exorbitances, than venture with so much danger to oppose it.*

Clarges deals with the Members of the late Council of State, to abet *Monk*'s Designs against *Lambert*.

Clarges was somewhat troubled at this Discouragement, but omitted not to proceed in his Endeavours; and thereupon sent to many of the Council of State, who were retired, to draw them privately to *London*, to assist with their Counsels, in promoting the Restauration of the Parliament; which he did upon observation amongst the Souldiers of *Lambert*'s Army, that they favoured much the Declaration of *Monk*, for restoring that Authority, and were only diverted from joyning with him against *Lambert*, upon a Jealousie of the Kings being in the bottom of his Design; which was often insinuated by the Council of Officers at *London*, in their publick and private Debates: So that in the immaturity of that time, nothing could more advance *Monk*'s purpose of subduing the *English* Army, than to beget a Confidence in them of his adherence to his Declaration.

A Conference between *Monk* and the Commissioners of the *Independent* Churches.

This Practise prevailed so far, as to get the Council of State together in *London*, where they had many private Meetings: but in the mean time, the Commissioners for the *Independent* Churches, which were sent into *Scotland*, were solicitous to divert *Monk* from the prosecution of the War; and so far the Business proceeded, that there was a Conference appointed with them at *Holy-rood-House*, where were present to treat with them, General *Monk*, Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Syler*, Doctor *Barrow*, the Judge Advocate of the Army, and Mr. *Gumble* one of the Generals Chaplains.

At this Conference, Mr. *Collins* an *Independent* Minister (who had been one of the Preachers of the late Council in *Scotland*) was admitted to be present as a Neuter.

The effect of Mr. *Caryl*'s Speech in the Name of the Churches.

Mr. *Caryl* was the first that spoke, who in a long and studied Speech declared, *That the Commissioners had desired him to speak for them; That they all came, not to deliver their own Sense of the Generals Proceedings, but the Sense of the Churches*, (for so upon every occasion he called the *Independent* Congregations) *That the Churches had not given them Commission to enter into the Merits of the Cause, nor to Debate whether* Lambert's *Action of turning out the Parliament were justifiable or not; but only to present it to his Lordship as their Opinion; That though that Action could not be justified, yet his Lordship had not a Call to appear against it, in that manner he then did; That his Lordship had only in Charge to keep* Scotland *in quiet, and was not bound to take notice of any Differences that should happen in* England. *(Nor indeed could it reasonably be expected of him, he being in a place where he could not be supposed to have such true and timely Information, as was necessary in a Business of that Concernment.)* He proceeded to shew Reasons why the General should go on no further, telling him, *That it would put a Strife amongst those that hitherto had been Brethren, engaged all along in the same Cause, partakers in the same Dangers, and the same Successes amongst those that still in their Papers and all their Addresses called and owned one another for Brethren, and that at a very unseasonable time, whilest the* Cananites *and* Perizzites *were in the Land:* And thereupon he took occasion to inlarge himself upon all the Advantages the King and his Party would reap by this Quarrel, and all the Dangers the People of God (for so he called his own Party) might run into; And at last, by way of Aggravation, he told the General, *That what Inconveniences soever should happen, would be laid at his Door, in regard he would appear to have been the Beginner of the War.*

The General's Answer.

At this the General, in a little heat, interrupted him, shewing, *That the War was already begun by* Lambert *and his Party, who had offered violence to those, from whom they had all received their Commissions*; not sparing freely, and at large, to lay open *their restless Instability, which would not suffer the three Nations to enjoy any settled Government at all, but keep them in a perpetual Circumvolution, till they were in danger to be brought to utter Ruine*; repeating much of their Declarations, and many of their Actions; and declaring, *That if they continued in that Course, he was resolved to oppose them to the uttermost, and would* (to repeat his own words) *lay them on their Backs.*

The Treaty ended between the Commissioners of the Two Armies.

Caryl and his fellow-Commissioners endeavoured to excuse that Expression of theirs, which stirred up the General's anger; and *Barrow* on the General's side, did qualifie and mitigate his Answer, not thinking it meet wholly to disoblige so considerable a Party as the *Independents*, as things stood at that time; and so by degrees Expressions came to be very calm on both sides, both being in expectation of the issue of the Treaty then on foot, between the Commissioners of the Army of *Scotland*, and those of the Army in *England*; but after this time there was no more Meetings, for upon News from *England*, that Matters were tending to Accommodation, these Commissioners thought their Business done, and made haste to return to *England*.

Clarges, disabled by his Fall, could not get soon enough to *London*, to prevent the hasty conclusion of the Treaty there, (which was concluded on the Fifteenth of *November*) although he endeavoured by several Letters to Major *Knight*, one of the Commissioners, to prevent it, forasmuch as the rest of them were so prevailed on by the importunity of the *English* Officers, or else so terrified with their great Preparations, that he could not hinder the speed of it: As he came to *London*, he passed by *Cambridge*, and settled there a Correspondency with Mr. *Pradman*, one of the Fellows of *Kings Colledge*, by whose Care and Secrecy all his Packets were conveyed safe to *Scotland*, when all the ordinary wayes were obstructed. Mean while, being much troubled to find, that that very night he arrived at *London*, the Treaty betwixt the Commissioners on both parts was concluded, he seriously expostulated with the Commissioners about

about their precipitant proceeding, telling them what Progress he had made in his Negotiations, and that by the midst of *January* there would be in many places such strong Diversions made, that the General could not but obtain his Ends: That his Money would last till the beginning of *February*, and by that means his Men would be so united and encouraged, that if he did nothing but lye still, *Lambert*'s Army by their great wants (which made them insupportable to the Country) must break off themselves.

Knight was very sensible of his Error in this hasty Conclusion, and the rest were so far convinced, that in their Letter of the Sixteenth of *November*, to the General-Council of the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, giving them an Account of the conclusion of the Treaty, they confess, they had exceeded their Instructions, out of a Suspition, as the Posture of Affairs then stood, that the Issue of the Difference, if longer continued, would not be to the Advantage of themselves, or of their Brethren of *England*, but of the *Common Enemy*.

The Agreement it self consisted of Nine Articles, which were expressed in the following words, *viz.*

The Articles of Agreement between the Commissioners of the two Armies.

1. *That we will to the uttermost of our Powers, in our several Capacities, oppose the Interest and pretended Right of* Charles Stuart, *in and to the Government of these Nations, as also of all and every Person claiming a Right or Title to the said Government, or any share therein; together with, under or from him, or any other Person or Persons pleading or pretending such a Right or Title, by virtue of his or their descent from the same Line with him.*

2. *That we will not give our consent unto, but will oppose to our utmost Power, the setting up of any* Single Person *whatsoever, in the place of and for the Chief Magistrate of these Nations; and will endeavour to our utmost, that the Government of these Nations may be setled in the way of a* Free-State, *or* Common-wealth, *without a* Single Person, King-ship, *or* House of Lords.

3. *That no form of Government shall be determined of, and asserted by any part of the Army, as the Supreme Legislative Authority of this* Common-wealth, *and the Territories thereunto belonging, without the Approbation and Consent of a* General Council *of the Officers of the Army and Navy of this* Common-wealth; *which* General-Council *shall consist of two* Commission-Officers *for each respective Regiment, chosen by the* Commission-Officers *of the said Regiment, or by the Major part of them who can conveniently meet together; and likewise such Governours of Garrisons as are not Regimented, and can conveniently be spared, may be called to the said Council, and ten Officers of the Fleet, chosen by a Council of the Officers of the Fleet; and that the* Quorum *shall be Thirty one, and the day of their Meeting to be the Sixth of* December *next at* White-Hall *in the Old Council-Room.*

4. *That a* Parliament, *or a Supreame Delegated Authority of this* Common-wealth, *be with all possible speed Constituted and Summoned in such manner and form as shall be by the aforesaid* General Council *agreed unto; and the Qualifications of the Members thereof, to be agreed on by the Lord* S. John, *the Lord* Warriston, *Lieutenant-General* Ludlow, *Sir* Henry Vane, *Lord* Whitlock, *Sir* James Harrington, *Major* Salway, *Colonel* George Thomson, *Colonel* Berry, *and Mr.* Scot; *together with the Lord* Steel, *Colonel* Barrow, *and Lieutenant-Colonel* Dobson, *as Commissioners for the Army in* Ireland; *and three Commissioners for the Army in* England, *to be appointed thereunto; with the three Commissioners for the Army of* Scotland, *whereof the* Quorum *to be Nine.*

5. *That the Proportion of Money out of the Assessments of* England, *formerly appointed for the Supply of the Forces of* Scotland, *be duely paid and no further stop upon the same, but that it may be returned by* Bills *of* Exchange, *or otherwise, with all convenient speed, and any former Order and Orders to be made void.*

6. *That the case of the Officers of the Army of* England *and* Scotland, *that are suspended or displaced, or that have laid down their Commissions since the Eleventh of* October *last, only by reason of the precedent Differences, be determined by fourteen Commissioners of the Army in* England *and* Scotland, *or the major part of them; the one half of the said* Commissioners *to be chosen by the* Council of Officers *in* England, *and the other half, of the* Council of Officers *in* Scotland; *and that forthwith the said* Officers *be discharged from their Imprisonments or Confinements. The Day of Meeting of the said Commissioners, to be the First Day of* December *next, and the place of their Meeting to be at* Newcastle *upon* Tyne.

7. *That no Officer, or Souldier, or other Person of these Nations, that have acted in the late Differences betwixt the late* Parliament *and the* Army, *or between any of the Forces of this* Common-wealth, *for or against each other, relating to any Difference, since the Tenth of* October *last, be questioned for the same, but fully indemnified, and all Unkindness to be put in perpetual Oblivion.*

8. *That a Godly, Learned, and Faithful Ministry, with competent Maintenance, and other Incouragement, be continued in the three Nations, and that the Universities and Schools of Learning be so Countenanced and Reformed, as they may become the Nurseries of Piety and Learning.*

9. *That the Forces of Horse and Foot respectively, both of* England *and* Scotland, *that have been drawn forth by reason of the late Difference, shall forthwith March to such Quarters in both Nations, where they may best secure and preserve the Peace of the* Common-wealth, *against the Enemies thereof; and that there be no further difference, or appearance of that difference amongst Us.*

We the Commissioners hereunto appointed and authorized by General Monk, *and the General Council of Officers in* Scotland, *do this Fifteenth of* November, 1659. *in the name, and on the behalf of the said General* Monk, *and General Council of Officers in* Scotland, *fully Consent and Agree to the aforementioned Agreement, and*

and every part thereof, and do engage our ſelves and every of us to the full performance of the ſame.

Preſent as Witneſſes, *Signed,*
Tim. Wilkes,
R. Barrow, R. Brown, R. Knight,
Edw. Smith, Jo. Cloeberry.

Signed at the Agreement of the General Council of Officers of the Army met at Wallingford-Houſe *the Fifteenth of* November, 1659. *And I do for my ſelf, and in the name of the ſaid General Council, conſent to the aforementioned agreement, and every part thereof, and do engage to the full performance of the ſame.*

Witneſſes, *Signed,*
R. Barrow, Edw. Swift,
Bry. Leavens, Ro. Brown. Ch. Fleetwood.

Wallington and *Lloyd*, two Captains of the *Engliſh* Army at *London*, were ſent with this Agreement to General *Monk* to put it in Execution; and as they went, Major *Cambridge* of *Lambert*'s Army was ſent by him in their Company. But *Clarges* was careful to ſend a Copy of it to him ſome days before they arrived; and the General was in much Perplexity at the Receipt of it, as that which diſtracted his Deſign almoſt paſt recovery; he was reſolved not to accept of it, but could not well tell how to decline it.

The General conſults how he might with the handſomeſt pretence refuſe his Aſſent to theſe Articles.

To take any prence from thoſe Articles which excluded the King's Government, would confirm the ſuſpicion which was fomented of his ſecret Intentions for the Royal Family; and to ground his Diſſent from the Subſcription of the Commiſſioners, where they aſſume an Authority (which they never had) and undertook for the performance of that Agreement, for the General and all his Officers would not be thought material enough to continue the breach betwixt them; That which was moſt plauſible, was to break it upon the Sixth Article, where it was provided, *That all the Officers diſplaced by General* Monk, *might be in a Capacity of being reſtored to other Commands; and all thoſe put by him in their place* (wherein his ſtrength conſiſted) *be removed*; he called together a few of his Confidents to adviſe what to do; theſe were Major General *Morgan*, Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Lydcott*, Doctor *Barrow*, and Mr. *Gumble*; *Lydcott* was admitted, becauſe he was from a private Captain newly preferred to the Command of *Cobbet*'s Regiment, and therefore by intereſt ſuppoſed to be averſe to this Agreement. The General and theſe Gentlemen having had much diſcourſe of the Buſineſs, they all thought it fit to diſapprove of the Agreement, but differed in the manner; but at laſt it was by *Barrow* propoſed, and agreed to by the General and the reſt, That they ſhould not declare a poſitive diſſent to what their Commiſſioners had done; but urge, that there was ſomething untreated of, further to be agreed upon; and ſome of thoſe things conſented to by their Commiſſioners, which without further explication, could not ſtand with their Declaration or Inſtructions; and that therefore it ſhould be deſired, that two more might be allowed to be added to their Commiſſioners, to meet a like number of theirs to be thereunto authorized, to put a more abſolute period to their differences.

Lloyd and others ſent with a Letter to the Officers at *London*.

The ſame Evening *Wallington*, *Lloyd* and *Cambridge* arrived; and the next Morning at a General Council of Officers at *Edenburgh*, when the Agreement was communicated to them, they were ſo artificially prepared, that they unanimouſly diſreliſhed it, and a Letter was framed, which they all ſubſcribed, to the ſame purpoſe with what was agreed on the day before, and *Lloyd* and thoſe with him went with it to *London*.

Mr. *Atkins* and Colonel *Markham* ſent by the General with a Letter to the City of *London*.

The City of *London* was very much diſcontented at the *Committee of Safety*, and *Fleetwood* became doubtful of them: But to heighten them the more, General *Monk* ſent a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, which was delivered to them by Mr. *Atkins* and Colonel *Markham*, about the Seventeenth or Eighteenth of *November*: wherein he acquainted them,

The Effect of the ſaid Letter.

That at the firſt notice he had of the Force upon the Parliament, *he had ſent a Letter to them, declaring his Reſolution to endeavour their Re-eſtabliſhment, and that his Army was very Unanimous to concur with him in it; but that Letter miſcarrying, he had with the advice of his Officers now again written to them, to let them know, they were conſtant to their firſt Reſolution; and were the more confirmed in it, for being informed that the Authors of that Force had proceeded ſo far as to null and make void ſome* Acts of Parliament; (*which the King when he was at the higheſt, never attempted to do, and which no true* Engliſhman *can endure to ſee done, by any but* Parliaments *themſelves*) *and after they had ſubverted the Foundation of an ancient Government, were contriving by their own Power and Authority to ſet up a new Government over the Nations*, adding, *that if this ſhould be ſuffered, he knew not to what purpoſe ſo much Blood had been ſpilt, ſo much Treaſure ſpent, and ſo many Engagements made; they muſt take upon themſelves the Guilt of all, and look upon this ſlavery they had brought upon themſelves, as a Judgment upon them for their Murthers, Rapines and Perjuries*: He proteſted *to aim only at the reſtoring* Parliaments *to their former Freedom and Authority, and the People to their Juſt Rights and Liberties; in which he expected to be ſure of their aſſiſtance. As to Religion*, he told them, *he intended not that thoſe that truly feared God, ſhould be abridged of their Worſhip, but he ſhould be unwilling that ſome under pretence of maintaining that Liberty, ſhould endeavour the overthrow of National Miniſtry, and by conſequence leave the greateſt part of the People to utter Ignorance and Atheiſm*: Concluding nevertheleſs, *That Religion was not that about which he did at preſent contend, being deſirous to leave that to the Conſideration of the* Parliament, *for the Defence whereof, he and thoſe with him were reſolved to venture to the utmoſt; and if he ſhould miſcarry through want of their timely aid, it would be too late for them by their*

own

own strength to assert their Freedom; And if he succeeded, it would be dishonourable for so Famous a City, and so much Concerned, that its Liberty should be asserted without its own help; inciting them *therefore now whilest so great an Army is waiting on him in the North, to use their Endeavours in the South, &c.*

The Letter look't upon as factious, and the Messengers imprisoned

This Letter was dated the 12th of *November* at *Edenburgh*, and did so much insense the *Committee of Safety*, that the Gentlemen who delivered it were put into Custody: And the more to aggravate the business, *Monk*'s Commissioners were either so imprudent, or so unsincere, as to declare, *That they believed the Letter was fictitious*; which made the City less active in pursuance of the Contents of it.

Whilest things were thus traversed in *London*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and all the Officers in *England*, could not dissemble their Confusion of Mind upon *Monk*'s refusal to ratifie the Treaty, and sending for a Blank Pass to insert news names of additional Commissioners; and many Expostulatory Letters passed betwixt them about it, but more especially betwixt *Lambert* and his Officers, and him; for they were very apprehensive that this motion of a Blank Pass for adding to their Commissioners, or the naming of new ones, was only meant to gain time; but at last they did consent to it, though it never came to any effect, as shall be hereafter discovered.

Nine of the Old Council of State meet.

Nine of the old *Council of State* met privately in *London* the nineteenth of *November*, they a little resented, that General *Monk*'s Commissioners did not communicate their Counsels with them, yet omitted not to give him all the encouragement they could; And in order thereunto, one Captain *Elms*, with *Horton* a Servant of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*'s was sent with Letter to him to *Scotland*; wherein they signifie,

And send a Letter to the General.

That his faithful Actions in discharge of his Trust and Duty to that Parliament, and for the good of the Three Nations and Posterity in these Times of so great Hypocrisie and Defection, was most gratefully acknowledged by them; and they assured him, his Service was exceedingly well resented by all sober and interessed persons, that love a Common-wealth; *and that he might be confident, that they would adhere to him, and to their utmost promote the good Cause which he had hitherto with so much Wisdom and Courage highly owned, and that it was their Resolution to stand and fall with him in defence thereof; and that they would, as occasion should offer it self, the Lord enabling, be assisting to him according to his Declaration for removing the Force from this* Parliament, *that so they may Sit with Freedom, and, by Gods blessing, lay a Foundation of a happy and lasting Settlement.*

This Letter was subscribed by

Tho. Scot, President,	*Arthur Hazlerig*,
Herbert Morley,	*Valentine Walton*,
Robert Reignolds,	*Anth. Ashley Cooper*,
Robert Wallop,	*Josias Berners*.
Henry Nevil,	

This was a great Encouragement to the Officers in *Scotland*; for the wisest of them did conclude from these appearances of Action at *London*, that their Party was increased in *England*, imagining that otherwise they durst not have so openly acted.

The Parliament party begin busily to appear against *Lambert* and his Faction.

Colonel *Wheeham* at *Portsmouth* was labouring to frame a Design of declaring for General *Monk* with that Garrison; and Colonel *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Hazlerig* went privately towards him to Treat about it: But before they went, the *Council of State*, at another Meeting before the time appointed by *Parliament* for their continuance was expired, framed a Commission, wherein they constituted General *Monk* Absolute Commander in Chief of all the Armies in *England* and *Scotland*, which was Dated the 24th of *November*, sealed with their Seal, and left in the hands of *Clarges*, till a safe Messenger might be sent with it to him.

The effect of a Letter from *Lambert*'s Officers to *Monk*.

As soon as *Fleetwood* had received General *Monk*'s Letters against the Ratification of the Treaty, and his desire to have two more Commissioners added to his, to renew the Treaty at *Newcastle*, *Wilks*, *Cloberry*, and *Knight*, the Commissioners had their dispatch, and a Pass to license their repair thither; but before they got to *Newcastle*, at a Meeting of all *Lamberts* Officers, a Letter was framed, and sent by Colonel *Zanchy* to General *Monk*'s Officers and one from *Lambert* to the General himself.

In that from the Officers they write, *That they had advised their General to acquaint General* Monk, *that if he pleased two appoint two Commissioned Officers of his Army to be added to those already in* England, *and signifie their Names to him, a safe Conduct should be forthwith given to them; but withall, That nothing in the Agreement be parted from, nor any new matter, or further explanations admitted, which are not consentaneous to what is already concluded; And that the General Council (agreed upon in the third Article of the Agreement at* London) *to meet upon the sixth of* December, *may accordingly hold their meeting.* And in a *Postscript* to this Letter, they complained of the detention of Colonel *Cobbet*, who, they said, was a Publick Messenger, and desired therefore he might enjoy his Priviledge accordingly, except by some miscarriage he had forfeited the same. Colonel *Zanchy* was very kindly receiv'd by General *Monk* and all his Officers, and they met together with all convenient hast to give him his dispatch; acquainting him, *That they should not disown any thing in that Agreement that was conformable to the Instructions by which their Commissioners were authorized; but what should appear to be beyond, they insisted to have it Treated on and explained. As to the third Article, mentioned in their Letter, they would not admit of any meeting in pursuance of it, till the whole should be concluded.* And concerning *Cobbet*, they alledged, *That he came not to* Scotland *as a Publick Messenger, but as a Colonel to Command a Regiment (after his Commission had been vacated by the Parliament, the day before their Interruption) and without any leave from General* Monk; *And that the General had intimation from a Person of Credit, That he had a*

The Conference of *Monk* and his Officers with Colonel *Zanchy*.

design to seduce the Army from their obedience, if not to seize on his Person. This Letter was signed the 7th of *December* at night, and the next day Colonel *Zanchy* was to have returned with it to *Newcastle*, but upon Intelligence received, that a Party of *Lambert*'s consisting of three Regiments of Horse, and a Regiment of Dragoons, with two Drakes was marched into *Northumberland*, and that sixty Dragoons, had possessed themselves of *Chillingham* Castle, near the *Scotch* Borders, the Colonel was staid; and the General, at three of the Clock the next morning, marched out of *Barwick*, and sent order to draw his Forces together toward *Coldstream*, a very convenient Pass upon the *Tweed*, where he settled his Head-Quarters. A little before this, his own Commissioners were come to him to *Barwick*, where he confined Colonel *Wilks* for discovering, or at least not pursuing some private Instructions; but after a while he was released upon satisfaction that what he did was out of Ignorance, and not Malice.

Col. *Wetham* at *Portsmouth* declares for *Monk*.

Colonel *Wetham* at *Portsmouth*, very generously declared for General *Monk*, with that Garrison, after he had secured Captain *Peacock*, and Captain *Brown*, and some other refractory Officers, that he was jealous of.

Commissioners from the several Shires and Burroughs of *Scotland* wait upon the General at *Barwick*.

Commissioners from the several Shires and Burroughs of *Scotland*, being summoned to wait upon the General, and he having appointed them to be at *Barwick* the thirteenth of *December*, he came on that day thither to meet them accordingly, releasing *Zanchy*, and sending by him a Letter to *Lambert*, wherein he acquainted him, he would by the next Post more fully inform him of his Resolutions.

The *Scotch* Commissioners appointed five to attend the General, and treat with him, which were the Earls of *Glencarn*, *Rothes*, *Weems*, and *Eglington*, and Mr. *Alexander Bruce*. These presented a Paper to the General, consisting of five Propositions.

Thier Propositions.

1. *That the Lord General may be pleased to appoint a Committee in each Shire, for regulating the Affairs thereof, in order to his Lordships Commands, and their own preservation.*

2. *That his Lordship will allow each Shire presently to raise (for the securing the Peace and their own safety) some small proportion of Horses, under the Conduct of such Persons as his Lordship shall think fit to trust.*

3. *That his Lordship will declare, for the greater encouragement of the Shires, at the return of their Commissioners, if the Treaty shall break up, and take no effect, immediately upon the notice thereof, that he did authorize the Shires to put themselves in the best posture they can for his Assistance, and their own Defence.*

4. *That for the said effect, his Lordship will be pleased to furnish each Shire with some proportion of Arms, upon payment of just Rates thereof, within one Months time after the Receipt of them.*

5. *That all Gentlemen who are free to comply with his Lordships desires, may for themselves and Servants have Liberty to carry their Arms.*

The General advisseth with his Officers about them.

The General, upon the receipt of this Paper, advised with some select Officers about an Answer to it, *viz.* Colonel *Fairfax*, Major *Jeremiah Smith*, Colonel *Lydcot*, Colonel *Read*, and Doctor *Barrow*. And the chief Question debated on, was, whether they should permit the *Scots* to Arm for their Assistance? Colonel *Read* was for Arming them: He argued, that it was a common danger, and they ought to make use of any aid that could be obtained for their defence. The General himself told them, That if he should draw all the men from his Garrisons, he could make his numbers of Foot quickly equal to *Lambert*'s, but he had hitherto declined that, being unwilling to put *Scotland* out of *English* hands, and that he doubted not, if he could get a few more Horse than he had, even with those Foot he had without weakening his Garrisons, he should well enough defend himself against *Lambert*.

Others were of opinion, that although they should not imploy whole Troops, or Companies of *Scots*, yet they might safely mingle a good party of them with the English. But Doctor *Barrow* was against all motions of Arming the *Scots* at that time, believing if it were done, many of their own men might desert them, but if the General would take any opportunity, though it were but to beat up any of *Lambert*'s Quarters, so that they might once come to *Blood*, that the devision being likely to increase after such an action, he might then strengthen himself with what Accessions he pleased. Nevertheless, he moved that some privately might confer with the leading men of the *Scotch* Gentry, to try if they would be brought to provide any numbers of Horses, on which the General might mount *English* to reinforce his own Troops. This last was approved as to the main Question; but upon the whole debate, they agreed upon particular Answers to every Article in the Generals name.

The General's Answer to the Scots Propositions.

1. To the First, *That he would authorize the Noblemen and Justices of the Peace of each County with the Advice and Consent of the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, to put in execution such Orders and Commands as his Lordship shall give for securing the Peace of the County.*

2. To the second, *That he would allow the Counties next adjacent to the* High-lands, *viz. to the County of* Dumbarton *and* Sterlin, *Forty men to bears Arms; To the County of* Perth, *Forty men in Arms; To the County of* Forfar *and* Kinkardine, *Forty men in Arms; And to the County of* Aberdeen, *Forty men in Arms, which are to be a Guard for the security of the said Counties against Thieves and Robbers. And for the rest of the Shires, his Lordship would take care, if he should have occasion to remove further out of* Scotland: *And he would allow the Heretors of the above-named Shires, to make choice of a fit Person to Command the said respective Guards; They giving Security to the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, for their Fidelity and good behaviour, in Six hundred Pounds* Sterling.

3. To the Third, *His Lordship deferr'd his Answer, till the Issue of the Treaty now intended*

intended between him and the Engliſh Army.

4. To the Fourth, *That he would furniſh them with fit means for their defence, whenſoever he ſhould apprehend their Peace and Safety to be in imminent danger.*

5. To the Fifth, *Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as ſhould ſubſcribe to live peaceably, and Act nothing to the prejudice of* England, *ſhould have liberty with Paſſes to wear their Swords, and have four Servants armed for their Attendants.*

Glencarn's Arguments with the General, for arming the Scots to his aſſiſtance.

At a Conference with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, upon the delivery of theſe Anſwers to their Propoſitions, they ſeemed unſatisfied with them, and the Earl of *Glencarne* in the name of the reſt, told the General, *ſince they were willing to hazard their Perſons and Eſtates with him, they hoped he would not deny them to Arm for his Aſſiſtance and their own Safety, ſince if he ſhould engage and be worſted, they ſhould be expoſed to great ruine for their Affection and Reſpect to him, from which otherwiſe, by a Neutrality, they might be ſecure.* To which he anſwered, *That if that ſhould happen, they ſhould then Arm to what numbers they pleaſed.* To this the Earl Replied, *That the Country were now willing to riſe in Confidence of his Conduct and Courage, but if his Force ſhould be defeated, they would not be perſwaded to it. And beſides, they could not under ſix weeks time make their Levies. And if permiſſion were now denied, the Enemy, if Victorious, would be in their Bowels before they ſhould be in a poſture of Defence.*

The Scotch Nobility depart home from Barwick.

The cautious General would not be prevailed on with theſe Arguments, and ſo they departed, he returned to *Coldſtream* to his Quarters, and the *Scotch* Noblemen and Gentlemen to their ſeveral Counties.

They had abſolutely refuſed the raiſing any Horſe to mount *Engliſh*, yet this came to no breach between them and the General, in regard before they left *Barwick*, the General acquainted them with Intelligence he had received from *England*, of the diſtractions in the Engliſh Armies and other Affairs, which made them to fear leſs than before, their own peace at home, and ſo all parted with mutual reſpect.

The General prepares to make defence againſt Lambert, if occaſion were.

After this meeting, the General was contriving how to break off the Treaty with *Lambert*, which he had hitherto, not without great Artifice delayed; but he conſidered, that as ſoon as that ſhould be done, *Lambert* would march towards him, and therefore he made preparation to fight him, if occaſion ſhould urge him to it. In order to which, he ſent an expreſs to *Clarges* to provide him ſome good Horſe-Officers, and ſend them by Sea in a nimble Bark. Mean while, in *Northumberland* the *Oagles* raiſed him two compleat Troops, and more Horſe were raiſing. He increaſed his number of Pikes in each Company, to be equal to his Muſquets, as thereby to be better able to make defence againſt Horſe, in which *Lambert*'s greateſt ſtrength was placed.

What advantages he had againſt Lambert's Army.

Coldſtream was nine miles from *Barwick* upon the *Tweed*, and he had quartered all his men ſo conveniently, that he could draw them all together in ſix hours; for the Villages are much thicker upon the *Scotch* than *Engliſh* Borders. And if *Lambert* marched towards him, the Villages in *Northumberland* being thin, he muſt have quartered at ſuch diſtance, that his men would have been expoſed to great hazard of being often diſturbed in their Quarters. And if he had marched to fight, the General, being upon the defenſative part, could have brought as many hands to action as he. Or if he had marched to *Carliſle*, to have invaded *Scotland* that way, *Monk* would then have marched directly to *London*, and ſhould have been two or three days march before him. Or if he had divided his Army, the General would have preſently fallen on the neareſt part to him. In this poſture he lay at *Coldſtream*, when he received Intelligence from *Clarges* "That there were many great diffe-
"rences in *London*, betwixt *Fleetwood* and the
"City. That the Apprentices, and ſeveral o-
"thers in favour of him, had many Conſulta-
"ons to make diſturbances; that they were fram-
"ing a Petition to the Lord Mayor and Com-
"mon Council, to preſs their Interpoſition for
"the reſtoring the *Parliament*, and preſervation
"of Magiſtracy, which was endeavoured to be
"ſuppreſt by the *Committee of Safety*, who emit-
"ted a Proclamation to prohibit all gathering
"of hands to Petitions, which incenſed the young
"Men ſo much (being fomented by wiſer heads)
"that they roſe in many places in a tumultu-
"ous manner. And thereupon, Colonel *Hew-*
"*ſon* was ſent into *London* to ſuppreſs them,
"whereby a rumour was raiſed, that Soldiers
"came to plunder them, and all Shops were ſhut
"up, and many reproachful Words paſſed in
"the Streets, between the Souldiers and Ap-
"prentices to that heat of Paſſion, that two of
"the Apprentices were ſlain, and about twenty
"wounded, and the reſt for that time diſper-
"ſed. But the Souldiers were ſo vilified,
"ſcorn'd and hiſs'd, that they were aſhamed to
"march, and many Officers when they went
"into the City, durſt not wear Swords, for
"fear of affronts, and that many of the Pri-
"vate Souldiers, eſpecially the Horſe, wiſhed
"themſelves with him; Captain *Izod*, and
"others, being active to draw them from
"*Fleetwood's* Party. That he had ſent Captain
"*Goodwin* with ſome Horſe-Officers to him by
"Sea to *Barwick*, and that *Goodwin* had his
"Lord-ſhips Commiſſion for Commander in
"Chief, of all the Armies in *England* and
"*Scotland*. And that he had treated with
"Mr. *Philip Howard*, who had undertaken to
"raiſe an hundred Gentlemen well armed and
"mounted in *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*,
"on Condition to Command them for his Life-
"Guard, which he had promiſed his Lord-
"ſhip ſhould conſent to; but that juſt as he
"was preparing for his journey, he was taken
"with the Small Pox, but his Elder Brother
"in the mean time, had writ and undertook
"to promote the Levies of the Men; that he
"had treated with Colonel *Redman*, a gallant
"Horſe-Officer, and Colonel *Bret*, who had
"been both by *Ludlow* removed from their
"Commands, to draw off the *Iriſh* Brigade
"from

Differences between the City of London, and the Armies Party there.

The Souldiers affronted by the Apprentices, not without Bloodſhed.

Oppoſitions from all parts increaſe againſt Lambert's faction.

" from *Lambert*, many of the men having been " before Commanded by them, and therefore " eaſily perſwaded; and that Colonel *Morley*, " Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and Colonel *Walton* " were active in *Portſmouth*, and all the Foot " which were ſent to beſiege that Town, had " ſeized on their Officers, and carried them Pri- " ſoners into it, and five Troops of Colonel " *Rich* his Regiment, and two of Colonel *Ber-* " *ries* were come in to them; That thoſe of " *Berries* were commanded by Colonel *Crooke*, " who was lately their Major, and is ſent into " the Iſle of *Wight*, where his Forces are increa- " ſed to ſeven Hundred: And at *Taunton*, and " ſeveral other places, there was great defection " amongſt all the Souldiers; That Sir *Michael* " *Liveſey* in *Kent* had raiſed two Regiments, " and Colonel *Gibbons* was joyned with him, " and Vice-admiral *Lawſon* had with two and " twenty Sail declared for the *Parliament*, and " [illegible] come into the *Hope*, ſtopping up the Ri- " ver of *Thames*. And the *Block-houſes* near *Graveſ-* " *end* on both ſides the River, had alſo de- " clared, That the Lord Mayor and ſeveral Al- " dermen, have had many ineffectual Treaties " with *Fleetwood*, and the Chief of the Army, and " Committee of Safety; the City demanding " the management and conduct of their own " Militia, and the Inſtant Reſtauration of the " *Parliament*, or the calling another, which are " refuſed to them, and the diſcontents there- " by much augmented.

A Letter of Advice from *Monk* to *Lambert*.

Upon Receipt of theſe Letters, the General writ to *Lambert*, by Major *Banniſter*, one of the Officers at *Barwick*, acquainting him, *That ſince his laſt by Zanchy, he had certain Advice, That three of the Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament, for the Government of the Army, were now in* Portſmouth, *acting by vertue of the ſame Authority, upon which he acted, and declaring for the ſame ends: And that he and the Army were thereby obliged in Honour and Duty, to take their Advice and Conſent in all Affairs that relate to the Cauſe they are now engaged in, which he doubted not, but he would judge reaſonable and neceſſary; and therefore he deſired a ſafe Conduct for the Major, to acquaint them with what had paſſed in the ſeveral Overtures betwixt them; but withal, he told him freely, he could not think it adviſeable to proceed further in Treaty (and he expected the other Commiſſioners would be of the ſame mind) till he remanded all thoſe Troops he had ſent into* Northumberland, Cumberland, *and* Weſtmoreland, *during that time.*

The Treaty between *Monk* and *Lambert* broke off.

Lambert's Party daily decreaſe upon the appearance of the *Portſmouth* Commiſſioners.

Lambert upon advice with his Officers would not let *Banniſter* paſs, but ſent him back to *Barwick*, for he began now plainly to perceive, that the General intended nothing leſs than to treat further; whereupon both ſides prepared for War: but *Lambert* was ſo daily alarm'd with the ſucceſs of the Commiſſioners at *Portſmouth*, and the daily ſubmiſſion of ſeveral Troops and Companies of men, that he thought it more neceſſary to march *Southward* to aſſiſt his Friends in *London*, than hazard Battel with General *Monk*.

Fleetwood, and the reſt of the Committee of Safety were in no leſs diſorder than *Lambert*, but that which moſt amuſed them, was the Declaration of *Lawſon* with his Fleet for the Parliament *which was chiefly tranſacted by the endeavours of* Colonel Streater, *an Active Inſtrument for the King in all theſe Revolutions, who was forc'd to fly thither upon diſcovery of a Deſign he had to ſeize on the Tower)* for they thought themſelves ſure of *Lawſon*, and by his defection (added to the reſt) their Authority came to be generally deſpiſed, even by their own Souldiers, ſo that they abandoned all; and *Fleetwood*, with great contrition and ſubmiſſion, in behalf of his Confederates, ſent to the Speaker to deſire him to ſend to the reſt of the Parliament Members, and [illegible] with them to return to the exerciſe of their Truſt and Power for the Government of the Nation; acknowledging, That *the Lord had blaſted their Counſels*, and, (to repeat his own words) *ſpit in their faces.*

Fleetwood ſubmits, and deſires the Members [illegible] to return.

Upon this ſeveral Members met privately in the *Speaker's* Houſe, and gave Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Markham*, Colonel *Allured*, and Colonel *Moſs* orders to draw the Regiments about *Weſtminſter* to a Rendezvouze in *Lincolns-Inne-field*; which being performed accordingly, the Souldiers declared to live and die with the Parliament, and marched down *Chancery-Lane*, where at the *Rolls* they made a halt till the Speaker came to them, and received their acknowledgments, and from thence by his Orders, they went to their Quarters, having firſt from him received the *Word*.

Several Regiments, being drawn up in *Lincolns-Inne-fields*, declare for the late Members.

And two days after, that is to ſay, on the twenty ſixth of *December*, in the Evening, the Speaker and the Members of Parliament, reſumed the Government, and ſate in the Parliament-Houſe, having met firſt at *White-Hall* in the Council-Chamber, from whence they went on foot through *Chanon-Row*, (the Mace being carried before the Speaker) to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where as they paſs'd, the Souldiers upon the Guard ſtood in Ranks, and made Acclamations. At their firſt meeting, they Ordered Colonel *Alexander Popham*, Colonel *Thompſon*, Mr. *Scot*, Colonel *Okey*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Colonel *Matthew Allured*, and Colonel *Markham*, *or any three of them, to order, direct, and Conduct the Forces of the Army, and all other Forces, and to Command the ſame to ſuppreſs all Tumults, Inſurrections, and Rebellions, and all ſuch Forces which ſhall oppoſe or reſiſt the Command of the Parliament, and to obſerve ſuch Orders and Directions as they ſhould receive from time to time from the Parliament, or the Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament, to Command the Army, or any three of them, till they ſhall come to* London *or* Weſtminſter, *or until the Parliament ſhall take further order.*

They take their Seats again in the Parliament Houſe.

They order ſeven Commiſſioners for the management of the Army.

From theſe Commiſſioners an Order was ſent to *Lambert* to diſperſe his Forces, but they were upon breaking before notice thereof came to him.

We made ſome relation of a Treaty betwixt Mr. *Evelyn* and Colonel *Morley*, which at this time Mr. *Evelyn* thought to bring to ſome advantageous iſſue; for *Morley* upon this Change had his Regiment reſtored, and with it the Government of the *Tower* conferred on him, and

and his Brother Colonel *Fagg* had also a Regiment; Mr. *Evelyn* had done for him towards his Majesty, all he desired, for Pardon of him and his Friends; but when he came to him with the report of it, he was very reserved, and would not entertain any discourse with him of that matter, and after one time would rarely admit him into his Company, which made him suspect he had altered his Intentions, and put him to the hazardous experiment of a sharp and expostulatory Letter; but he was newly involved with General *Monk*, and Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* in intrigues of the like nature, which he durst not communicate; and Affairs were not yet mature enough for the things which Mr. *Evelyn* proposed, nor was he assured of the Officers and Souldiers in the *Tower* for such a Service; but it is most certain he received such impressions from Mr. *Evelyn*'s former discourses, that he was one of the forwardest of his Party to embrace all occasions for the King's Service, as was evident by his early, vigorous and hazardous opposition in Parliament, shortly after their sitting, to that impious Oath of Abjuration of the King's Family and Line (hereafter mentioned.)

The *Irish* Brigade brought off to *Monk* by *Redman* and *Bret.*

When the Parliament thus reconvened, and *Lambert* in his declension; the *Irish* Brigade submitted to *Redman* and *Bret*, and was brought off by them; and at the same time, the Souldiers of two *Dunkirk* Regiments, then with *Lambert*, were in Mutiny for the General, who scarce had received Information of these Actings, when Captain *Campbel* also arrived at *Coldstream* with Letters from Sir *Hardress Waller*, and others from *Dublin*, with Intelligence of the Surprisal of *Dublin* Castle by Captain *Joyer* and Captain *Bond*, which was thus performed; one of *Bond*'s Men softly knocking at the Gates, the Sentinel opened the Door, and as he opened it, the rest presently rushed in, and on a sudden surpris'd them within, and seized on Colonel *John Jones*, *Miles Corbet*, Colonel *Matthew Thomlinson*, Colonel *Richard Laurence*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Henry Jones*, Mr. *Standish* the Treasurer, and *Tombes* the Storekeeper: The Design was chiefly managed at *Dublin*, by Sir *Theophilus Jones*, *Trevor*, the three *Warrens*, Colonel *Bridges*, *Thompson*, *Lisle*, *Worder* and *Temple*, having been two months in Agitation, and was the more dangerous, because but in one of Five Foot Companies that Quartered in the City, they could repose any Confidence; neither durst they communicate their Intentions with more than one Officer of that Company, and some few Officers of Horse, whom they engaged out of three Troops; and so much they differed about the time of putting the business in execution, that till the night before the action, they had not resolved it: The pretext made use of for the business, was their Meeting to promote a Petition in the Army to call a General Council; which so dazled the Eyes of the Commander in Chief, and several other of his Confidents, that they suspected no other thing to have been intended. And that which the Execution was most remarkable is, that not one drop of Blood was shed. The next day after, the City of *Dublin* drew out their *Militia*, and declared with them; and although they had but eight hours notice, there appeared above Two thousand Foot, besides Horse.

The manner of surprizing *Dublin* Castle.

Cornet *Monk* was privy to the Design, and sent to *Wexford*, *Waterford*, and those parts, to incline them to joyn in it: But Sir *Charles Coot* and his Brothers had the hardest Task in the Province of *Connaught*; but they overcame all difficulties, and in a very short time brought the whole Souldiery and Garrison there to obedience, and in less than a Weeks space, *Limrick*, *Clonmel*, *Yoghal*, *Ross*, *Kilkenny*, *Drogedah*, *Dundalk*, *Antrim*, and many other places declared their Concurrence.

Sir *Charles Coot* reduceth all *Connaught* to a compliance with the present Design.

The General always carrying an even temper in his behaviour, seem'd not much exalted with this news; yet since it was likely to prove of no small Concernment to himself, he presently dispatch'd Captain *Campbel* back, with great acknowledgments of these Services, and desired to be supplied by them with Six Troops of Horse with all convenient speed: This good news was seconded with advice from *Bowles* of the Lord *Fairfax*'s Rising in *York-shire*, which was somewhat sooner than his promise, but very seasonable to make a diversion to *Lambert*'s Forces, with whom Colonel *Lilburn*'s Regiment joyned by means of Major *Smithson*, who was a great lover of General *Monk*, and Colonel *Redman*, came in to them with the *Irish* Brigade; Colonel *Bethel*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, Captain *Strangwaies*, and Mr. *Arthington* also joyned with them; the said Messenger also informed him, that the *Parliament* was again Sitting, and that *Fleetwood* had submitted to them; which made the General immediately March (for he heard that *Lambert* kept his Brigade together, and intended to oppose the Lord *Fairfax* and his Friends, and having quitted *Newcastle*, was Marched towards them;) wherefore on the Second of *January* at night, he advanced with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, and Marched to *Wooller*: He had the day before sent Colonel *Knight* with three Troops to *Morpeth*, to whom he that night sent Orders to seize on *Newcastle*, which he did by six of the Clock in the Morning. Major General *Morgan* was left sick, and Colonel *Read*, who commanded the Rear of the Army, Marched the next day with two Regiments of Horse, and three Regiments of Foot, with which his whole number amounted in all to Five thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse. By that time he came to *Morpeth*, he had Information that *Lambert*'s whole party was of themselves dispersed into several Quarters in Submission to the *Parliaments* Orders. And to assure him of the *Parliaments* Sitting, he received a Letter from the *Speaker*, dated the 27*th* of *December*, of Thanks for his Service; wherein the Restitution of their Authority was wholly attributed to his Fidelity, Care and Courage.

The Lord *Fairfax*, and several of *Monk*'s Party joyning with him rise in *York-shire*.

General *Monk* begins his March into *England*.

He receives a Letter of Thanks from the Speaker.

The knowledge of this did more than any thing perplex the General, as one of the most fatal Accidents that could happen to him; for by their over-hasty Resumption of Power, back'd with a great Army newly return'd to their Obedience, he despaired of doing the good he intended to his Country, and thought no

no longer of continuing in Arms than till a fair Opportunity ſhould be offered him to lay them down and retire, without making them jealous of him; *For he expected they would not have thought their Sitting ſafe, till his arrival at* London *with his Army, and then he would have reſtored all the other Members with them, without undertaking to judge of the Difference betwixt them.*

He receives an Addreſs at *Morpeth* from the City of *London* by their Sword-Bearer. As likewiſe from the Gentry of the Country in all parts as he Marcht along. He is viſited at *York* by the Lord *Fairfax.*

When he came to *Morpeth*, Mr. *William Man*, the Sword-Bearer of *London*, came to him, with a very reſpectful Letter from the Lord Mayor and Common-Council of *London*; to which he made a civil Return the next day from *Newcaſtle*, and thence he Marched with continued Journeys to *York*, where he continued five days, and all the way as he Marched from *Cold-ſtream* he was met by the Gentry, and ſaluted by all the People as he paſſed, with great Acclamations of Joy. Colonel *Waters* the Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, met him betwixt *Allerton* and *Topcliffe*, ſeveral of the Gentry having attended him the day before at his firſt entrance into the County. At *York* he was viſited by the Lord *Fairfax*, whom he received with much kindneſs and reſpect, and very civilly acknowledged Mr. *Bowles* his diligent and induſtrious acting in his Concerns; there he Modelled *Lambert*'s and *Lilburn*'s Regiments of Horſe, and gave the firſt of them to Colonel *Bethel*, and the latter to *Smithſon*, and chang'd moſt of the other Officers.

The New reſtored Members begin very Actively in ſetling their Affairs; and on the Second of *January* they name One and thirty to be of the *Council of State*, paſſing an *ACT* for their Conſtitution; and ſeveral Inſtructions for them to Act by: amongſt which it was provived, that none ſhould ſit but ſuch as ſhould take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family and Government.

The Names of the intended Counſellors of State were;

The Names of the Perſons nominated for the Council of State.

Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*,	Mr. *Henry Nevil*,
Colonel *Morley*,	Colonel *Fagg*,
Mr. *Wallop*,	Mr. *John Corbet*,
Mr. *Scot*,	Mr. *Tho. Challoner*,
Mr. *Love*,	Mr. *Say*,
Mr. *Weaver*,	Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*,
Colonel *White*,	General *Monk*,
Mr. *Reignolds*,	Lord *Fairfax*,
Mr. *Robinſon*,	Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*,
Mr. *Rob. Roll*,	*Joſias Barners*,
Sir *James Harrington*,	Serjeant *Terril*,
Colonel *Thompſon*,	*Slingsby Bethel*,
Sir *Tho. Widdrington*,	Alderman *Foot*,
Colonel *Dixwell*,	Alderman *Love.*

The Form of an Oath of Abjuration to be taken by all the Members of the *Council of State* and *Parliament.*

The *Oath* was in theſe following words: *viz.*

I do hereby Swear, That I do renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, *and the whole Line of the late King* James, *and of every other Perſon, as a Single Perſon, pretending, or which ſhall pretend to the Crown or Government of theſe Nations of* England, Scotland, *or* Ireland, *or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; And that I will by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of Almighty God, be true, faithful and conſtant to the* Parliament *and* Common-wealth, *and will oppoſe the bringing in, or ſetting up any* Single Perſon, *or* Houſe of Lords, *and every of them in this* Common-wealth.

This *Oath* being ſtricter than any that had ever been impoſed, was by many diſliked; however, the leading Men that promoted it in Parliament affirmed, *That without this, they could have no certain aſſurance of Power; And that the* Hollanders, *and thoſe of the Confederated Provinces could never be fix'd in their Government, till they had made a Renunciation of the King of* Spain. And to that height this buſineſs was brought, that not thinking it enough for the *Council of State*, they drove on to have it ordered, that every Member in the Houſe ſhould alſo take the ſaid Oath: This was ſtrongly oppoſed by Colonel *Fielder*, *Weaver*, *Dove*, *Hutchinſon*, both the *Puries*, *Ingoldsby*, and many more of the ſoberer ſort, *Who alledged, it would be a Confining of Providence to make ſuch an Oath, a Snare to many good Men, and a Terror to ſuch as were truly Conſcientious, who might ſuſpect this to be a fore-runner of many Oaths to fetter their Conſciences.* Of theſe more moderate ſort of Men, *Fielder* and *Ingoldsby* only were thought Favourers of the King's Party, but the reſt were ſuch of whom they had no manner of Jealouſie at that time; though afterwards they appeared much inclined to a Conjunction with the Secluded Members, and well-diſpoſed to Monarchy: So that when the *Act* for the *Council of State* came to be executed, in that part of it which was the Adminiſtration of the Oath, Mr. *Weaver*, Colonel *Morley*, *Oliver St. John*, Colonel *Fagg*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and many more, even a third part at leaſt of their number refuſed it, and were therefore not admitted to Sit and Act.

The Oath oppoſed by ſeveral of the Houſe.

Whilſt the General ſtaid at *York*, he had Intimation, that *Overton* was taking Beds into *Hull*, breaking the Ice in the Grafts, and making ſuch preparation as if he took him rather for an Enemy than a Friend; wherefore he ſent Major *Smith* to him, one well known in that Garriſon, to inſpect into the condition of it, and writ a Letter to *Overton*, to expoſtulate with him about the Matter: who returned an Anſwer to him, *That he perceived Rumour had rendred* Hull *as doubtful to him, as it had his Deſign dangerous to them and others; but he was glad to hear that he adhered to this Parliament in their preſent Conſtitution, againſt the re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members, a free* Parliament, *or* Single Perſon, *one of which had been continually charged upon him by the Common Cry of the Army.*

Scot and *Robinſon* ſent from the Houſe to Complement and attend General *Monk* upon his Journey.

The Leading Members of *Parliament*, finding this difference growing amongſt themſelves about the Oath of Abjuration, contrived how to draw the General to their Party; and in order thereunto, *Scot* and *Robinſon*, two of their Members were ſent to meet him upon the way to gratulate his Return, but with private directions to engage him to take the Oath as ſoon as he came to *London*, before he took his place in the *Council of State.*

Of

Of these their Instructions *Clarges* having timely notice, was resolved to be with the General before them; but before he went, he privately got from Quarter-Master-General *Butler* a List of all the Quarters in *London*, for a purpose which shall be discovered hereafter.

He disposeth of several Regiments and Companies as he came along.

On the Twelfth of *January*, the *House*, to testifie their Confidence in the General, passed a *Vote to approve of all he had done in order to the Service of the Parliament*; and Ordered their *Vote* to be Printed: When he removed from *York*, he sent one of the *Dunkirk* Regiments of Foot, Commanded by Colonel *Clark*, and Major General *Morgan*'s Regiment of Horse, into *Scotland*, which, with those he left in Garrison there, he thought enough to secure the Peace of that Kingdom, till time should admit further Consideration thereof. He left Colonel *Fairfax* his Regiment at *York*, and disbanded some Companies of *Ashfield*'s Regiment, and mingled the private Souldiers thereof amongst his Regiments to fill up the Companies: And then having given the *Council of State* an Account of what he had done, he proceeded in his March towards *London* with four Regiments of Foot, *viz.* his Own, Colonel *Read*'s, Colonel *Lydcotts*, and Colonel *Hubbleshorns*; and Three Regiments of Horse, *viz.* his Own, Colonel *Knight*'s, and Colonel *Cloeberries*, which made his number in all 5800 besides Officers; that is, Four thousand Foot, and Eighteen Hundred Horse; He came the Nineteenth day of *January* to *Nottingham*, where *Clarges* came to him the day following, on which day also, *Scot* and *Robinson* arrived at *Leicester*; and, because the next day was *Sunday*, they rested there, and met the General upon the Road, betwixt *Leicester* and *Nottingham* the Twenty second.

Clarges gives the General an Account how Affairs stood at *London*.

At *Nottingham*, *Clarges* having had secret Conference with the General, communicated to him in what Condition all Affairs stood at *London*, and that they had there Two thousand Horse, and Eight thousand Foot, most of them modelled to their own Principles; that the Horse were the Regiments of *Okey*, *Hasserig*, *Rich* and *Desborow*; and though they had newly given the last to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, yet all the Officers under him were of the same Mould as the former. The Regiments of Foot were commanded by *Ayres*, *Markham*, *Streater*, *Firth*, *Moss*, *Fleetwood*, *Morley* and *Fagg*; of all which he could have no assurance but of the two last: for *Morley*'s Men were firm to him, deserted their Officers in the North, and declared for him; and *Fagg*'s was a new Regiment, raised about *Portsmouth* in his behalf. He told him, That except he could get all these Horse and Foot out of *London*, (except *Morley*'s and *Fagg*'s Regiments) and disperse them into several Quarters, and March his own Men thither, and be Master of *London*, he could never expect to do any good for his Countrey; since in all these times, it had been experienc'd, That to whatever was done at *London*, where they had Nine or Ten thousand Men to justifie their Actions, all the rest of the Regiments submitted.

And gives his advice touching the Regiments that were quartered in *London*.

And if his distinct and absolute Command in *Scotland* had not happened in a Conjuncture when *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, the two Chief Officers of the Army, were in a Jealousie of each other, and their Treasure quite exhausted, he had never been able to have stood against them; and although there was that Jealousie, and the Principles on which he declared were such, as most of these in Command favoured; yet how slowly did *Ireland* and the Fleet joyn with him? And even the *Council of State* themselves (who had the temptation of Power to excite them) were backward enough to appear, till they saw a Distraction in the other Counsels; for fear, as some of the Chief of them alledged, least the King's Party might have Opportunity to mingle with their Levies, if they should make any: These Considerations took such impression in the General, as made him apprehend great Difficulties in what he went about, till *Clarges* told him, There were yet probable Hopes to make him Master of his wishes, which he proposed thus: He told him, The *Council of State* consisted of such only as had taken the Oath of Abjuration; and till he should take that, they would be so diffident of him, that whatever he desired of them, of any material Concernment, would be denied; That the major part in Parliament were against the Oath; and therefore in all his Affairs he was to apply himself to them, and therefore that his best way would be, to write them a *Letter* to this purpose, *That he thought it inconvenient for their Service, that so many of the Souldiery now in* London, *lately in Rebellion against them, should be trusted with their Guards, till the present Officers by them placed upon them, should have by Discipline reduced them to perfect obedience.* To which the General answered, *That he approved of the Advice, but if they should offer to have an equal Number of his Regiments with the other, that Objection would be removed; and besides, he believed he had not Men enough to supply the Guards, which these now in* London *kept.*

To this *Clarges* replied, *It was worth his attempt to endeavour this; and that the same Reason for not mingling the Men, might hold as for not trusting them intire; but as concerning their Guards, that he had brought with him a List of all their Quarters, and did believe his Three Regiments of Horse, being in number, within Two hundred, as many as the Four now there, they might do the same Duty; and that his Four Regiments of Foot, now full as they were, might well keep the same Guards as six of theirs.*

The General in fine approving of all he said, *Clarges* drew the Letter to the Parliament, for him to sign in these words:

The General's Letter to the *House*.

Right Honourable,

I *Have lately acquainted the* Council of State *with what Forces I have sent into* Scotland, *and more are necessary to be sent thither, to re-inforce them, and secure the Peace of that Countrey, which I presume they have been pleased to report to you; I am now Marched in obedience to your Commands thus far on my way towards* London, *with Four Regiments of Foot, and Two Regiments of Horse;*

each

each Regiment of Foot containing a Thousand, and each Regiment of Horse Six hundred; so that by a List which I have sent to me from the Quarter-Master-General of the Horse and Foot in London, *I have disposed of these Regiments which March with me: And I humbly offer, That all those now in* London, *except Colonel* Fagg's *Regiments, and Colonel* Morley's, *may be sent to the several Quarters by me assigned; for, with submission, I conceive it not for your Service, that those Souldiers now in* London, *lately in Rebellion against you, should mingle with these your approved faithful Regiments, till the present Officers by you put upon them have by Discipline reduced them to a more assured Obedience to You. The Three Regiments of Horse with me, are as many in Number as those now in* London; *and my Four Regiments of Foot near as full as the Six I remove, so that your Numbers are not lessened. In this* Letter *I send Two* Lists; *in one of them the Quarters are set down for these Regiments which March with me into* London; *and in the other, the several Quarters of those to March out, which I did not appoint, but upon much consideration of the present Posture of your Affairs, and intelligence of the distemper'd Condition of the Places to which I assign them. I have sent a faithful Servant of yours to receive your Commands in this Business; because on your Forces under me will be drawn to* Barnet: *And if on that Day those in* London *March out, we may supply their Places: But I humbly desire your Pleasure may be so early communicated to us, that I may send the* Quarter-Masters *to make Provision for the Men; Which is all at present from,* &c.

A List of all the Quarters that were assigned the Souldiery, that Marched out of *London* upon *Monk*'s Marching in.

The General approved of the *Letter*, and signed it; and they agreed, that it should not be sent till he came to St. *Albans*; That those in the House, of the Faction, for the Oath of Abjuration, might suppose it came with the privity of *Scot* and *Robinson*; and seeing him so near, be less apt to oppose his Desires. It was Midnight before thus much was Resolved; But in regard he was to March the next Morning, he resolved fully to settle the whole Affair before he went to Bed; and therefore sent for the Books of Mapps, for the better assigning the Quarters of those that were to March out. And by the Quarter-Master-General's List he disposed the Quarters of his own Men. Colonel *Knight* was one in whom he had great Confidence, and he was sent for to assist in this Assignation of Quarters, but strictly enjoyned to Secrecy.

The Regiments of Horse to March out were Ordered thus:

Okey's Regiment; To *Bedford* one Troop, *Buckingham* one Troop, *Ailsbury* one Troop, *Peterborough* one Troop, and *Northampton* two Troops.

Haslerig's Ragiment; To *Reading* one Troop, *Oxford* two Troops, *Glocester* one Troop, *Worcester* one Troop, *Hereford* one Troop.

Ashley Cooper's Regiment; To *Basingstoke* one Troop, *Bath* one Troop, *Bristol* two Troops, *Salisbury* two Troops.

Rich's Regiment; To *Ipswich* one Troop, *Colchester* one Troop, *Norwich* two Troops, *Bury* one Troop, *Yarmouth* one Troop.

The Foot were disposed as followeth.

Colonel *Ayres* his Regiment; To *Sandwich* one Company, *Dover* two Companies, *Canterbury* five Companies, *Rye* two Companies.

Colonel *Markham*'s Regiment; To *Ipswich* three Companies, to *Colchester* five Companies, and to *Sudbury* two Companies.

Colonel *Streater*'s Regiment; To *Buckingham* three Companies, to *Northampton* five Companies, and to *Newark* upon *Trent* two Companies. *The Confidence the General had of Colonel* Streater, *in placing his Regiment in the midst of the Kingdom, afterwards proved a good Expedient at the breaking out of* Lambert.

The Regiment belonging to *Fleetwood*; To *Hereford* two Companies, to *Oxford* four Companies, to *Worcester* four Companies.

Colonel *Mosi*'s Regiment; To *Cambridge* five Companies, and to *Ely* five Companies.

Colonel *Fitche*'s Regiment; To *Chichester* five Companies, and the rest to *Winchester*.

The disposition of those to be in London *were in this Order:*

The General's own Regiment of Horse in the *Mews*, and in the *Strand*.

Colonel *Knight*'s Regiment; To have four Troops in *Kings-street*, and *Tuttle-street* in *Westminster*, and two Troops in *Holbourn*.

Colonel *Cloeberry*'s Regiment; Two Troops in *Southwark*, one in *Bishops-gate-street*, and three in *Smithfield*.

The General's Regiment of Foot in St. *James*'s, and parts adjacent.

Colonel *Read*'s Regiment in *Somerset-house*, the *Strand*, *Long-Acre*, *Covent-Garden*, and Saint *Martins-lane*.

Colonel *Lydcott*'s Regiment in *Thanet-house*, *Peter-house*, and parts adjacent.

Colonel *Hubblethorn*'s Regiment, in *Holbourn*, *Smithfield*, and parts adjacent.

Colonel *Fagg*'s Regiment in *Southwark*.

Colonel *Morley*'s Regiment in the *Tower*, and parts adjacent.

The next Morning the General Marched towards *Leicester*, and he met *Scot* and *Robinson*, the Parliaments Commissioners, in the way to it, and they never parted with him till he came to *London*.

At *Leicester* the General expected to be attaqued about the Oath of Abjuration, and was much troubled to think how to divert it. *Clarges* told him, *He had a plain and a fair Answer to make to them*, which was, *That he heard many Men of undoubted Integrity had refused the Oath; and till he came to* London, *to hear the Reasons on both sides, for the taking and refusing, he could not with Prudence resolve it.* This Advice he followed, and succeeded in it. *Scot* and *Robinson* at their first Interview told him, *That the Parliament had Ordered a Thousand Pounds a Year for ever to be settled on him, and appointed them to acquaint him with it; and to let him know the sense the Parliament had of his great Services, and that they were providing Monies for his Souldiers, and were glad to hear of his repairing to* London.

The General's Answer concerning the Oath of Abjuration.

Scot and *Robinson*'s Message to him from the House.

The

The General was never more put to it than in this journey to dissemble his Inclinations; For these men watched every moment of his time: At *Harbrough* Alderman *Fowke*, Alderman *Vincent*, and Mr. *Bromfield*, met him as Commissioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*; and at the same time, Sir *John Norris*, with many of the chief Gentry of *Northampton-shire*, welcomed him into their County.

Commissioners from the City, met the General at *Harbrough*.

The Citizens, after a Congratulatory Speech, fell upon particulars, for the general Settlement of the Kingdom; and Mr. *Bromfield*, in a handsome free Speech, after the enumeration of the several Calamities it lay under, as the best Remedy; propos'd the re-admission of the Secluded Members, that the *Parliament* might be made full and free. *Scot* was so impatient at this, That he took the Words out of the Generals Mouth, and would not permit him to answer them. He told them, *Now the Parliament had subjected the Military Power, to a due subordination to the Civil, they were free; and that having already given their Judgment in the Case of the Secluded Members, it did not become them to insist on their re-admission.* *Fowke* endeavoured to qualifie what *Bromfield* had propounded, by saying, *He conceived they were not obliged by their Instructions, to desire the Generals Mediation further, than that they might have all their own Members admitted, since it was unreasonable, that they should be Governed by a Parliament, where they had not their Representatives.*

They propound the re-admission of the Secluded Members.

Scot stiffly opposeth them.

This Discourse, on all sides, was managed with some heat; and the General was forced to comply with *Scot* and *Robinson*, in their Extravagancies, to preserve their Opinion of him, which made the Citizens part from him somewhat unsatisfied, and so they continued, till he sent *Clarges* privately to give them a better understanding of his Intentions. But Sir *John Norris*, and the *Northamptonshire* Gentlemen, who were prepared to attend him at *Northampton* with an Address, were so much discouraged, that they thought to decline it, till Doctor *Barrow* requested Mr. *Philip Howard*, to advise them to proceed in their Intentions, and to assure them, *That though they had not a satisfactory Answer, they might be sure it would produce a good Effect.* At *Northampton* Sir *John Norris* delivered his Address; and as he marched to St *Albans*, several of the same nature were presented to him from the Gentry of *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Norfolk*, and almost all Counties, which did all agree in the same matter, *(viz.) For the Restitution of the Members Secluded in the Year*, 1648. *and the filling up the Vacancies in Parliament, or else for the calling of a full and Free-Parliament.* All which were answered with much respect by him, although he durst not discover his Approbation of their Desires: And it is very observable, That in all the Counties, so much Caution was observed, That no Gentlemen signed any of these Addresses that had ever been engaged in his present Majesties, or his Royal Fathers Cause, nor scarce any of the Sons of such.

The General seems to comply with *Scot* and *Robinson*.

Sir *John Norris*, and the Gentlemen of *Northampton shire*, make an Address to him.

Several other Addresses, pleading for a Free-Parliament.

At *Dunstable* the General consulted Major *Knight* and *Clarges*, about the filling up the Blanks in the Letter prepared at *Nottingham*, having had Thoughts to send it by *Clarges*, *Knight*, or *Clark* his Secretary: but upon further consideration, it was thought convenient not to part with *Knight*, because his presence would be requisite with his Troops, if any Disorders should happen upon their March to *London*; as for *Clark*, he was so necessary to be with the General, for the issuing out Orders, that he could not be spared: and for *Clarges*, it was judged more expedient, that he should be sent before, to prepare a party in the House; so that *Lydcott* was chosen to be sent, as one very grateful to the Speaker, to whom he was near allay'd, and *Friday* was the Day inserted for his March into *London*: And upon the next Days Consultation, which was *Saturday* in the Evening, the 28. of *January*, he was dispatched away: And on *Monday* the Letter was delivered, which caused a long and violent Debate: *Hasterig* told them, the *Council of State* had before agreed, that four Regiments of those in *London* should march out, and four of the Generals be admitted; but nothing prevailed that he said against the Generals Letter: So that after Debate, from eight in the Morning, to twelve at Noon, the Result was in these words;

Lydcott made choice of, for the carrying of the General's Letter to the House, about the sending of their Souldiers out of the City.

Monday, January 30. 1659.

Upon Reading of a Letter from St. *Albans*, from General *Monk*, Dated the 28. of *January*, 1659. and two Lists therein.

The House consent to the General's Desire.

Resolved upon the Question by the Parliament, That the Parliament doth agree with the Distributions of the Souldiers, according to these Lists.

Resolved upon the Question by the Parliament, That it be referred to the Commissioners of the Army, to see the Souldiers forthwith distributed accordingly.

Lydcott returns to the General with the welcome News of these Votes, as well might it be so to him; for from the moment of the execution of them) which gave him the possession of *London*) he could not but think his Conduct would prove very ill, if he did not reduce the Armies, in the three Kingdoms, to his Obedience.

Captain *Cuff*, an Agent from Sir *Charles Coot* in *Ireland*, had attended the General, in all his March from *Newcastle* to *London*, and given him from time to time, and account of all *Occurrences*; by which means the General kept a strict Correspondence both with him, the Lord *Broghil*, and several others of the chief Officers there; Who, although they had reduced all that Kingdom to the Obedience of the Parliament, were nevertheless suspected by them; and *Scot* insinuated to the General, *That notwithstanding all their Pretences, he had good grounds to believe, they had some other Interest in their Aim, than that of the present Parliament.*

The General hath constant Intelligence of all Affairs in *Ireland* by means of Capt. *Cuff*.

The General diverted this Jealousie, with assurances of their Fidelity, and that he

would undertake for them; which allay'd the Suſpicion for that time, or at leaſt ſo raked it up in Aſhes, that no Sparks outwardly appeared.

The Regiments that were to march from *London*, to give place to the General and his Regiments, had a Months Pay aſſigned them, to be paid at their Remove; but that did not hinder them from Mutiny at their departure, eſpecially thoſe that Quartered at St. *James*'s and *Somerſet*-Houſe, which was not without great Induſtry of the Officers appeaſed; Upon which followed about Midnight an Inſurrection in the City, where about ſix or ſeven hundred drew together, and by Beat of Drum about the Streets, invited others to joyn with them for a free-Parliament, and the Liberty of the City, in expectation to have the Souldiers joyn with them; but two Troops of Horſe ſuddenly diſperſed moſt of them, and took the reſt (about eight and thirty) Priſoners, which were the next Morning committed to *Lambeth*-Houſe: This Inſurrection, together with the Diſorders of the Souldiers, ſo frighted the *Council of State*, that in the beginning of the foregoing Night, they had ſent to the General to March with all haſt into *London*; but that was afterwards contradicted, and he drew not near the Town till the Morning, and in the Afternoon, the others being all Marched out, Tumults quieted, and all both within and without in a great Calm. He marched with his Army by *Grays-Inn-Lane* into *Holbourn*, and from thence down *Chancery-Lane*, and ſo through *Temple-Bar*, along the *Strand*, to *White-Hall*. The three Regiments of Horſe marched firſt, and He in the Head of them gallantly Mounted, with his Trumpets richly habited before him, and ſeveral Led-Horſes after him, with many of his Chief Officers, and ſeveral Perſons of Honour and Quality; and after them marched the Foot. The Speaker of the Houſe met him in the Street near *Somerſet*-Houſe, where they Complemented each other: After which the General marched on to *White-Hall*, and the Speaker went to the *Rolls*. As ſoon as the Souldiers were quartered, and all the Guards ſet, the General was viſited by ſeveral of the *Council of State*; and being invited to take his place there, he went in compliance with them: But when the *Oath of Abjuration* was tendered, he refuſed it, for the Reaſons before mentioned, and was therefore not admitted, whereupon he returned to his Apartment. The next day was ſpent in Viſits to him, from all the Members of Parliament, and may other Perſons of the higheſt Quality. Mr. *Scot* told him, *The Parliament did intend on* Monday, *publickly in their Houſe, to give him their Acknowledgments of his Service, and that they expected he ſhould there make publick Profeſſions of his Affections to their Intereſt and Authority, and his Diſlike of the Addreſſes to him, for the Secluded Members and a Free-Parliament.*

A Mutiny among ſome of the Souldiery, that were to depart out of the City.

A Riſing in the City, diſperſed by the Souldiers.

Gen. *Monk* Marcheth with his Forces into the City of *London*.

He refuſeth the Oath of Abjuration.

Scot inſtructs him how to receive the intended Gratulations of the Houſe.

He made little Anſwer to him, but that he was much obliged to them, for the Honour of ſo great a Reſpect; and ſhould endeavour by his future Services, to give Evidences of his juſt Reſentments of it.

It is obſervable, That from this time in all the Orders to him from the Parliament, they called him only Commiſſioner *Monk*, and not General: And although yet no publick Order had ſuperſeded the Commiſſion of Commander in Chief, ſent to him by the *Council of State*, they allowed him no Authority, but conjunct with others, whereof he took little notice, but proceeded as before in the ſole Exerciſe of the Command of the Army. He was ſomewhat perplexed, how to behave himſelf in the Parliament, in reference to the great Profeſſions and Proteſtations they expected from him, of his Averſions from the King and his Party, to balance his refuſing the *Oath of Abjuration*: But he reſolved to act in that occaſion, as moderate as the Seaſon would bear, and yet to temper his Speech ſo, as not altogether to fail their Expections.

The Stile given him in their Orders, not General, but only Commiſſioner *Monk*.

On *Monday*, which was the ſixth of *February*, he was brought to the Court of Wards by *Scot*, *Robinſon*, and ſome other Members; after which, *Scot* acquainted the Houſe with his being there: Whereupon the Serjeant with his Mace being ſent to attend him, carried it before him, *Scot* and *Robinſon*, conducting him into the Houſe to a Place on the left Hand within the Bar, where a Chair faced with Velvet was ſet for him to ſit on.

He is conducted with much Ceremony into the Houſe.

As ſoon as he had made Obeyſance, the Speaker bid him ſit down; but he deſiring to be excuſed, and ſtanding behind the Chair, the Speaker expreſſed himſelf to him in theſe words.

The Speakers Speech to him.

IT hath been a common Obſervation, that the lighter Paſſions have a loud Voice, but ſuch as are of greater Magnitude are always ſilent. As it is in Paſſions, *ſo in* Actions *alſo: Thoſe of a leſſer* Dimenſion, *are often magnified above their Meaſure; but* Hiſtorians *do commonly fail in the* Expreſſions *of Noble and Great* Actions, *and ſuch are frequently leſſened; and ſo it may well be in theſe of this* Days Remembrance. *The* Infallible Author *tells us,* That in *Judea* is GOD known, and his Name is great in *Iſrael*; *That Knowledge and Greatneſs of* GOD *is verified in the Inſtance of* Martial Affairs, That the ſtout-hearted are ſpoiled, they have ſlept their ſleep, and none of the Men of Might have found their Hands. *This is verified this Day amongſt Us here preſent, that both We and You might acknowledge that it is* GOD, *not* Man, *that hath performed this Great Work; that we his Creatures here may neither aſcribe it to our Wiſdom, or Your Valour, but that it was* GOD, *alone, and none elſe. But yet I have always obſerved, that albeit the Glory appertains to the* LORD, *yet the Influence of that*

Glory

Glory extends it ſelf to the Inſtruments *in his hand; and thereby thoſe Beams enlighten your Honour and Valour, as an eſpecial* Inſtrument; *not as a* Merit, *but as a* Reward *upon your Prudence and wiſe Conduct. The knowledge of what hath been done in this our* Reſtitution, *is not unknown in theſe Nations; I believe, to this part of the* World, *how our Friends (as we conceived) left us, and what Defection hath been in Duty and Truſt. The Face of this Land was covered with a Gloomy and Black Cloud, and the whole* Nation *left, in the judgment of man, to the uttermoſt of ruine: But in that condition, we did as the* Prophet *in the greateſt miſery of* Iſrael, *eſpy a little Cloud, no broader than a Hand, which is infinitely, in an Inſtant, become the Refreſhment of the whole* Nation: *That little Cloud was diſcerned afar off in your Hand, and by the Prudence of your wiſe Conduct, it diſperſed the Miſeries of theſe* Nations, *and became a Glorious Mercy to them all. This* Houſe *hath a true Reſentment of your Prudence and Conduct in this Great Work, and have commanded Me to return their hearty Thanks: But I muſt not end here, for they have alſo a full Senſe of thoſe Noble Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, both of their Fidelity, Valour, and Duty in this Expedition: And as I have returned to you their Thanks, ſo it is their Deſire, that you ſhould return the ſame to your Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, who have been Inſtrumental in theſe Actions.*

After he had ended, the General ſtood up, and ſpake as followeth.

Mr. *Speaker,*

The General's Speech in Anſwer to the Speakers.

'AMongſt the many Mercies of God to 'theſe poor Nations, your peace-'able Reſtitution is not the leaſt. It is '(as you ſaid) his Work alone, and to 'Him belong the Glory of it; and I e-'ſteem it as a great effect of his Good-'neſs to me, that he was pleaſed to make 'me, amongſt many Worthier in your 'Service, ſome way Inſtrumental in it. I 'did nothing but my Duty, and deſerve 'not to receive ſo great an Honour and 'Reſpect as you are pleaſed to give me at 'this Time and Place, which I ſhall ever ac-'knowledge as a high mark of your Fa-'vour to me.

'*SIR*, I ſhall not now trouble you 'with Large Narratives, only give me 'leave to acquaint you, That as I mar-'ched from *Scotland* hither, I obſerved 'the People in moſt Counties in great 'and earneſt expectations of a Settlement, 'and ſeveral Applications were made to 'me with numerous Subſcriptions to 'them; The chiefeſt Heads of their De-'ſires were for a Free and a full *Parlia-'ment*, and that you would determine 'your Sitting; a Goſpel-Miniſtry, En-'couragement of Learning and Univer-'ſities, and for admittance of the Mem-'bers Secluded before the Year 1648. 'without any previous *Oath* or *Engage-'ment.* To which I commonly anſwer-'ed, That you are now in a Free Par-'liament, and if there be any Force re-'maining upon you, I would endeavour 'to remove it; and that you had Voted 'to fill up your Houſe, and then you 'would be a full Parliament alſo; And 'that you had already determined your 'Sitting: And for the Miniſtry their 'maintenance, the Laws and Univerſi-'ties, you had largely declared concern-'ing them in your laſt Declaration; and 'I was confident you would adhere to 'it: But as for thoſe Gentlemen Secluded 'in the year 1648. I told them, you had 'given Judgment in it, and all People 'ought to acquieſce in that Judgment; 'but to admit any Members to ſit in Par-'liament without a previous Oath or En-'gagement, to preſerve the Government in 'being, it was never done in *England.*

'But although I ſaid it not to them, 'I muſt ſay, with pardon, to you, That 'the leſs *Oaths* and *Engagements* are im-'poſed, (with reſpect had to the Security 'of the Common Cauſe) your Settle-'ment will be the ſooner attained to. 'I am the more particular in theſe 'matters, to let you ſee how grateful 'your preſent Conſultations about theſe 'things will be to the People. I know 'all the ſober Gentry will cloſe with 'you, if they may be tenderly and gently 'uſed; and I am ſure you will ſo uſe 'them, as knowing it to be the Common 'Concern, to amplifie, and not to leſſen 'our Intereſt, and to be careful that 'neither the Cavaleer, nor Phanatick 'Party have yet a ſhare in your Civil or 'Military Power; of the laſt of whoſe 'Impatience to Government, you have 'lately had ſo ſevere experience. I 'ſhould ſay ſomething of *Ireland* and '*Scotland*; Indeed *Ireland* is in an unſet-'led Condition, and made worſe by your 'Interruptions, which prevented the 'paſſing an ACT for the Settlement 'of the Eſtates of Adventurers and Soul-

'diers there, which I heard you intended 'to have done in a few days; and I pre-'ſume it will be now quickly done, be-'ing ſo neceſſary at this time, when the 'Wants of the Common-wealth call for 'Supplies; and People will unwillingly 'pay Taxes for thoſe Eſtates of which 'they have no legal aſſurance: I need 'not tell you how much you were abu-'ſed in the nomination of your Officers 'of your Armies there; their malice that 'deceived you, hath been ſufficiently 'manifeſted: I do affirm, that thoſe now 'that have declared, for you will continue 'faithful, and thereby Evince, that as 'well there as here, it is the ſober In-'tereſt muſt eſtabliſh your Dominion. As 'for *Scotland*, I muſt ſay, The People 'of that Nation deſerve to be Cheriſhed; 'and I believe your late Declaration will 'much glad their Spirits; for nothing was 'to them more dreadful, than a fear to 'be over run with Phanatick Notions: I 'humbly recommend them to your Affect-'ion and Eſteem, and deſire the intended 'Union may be proſecuted, and their Tax-'es made proportionable to thoſe in *Eng-'land*, for which I am ingaged by promiſe 'to become a Suiter to you. And truly, '*Sir*, I muſt ask leave to intreat you to 'make a ſpeedy Proviſion for the Civil 'Government there, of which they have 'been deſtitute near a Year, to the ruine 'of many Families: And except Commiſ-'ſioners for managing of the Government, 'and Judges to ſit in Courts of Judicature, 'be ſpeedily appointed, that Country will 'be very miſerable.

'I directed Mr. *Gumble* lately to pre-'ſent ſome Names to you both for Com-'miſſioners and Judges; but by reaſon 'of your great Affairs, he was not re-'quired to deliver them in Writing, but 'I humbly preſent them to your Conſi-'deration.

And ſo concluding, he delivered them the Paper wherein the ſaid Names were contained.

His Speech excepted againſt by *Scot*, and thoſe of his Party.

Scot and ſome others were much offended that he aſſumed ſo much in this Speech, and were once thinking to interrupt him. They complained to their confidents, *That he was too poſitive in undertaking for the Officers in* Ireland, *of whoſe Affections to the* Parliament *in the preſent Conſtitution of it, there was juſt cauſe of doubt; and that in the whole Speech he ſeemed to affect Popularity, and gave the* Cavaliers *a poſſibility of being received into the exerciſe of Truſt, with a total Excluſion of the more ſtrict Parliament-Party, under the Notion of* Phanaticks.

The City continue male-content.

But that which at this time more diſquieted theſe men than the General's Speech, was the diſcontented Carriage of the City, for the *Common-Council* had been in very high debates about the Government, and were reſolved to pay no Publick Taxes till the *Houſe* were filled up with equal *Repreſentatives*: This they looked upon as drawing towards a Contempt of their Authority, and thought they could not better provide for their own Securities, than by oppoſing in time, and puniſhing ſuch Contumacies; they therefore on the eighth of *February* in the Evening at the *Council of State*, Order the General to go into *London* the next Morning with a good part of the Army, and to ſeize upon Eleven of the moſt Active of the *Common-Council*, and commit them to the *Tower*; as alſo to pull down the Poſts and Chains, and take down the Gates and Percullices of the City, and Quarter his Souldiers there, till they were reduced to Obedience.

The General ordered to march into the City, and pull down the Gates.

The General was ſuprized at this Command, and debated many things with them in mitigation or ſuſpenſion of it, till near one in the Morning the next day, but nothing could divert their Reſolution; ſo that he was forced to obey their Orders, or quit his Command, for he had no longer time to deliberate than that very Morning in which they were to be put in Execution, Inſomuch, that after three or four hours repoſe to refreſh himſelf, he marched into the City, and pulled down the Poſts and Chains, and took into Cuſtody Nine of the Citizens which he had Orders to ſecure, the other two abſented themſelves. The Nine Impriſoned, were Mr. *Lawrence Bromfield* of *Tower-ſtreet*, Alderman *Vincent*, Alderman *Bludworth*, Mr. *Thomas Brown* of *Woodſtreet*, Mr. *Daniel Spencer* in *Fridayſtreet*, Mr. *Penning* in *Fan-Church-Street*, Mr. *Jackſon*, Mr. *Chamberlain*, and Mr. *Richard Ford*. The City was much Alarm'd at this proceeding: And the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and ſeveral of the chiefeſt of the Citizens applied themſelves to him to moderate his Actions. All the City indeed ſeemed as People confounded with Wonder and Anxiety. And Colonel *Hubblethorn*, and others, the Generals own Officers, were many of them ſo much troubled, that they came to him to offer up their Commiſſions, rather than be employed in ſuch an Action: They told him, *The honour and reſpect they had to his Perſon ingaged them never to ſerve againſt him, or diſpute his Orders: But in this, ſince they could not without horrour obey them, they with tears prayed him to diſpoſe of their Commands to ſome more neceſſary Perſons.* He was moved much at theſe their paſſionate expreſſions, but privately informed them of his own diſlike of what was Commanded; and therefore Conjured them to continue their Confidence in him, and execute what he had given them in Charge, as that from which better effects would enſue than was convenient at that time to be explained. With this they went away

He obeys their Orders, though unwillingly.

ſomewhat

somewhat better contented, though not fully satisfied. He took his Quarter at the Three Tuns in *Guild-Hall*-Yard, where notwithstanding this Accident, he received with much Civility those which came to him: Among whom, one Mr. *Jolly*, a discreet Citizen, with modesty and temper represented to him the Inconveniencies of what he had undertaken, and told him, *The Affections of the City to him were such, that whatever he reasonably could desire of them, should be easier obtained by Perswasion than Force. That the Controversie between Enemies had nothing in it extraordinary; but to be ill Treated by Friends was very grievous. When* Hewson *marched into the City with a greater Number, he could not compass his Ends, but received Opposition with Contumelies and Affronts both to his Person and Party: But when he came, a general Calm and Kindness was seen in the Countenances of the People; And now that he had put his most rigorous Orders in Execution, they seemed rather amazed with Astonishment to receive it from his hand, then provoked to resent the indignity of it.*

Mr. *Jolly's* Prudent Speech to the General.

This Prudent Speech made great impression on him, insomuch, that he told them thereupon, *That he had Orders to take down the Gates and Percullices as well as the Posts and Chains, but he would immediately write to the* Parliament *to mitigate their Commands.* And accordingly he writ to acquaint them, *That he had secured all the Persons given him in charge to Imprison, except two that were absent; And that the next Morning the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had appointed a Meeting of the Common Council, where they doubted not that things would be composed to their satisfaction, and the Assessment be paid,* (which was the chiefest cause of his March into *London*) *so that thereupon he had forborn to meddle with the Gates and Percullices, till he should receive further Orders, because such severe acting would highly incense the City, and he hoped by mild means to reduce them to reason.* This letter made them higher than before; for whereas in their former Orders they had appointed him only to unhinge the Gates, and pull down the Percullices, they now Command him to destroy both Gates and Percullices: And to prevent the meeting of the *Common-Council*, they ordered, *That the present Common Council of the City should be dissolved*; and declared them null and void. And without any other Answer, they sent these *Votes* to the General.

The General writes to the *House* to mitigate their Commands.

They so much the more stirred up, send more rigorous Orders than before.

Upon this return, he was not a little perplexed in Mind and very thoughtful what to do; but at last he resolved fully to execute his Orders, that the *House* might not take occasion from his dispute of them, in the unsettled condition of the Souldiers, to vacate his Commission, and thereupon commanded his Souldiers to break all the Gates and Percullices in pieces. Which done, on *Friday* in the Evening he came back to *White-Hall*; but at his return, *Scot* and *Hasterig*, and some others of their violent Friends were very much moved, as if he had disobeyed his Orders, by which they said he was to continue with his Army in the City, till several Designs of theirs for the further humbling them to their purposes should be effected; and there was a Whisper, as if he were to have been questioned for it. It was also artificially contrived, that the same day the Gates were pulled down, a *Petition* from a Factious Phanatick Party of Citizens was presented by one *Praise-God Barebone* to the *House*, to countenance the Action, and to press an Oath of *Renunciation* to be taken by all that should be imployed in Civil and Military Affairs: Nevertheless to please the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they had the thanks of the *House* for their Moderation in this time of disorder in the City.

The General, though he demurred a little upon this Counsel, yet he seemed very sensible of the Contempts they at *Westminster* had put upon him in the whole Progress of this Affair, and was resolved after a day or two's private Consultation with some of his Officers, to do something to regain their Esteem he had lost; for the performance of which, he said, *He would take time but till* Tuesday *Morning.* This was the effect of their first Discourse. But a while after, Dr. *Barrow* came to *Clarges*, earnestly urging him to renew his Advice to the General, setting forth, *That delay might give his Enemies time to put out of his power the doing what he intended; And that it was most necessary to be speedy in the retrieving the Good Opinion of the City, to manifest thereby the greater dislike of what he had done the day before, as that to which the necessity of the time (against his own Inclination) pressed him to.* Whilst they were in this Discourse, two Officers of the Army in whom the General then had much Trust, came in to them, and they all together went to him again, and, with the same Arguments reiterated, dissuaded from delay; adding, *That they had certain Intelligence, that the* Council of State *began to be jealous of him, for that little Favour he shewed to the City in the Execution of his Orders, and that he ought therefore in Prudence to provide for his own Safety.* *Barrow* was appointed to gain what Intelligence he could against the next Morning; and the General with *Clarges*, *Thomson*, *Sanders* and *Barton*, which two last were advised with as two Officers that very much inclined to Admission of the Secluded Members, consulted what to offer to the *House* as a ground for their March into *London*: At last, waving all thought of making any excuse for marching into the City, they conclude, That Orders should be privately issued for about a dozen of the Chief Officers, in whom he had greatest confidence, to meet at Six the next Morning at the General's Quarters, and for

A *Petition* to the *House* from the Sectarian Party of the City.

Clarges Counsels the General to endeavour the speedy recovery of the Cities good Opinion.

Dr. *Barrow* urges the danger of delay in this business.

The General upon advice with some of his Officers, concludes to return immediately.

The General Commands the Gates and Percullices to be broken down.

for the drawing of some men together before *White-Hall*, to be ready to March; And that a Letter should be sent to the *House* in the Morning signed by the General and a Select number of Military Officers, to complain of many Irregularities committed by them: Amongst others,

The Substance of his Letter to the *House*.

That they gave too much Countenance to Lambert, Vane, *and several that Ingaged with the late* Committee of Safety; *And that they had permitted* Ludlow, *and some others, to sit in their* House, *that had been by Sir* Charles Coot, *and some of the* Irish *Officers, accused of* High-Treason; *and had Countenanced too much a late* Petition, *to exclude the most sober and Conscientious, both Ministers and others, by Oaths, from all Imployment and Maintenance:* And in conclusion, to request, *That by* Friday *next they should Issue out Writs to fill up their* House; *and when filled, should rise at their appointed time, to give place to a Full and* Free-Parliament.

The General having agreed to these Heads, retired to his repose, whilest the rest penn'd the Letter, which he directed to be drawn in his Name, and in the name of the rest of the Officers of the Army. The next day the Officers who had been sent for to meet at *White-Hall*, repairing thither early in the Morning, the Letter was produced, and read to them, (the General being present) and by all of them approved of; whereupon the General Signed it, and with him several Colonels; *(viz.) Saunders, Read, Lydcott, Knight, Cloberry, Redman* and *Hubblethorn*, one Lieutenant Colonel, which was *Ethelbert Morgan*, who Commanded the General's own Regiment of Foot, and six Majors, *Johnson, Barton, Smith, Bannister, Pryme*, and *Nicholas*; *Cloberry* and *Lydcott* were sent with the Letter to the *House*, and *Clarges* at the same time was sent to my Lord Mayor, to acquaint him with the General's Intentions to come and Quarter his Army that Night in the City, and to dispose him and the City to give him a favourable Reception.

The Letter being signed by the General, and several Officers, is sent by *Cloberry*, and *Lydcott*.

The General having sent *Clarges* before to the Lord Mayor, marches to *Finsberry*.

These things thus ordered, the General immediately marched away to *Finsbury*, where he drew up his Souldiers, till he should hear from *Clarges* how the City would receive him: Who finding my Lord Mayor very reserved, and averse to the General's coming, as terrified with his Actions the day before, had applied himself to Alderman *Robinson* and some others that he durst trust, and acquainted them privately, that the General's coming was for good to the City and Kingdom; but did not instance in the Particulars of what was in agitation, having had Orders to conceal that, till it was known how they at *Westminster* should receive the *Letter*: Nevertheless, *Robinson* sends for two or three Aldermen of his Confidents, and with these they go to the Lord Mayor to mollifie him, but without any effect for the present: Nevertheless, *Clarges* told him, the General was resolved, though he Quartered not in the City, at least to be his Guest at Dinner: And accordingly he sent to the General, to desire him to march with all his Men to *Leaden-Hall-Street*, to the Lord Mayor's Door, which he immediately did. While matters were thus carried on in the City, the House was in great Disorder at the reading of the General's Letter; but they temporized so far, as to shew no publick distaste at it; but Ordered,

Clarges finding my Lord Mayor distrustful, applies himself to Alderman *Robinson*.

That the Thanks of the House should be given to the General for his Faithful Service in securing of the City; and that, as to filling up the House, the Parliament *were upon Qualifications before the Receipt of his Letter, and the same should be dispatched in due time; and that Mr.* Scot, *and Mr.* Robinson *should attend them with their* Votes, *in Answer to his Letter.*

The House dissemble their Resentment of the General's Letter, and give him good words.

As soon as the General came to the Lord Mayor, he told him, *He was very welcome to his House, but that the City was full of Fears and sad Apprehensions of his sudden Return, after such violent Actions as the day before his Souldiers had been imployed in.* The General told him, *He hoped to make them of another mind in few hours.* Yet was he inwardly somewhat troubled, not knowing what hindrance this Coldness he found might give to his Designs; insomuch, that he called *Clarges* aside, and checkt him, as one who had over-hastily pressed him on upon so little time of consideration, to so great an Enterprize. To which he answered, *That he was now too far advanced to go back; and that the best Advice he could give him was, to desire the Lord Mayor presently to appoint the* Aldermen *and* Common-Council *to meet him at four a Clock at* Guild-Hall, *and there to acquaint them with his real Intentions, to comply with the Desires of the whole Kingdom.*

The General troubled at the Lord Mayor's Diffidence of him.

This Motion pleasing, and the said Request being accordingly made to the Lord Mayor, Orders were immediately sent out: but in the mean time, *Scot* and *Robinson* came to him from them at *Westminster*, with the before mentioned Answer to the Letter.

Requests the same of a Common Council.

Scot made Protestations of the *Parliaments* Affection to him, and their high Opinion of his Services, thereby to divert him from his Intentions of staying in the City: but Colonel *Bridges*, † an Officer of *Ireland*, that stood by, told them, *The General had no reason to credit their fair Speeches, since their words and their practices agreed not together, as was manifest in their Contempt of those his Friends in* Ireland, *who for his sake hazarded themselves in their Service; And now when he came from the* Irish *Army to Impeach* Ludlow *and* Jones *of High-Treason, he could have no Justice, but was put off from day to day, when* Praise-God Barebone *could be heard, and admitted with a* Seditious Petition *the first moment he came to the Door of the House.* And *Cloberry* told them, *The General and all his Officers could not but perceive that they grew Jealous of them, and that they went about to Balance them with such as had been their Enemies, which made it high time for them to consult for their own Safeties.*

Scot and *Robinson* sent from the House to the General, with their Answer to his Letter.

† *Bridges* and *Cloberry* sharply upbraid them.

The General closed all with Moderation, telling them, *All would be well, if they strictly observed the Advice of the Letter, and issued out Writs on* Friday *next for filling up their House.*

With

An Act for constituting five Commissioners for the Government of the Army.

With this Answer they returned to their Fellow Members, not very well satisfied, as was evident by what they did that very Afternoon in the House; for they passed an Act to divide the Government of the Army among five Commissioners; Namely, General *Monk*, Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, the Colonels, *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Allured*, and made the *Quorum* of them to be three.

This was opposed by many of the General's Friends, but they were not enough to hinder its Progress; at last, for an Expedient, it was moved, That General *Monk* should always be one of three for *Quorum*: But, upon putting the Question, 'twas carried in the *Negative*. When word was brought him of this their Ingratitude to him, he could not avoid expressing much Indignation at it.

The Lord Mayor and Common-Council, being met at *Guild-Hall* about Five of the Clock, the General told them,

The General excuseth his late Proceeding in the City, before the Common-Council.

That the Employment whereon he was sent, at his last being in the City, was the most ingrateful to him that ever he undertook, and so much against his Inclination, that if any thing less than quitting his Command, could have prevented it, he had never accepted such Employment; nor did he value his Commission, out of any respect to himself, for he had often desired to lay it down; but as knowing how much it imported both him and them, to keep it out of the Hands of such as most probably would not be so well inclined as He, to the Settlement of these Nations; That what he had now to tell them, was, That he had that Morning sent to the Parliament, *to issue out Writs within seven days, for the filling up of their House; and when filled, to sit no longer than till the Sixth of* May, *to give them Place to a full and a free Parliament.*

The City joyfully receives the News of a Free-Parliament.

The News of this was quickly dispers'd through all the City, and received with great Demonstrations of Joy, expressed in Bone-fires, and Ringing of Bells.

After this, he retired for some time to a house in *Cheap-side*, to give order for the Quartering of his Souldiers, and went himself to Lodge at the *Glass-house* in *Broad-street*, till *Drapers-Hall* could be accommodated for his Reception.

The *Monday* after his stay in the City, the Council of State writ to him, *To desire his Presence with them, to assist with his Counsels, in the carrying on the great Affairs of the Nation.*

To which he the next day returned Answer.

The General's Answer to the Council of State, inviting him to come and sit with them.

That till the Oath should be taken away, which put a bar to him, and many others, from acting as Counsellors, his Presence could not be useful to them there. And withal, he informed them, *That the Distractions of the City were increased by the continuance of Arms in the Hands of the* Phanaticks, *and Persons disaffected to the* Parliament, *who had 7000 lately out of the Stores delivered to them, and were providing more: Wherefore he desired them immediately to recal these Arms; and withal, to excuse his stay in the City for some longer time, till the minds of the Citizens were composed.*

The Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the Chief of the Officers (hearing how earnest the Parliament was to draw him again to *White-Hall*) importuned his Continuance in the City; and to induce him to it, they assure him, it cannot be safe for him, or them, that he remove; for that they had certain Information, That many private Letters were sent from *Hasterig* and others, to withdraw the Affections of the Souldiery from him, and that certain Men were imployed to several Regiments to debauch them. This Information had been enough to induce the General, had he not been resolved before: So that when Colonel *Allured* came from the Council of State, to perswade him against staying in the City, he acquainted him with what he heard. *Allured* laboured to infuse a Belief in him, of his having been misinformed of those things. It was answered by the General, *That he put no greater stress on those Reports, than to be vigilant over the Actions and Motions of the several Parties, deferring the belief of them, till time should evince the truth.* But he assured him, *He was advertized from Persons of good Fame, That notwithstanding that* Lambert *was proscribed, and* Vane *put out of this* Parliament, *and ordered to leave the Town; yet the stay of the latter was connived at, and Sir* Arthur Haslerig, *and several other, corresponded with them both.*

The City, and Chief Officers of his Army, dissuade him from hearkning to the Parliaments Invitations, to return back to *White-Hall.*

Col. *Allured* solicits his return in vain.

Sir *Arthur Haslerig* writ many Expostulatory Letters, to free himself of these Imputations, but could not sufficiently clear himself of them. And now by more frequent Addresses than ever, the General is from all Counties solicited to the Admission of the Secluded Members, which he only delayed, because the Army was not yet in a Temper for it; but to prepare them he received Visits from some of the Secluded Members, where they were always admitted, to hear by their Discourses, how well they were inclined to the Settlement of the Peace of the Nations. In this Method he so far proceeded, as on the 18*th* of *February*, to have a Conference before him, of some of the Secluded Members, and some of the others. Those of the Sitting Members were, *St. John*, *Haslerig*, *Morley*, *Thomson*, *Ashley-Cooper*, *Weaver*, *White*, *Fielder*, *Hutchinson*, and *Rawleigh*; but *Scot* and *Reynolds* also were intended by the General to be there, but for want of some Notice they came not. The Secluded Members that met them, were, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Evelin*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Colonel *Popham*, Mr. *Annesly*, Mr. *Knightly*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Trevor*, Colonel *Harley*, Colonel *Norton*, Sir *John Temple*, and Colonel *Birch*. They discoursed of many things, in order to a mutual Accord, for the Peace and Welfare of the Nations, but came to no Conclusion; because the Sitting Members durst not undertake for the rest of the House, without their consent, which could not be known but by Vote: Yet severally all of them who were then present, seem'd well satisfied with that Moderation and Temper, which they found in those Gentlemen with whom they conferred.

The General is importuned from all Parts to admit the Secluded Members.

He admits of a Conference before him of the Sitting Members, with some of the Secluded.

The General was fully bent to promote their Admission so far, that if it could not be done by

by Common Consent, he Resolved to admit them without it.

The Officers of the Army consent to the admission of the Secluded, upon certain conditions.

The Officers of the Army were consulted with, and they were willing enough to have them sit, on condition they would promise to Declare for a Common-Wealth Government, and pass an Act for the Confirmation of the Possession of their Lands, disposed of since their Seclusion, and to agree upon a short time for their Dissolution. Wherefore, to try how far they were inclined, to admit of those Conditions, † Mr. *Clarges*, Colonel *Cloberry*, and Dr. *Gumble*, were appinted to Treat with some of them, who, when they met, had many Discourses of the whole Matter.

† Mr. *Clarges* and others, appointed to Treat with some of the Secluded concerning the safe Conditions.

The Secluded Members Declared, as to Government, they intended no alteration in it, or to Act further than in preparation for a Parliament, *to succeed them; and since there was no other way for their Summons, but by Writs, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of* England, *by Authority of* Parliament, *they saw not how there could be by that Constitution any other Government introduced: As to Confirmation of Sales, and Dispositions of Lands, they said, they had been all made since the Seclusion, and they would not alter them, but rather mediate with the next* Parliament, *to pass an Act for their Confirmation; and for the time of their Sitting, they were contented it should determine in a Months time.* Cloberry *urged the great Insecurity the Army and many of their Friends would be in, if their Publick Lands were not confirmed, which was the price of their Blood; and though their not disturbing such Possessions in* England, *might be a little Satisfaction, yet the whole Nation of* Ireland *was unsettled, both as to Adventurers and Souldiers.* To this it was Replyed, *That they should not think themselves in a Capacity to pass any Acts at all, as being but one House; and to prevent all Jealousie of their Actions, they would consent to be Limited to the Chief Heads of what they should consult, during the short time of their Continuance.*

The Consultations upon what the Members had delivered of their Intentions.

When the *Conference* ended, Report was made of the Substance of it to the General, and the rest of the Chief Officers, who approved of every thing proposed by the *Secluded Members*, except the not Confirmation of Publick Dispositions of Lands, and their refusing to pass any Acts of *Parliament*: As to that of Lands, which they would not be drawn to confirm, *Clarges* told the Officers, They could not Answer it to the Kingdom, to break with them for that Consideration, *thereby to obstruct the Settlement of it, out of respect to their own private Interests*; he said, The greatest part of his own Estate was in *Ireland*, and that it was acknowledged by all, the greatest Insecurity of Publick Estates was in that Kingdom: yet he would, for his own part submit all his Concerns to the Determination of the next Parliament; rather than by opposing the Admission of these Gentlemen, contribute to the hazard of the Publick Peace. And as to that of Publick Acts, he told them, He doubted not, but they would alter their Opinions, because no Money could be raised, to supply the Necessities of the Government; nor could their own Dissolution be but by an Act.

The General, upon hearing this, seemed very much satisfied, upon which all the rest assented. And it was agreed, That the *Secluded Members* that were in Town, should, before their Admission, sign a Paper, to consent to confine their Consultations, chiefly to the Four Heads following;

The General and the Officers agree upon admitting the Secluded Members.

1. *To the settling the Conduct of the Armies, in the Three Nations, as might be most serviceable to the Peace of the Nations.*

2. *For the providing Maintenance for the Forces by Sea and Land, and Money for their Arrears, and the Contingencies of Government.*

3. *To the appointing a* Council of State *to settle the Civil Government and Judicatures in* Scotland *and* Ireland, *and to take care for the Issuing of Writs for the Summoning of a* Parliament *to meet at* Westminster *the* 20th *of* April.

4. *To their own Legal Dissolution.*

The Chief Heads recommended to their Consultations.

This Subscription was willingly made, and on *Tuesday* following in the Morning the General gave them a meeting at *White-Hall*; Whence, after a short Speech to recommend to them the Settlement of the Nations, with assurance, *That he would impose nothing on them*, they went to take their Places in the *Parliament*: being conducted thither by Captain *Miller* who Commanded the Guards.

The General meets them at *White-Hall*, in order to their Admission into the House.

As soon as the Members were gone, the General Summoned all the Officers of the Army together that were then in and about *London*, to consider of a Letter to be sent to all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to have their Concurrence to what had been done concerning the Admission of the Secluded Members; which was referred to a *Committee* to be drawn up, with special Directions to satisfie them, *That nothing was intended for alteration of Government, but that it should continue as a Free-State and Common-Wealth*: This he did, in regard he knew it impossible, as affairs stood, to keep the Army in Temper any other way. The Letter was in a little time prepared, and so many Clerks were imployed, that Copies of it were that Night Signed and dispersed to all the Regiments and Garrisons in *England*, and to the Commanders in Chief of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. It was penn'd in these Words;

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Souldiers.

The General's Letter to all the Regiments, to acquaint them with what he had done after

YOU cannot be Ignorant of the many Endeavours, and earnest Desires of many good Men in these Nations to bring us to a Settlement; which it hath pleased God to disappoint unto this Day, and leave us as a broken and divided People, ready to run into Blood and Confusion: Which that We might prevent so great Calamities impending

after our earneſt ſeeking to God for his Direction and Aſſiſtance, We find no Expedient ſo likely for the ſatisfaction of the Good People, and the Quiet and Welfare of this Common-Wealth, *as the re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members, in order to a Legal Diſſolution of the* Parliament *by their own free Conſent, and to Iſſue Writs for a future full* Repreſentative *of the whole* Common-Wealth *of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *under ſuch Qualifications as may ſecure our Cauſe, to Convene on the twentieth day of* April *next at* Weſtminſter, *for the eſtabliſhing of this* Common-Wealth *upon the Foundation of Juſtice and true Freedom. And to take away all juſt Jealouſies from you, We do aſſure you, That we ſhall joyn with you in the maintenance of thoſe Ends, and do expect your Cheerful Concurrence with Us; having no intentions or purpoſes to return to our old Bondage; But ſince the Providence of God hath made us free at the Coſt of ſo much Blood, we hope we ſhall never be found ſo unfaithful to God and his People, as to loſe ſo glorious a Cauſe; but We do reſolve with the Aſſiſtance of God, to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear purchaſed Liberties, both Spiritual and Civil. The reaſon of our proceeding in this manner may ſeem ſtrange, but if you duly conſider the neceſſities of our Affairs and the preſent ſtate of things, you will certainly conclude nothing ſo ſafe to ſecure Publick Intereſt, and to engage the Nations peaceably to ſubmit to a* Free State; *moſt of the ſaid Members having given us full aſſurance, that their Seſſion in Parliament ſhall be no longer than abſolute neceſſity will require, to the putting the Government into Succeſſive* Parliaments, *they not being free ſo to Act by the old Writs as when they ſhall be called upon a* Common-Wealth *accompt: And it is the Opinion of the trueſt Friends to a* Free-State, *That it cannot be conſiſtent with the perpetual Sitting of thoſe Members, being contrary to the nature of ſuch a Government.*

And as We are confident the preſent Parliament *now Sitting, will not Repeal any of the* Acts, Ordinances, *or* Orders *of this preſent* Parliament, *for Sales, or publick Diſpoſitions of Lands; ſo We ſhall in our Station obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved all other* Acts *and* Ordinances *of this* Parliament, *whatſoever, and humbly interpoſe with the next ſucceeding* Parliament, *not only to paſs a further ACT of Confirmation of all ſuch Sales and Diſpoſitions of Lands, here and in* Scotland; *but alſo of the Diſtributions and Diſpoſitions of Lands and Houſes in* Ireland *to the Souldiery, Adventurers, or any other Perſons, made by or in purſuance of any of the* Acts, Ordinances, *or* Orders *of this preſent* Parliament, *or any pretended Parliamentary Authority. And we intreat you to ſend up an Officer to give to the Lord General* Monk *an accompt of your Acquieſcence with Us herein.*

And if any diſaffected perſons ſhall take occaſion to make diſturbance of the Peace of the Common-Wealth, *either in favour of* Charles Stuart, *or any other pretended Authority, We deſire you to ſecure them till the pleaſure of the* Parliament *or* Council of State *be known in that behalf. You ſhall ſpeedily receive Encouragement and Supplies of Money; and indeed it was not the leaſt Motive to induce Us to this way of Compoſure of Affairs, that we might facilitate the raiſing of Monies for the ſubſiſtence of the Army and Navy; which would not otherwiſe have been done (if at all) but with effuſion of Blood. We have nothing more at this time, but to aſſure you we ſhall ever remain.*

White-Hall, Feb. 21. 1659.

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Souldiers.

Your very affectionate Friends;

GEORGE MONK,

R. Knight,
John Cloberry,
Tho. Read,
John Hubblethorn,
Leonard Lydcott,
Tho. Saunders, } Colonels.
William Eyre,
John Streater,
Richard Moſs,
William Farley,
Arthur Evelin,

John Butler, Quarter-Maſter-Generall.

Ethelbert Morgan,
James Mutlow,
James Emmerſon, } Lieut. Col.
Joſeph Witter,
Dennis Pepper,

James Dennis,
Richard Wagſtaffe,
Thomas Johnſon,
Francis Nicholls,
Jer. Smith, } Majors.
Nathaniel Barton,
Thomas Higgs,
John Clark,

William Goodwin,
Henry Ogle. } Captains.

These Transactions were managed with so much Secrecy, that the Members that were sitting in the House knew nothing of them, till they saw the Secluded Members come in and sit amongst them. Upon which they being surprised, were at first at a demur among themselves, whether they should keep their Seats, or quit the *House*; till at length the grand Sticklers of them for a *Common-wealth*, well knowing that it would not be in their power by staying, to make their Interest good against those who were now the major Party of the *House*, resolved, since they could not hinder them the partial possession thereof, to resign it intire unto them, while those of them that were the most moderate and well inclined staid behind, and took their Seats amongst the knew admitted Members: Who in the first place applied themselves to vindicate the Honour of their *House*, as far as in them lay, by nullifying and expunging out of the Journals all *Votes* whereby they were disabled from sitting as Members therein. Next, They order Mr. *Vincent* and Mr. *Bromfield*, and the rest of those Citizens which were committed by the *Council of States* Orders, when the City Gates were broken, to be released; as also all others who were any where Imprisoned upon Sir *George Booth*'s Rising, or for making *Addresses* for the Admission of the Secluded Members: Moreover they Constituted General *Monk* by ACT of *Parliament*, Captain General of all the Armies of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and repealed that ACT which made him only a Joynt-Commissioner with Colonel *Morley*, *Haslerig*, *Walton*, and *Allured*, for Government of the Army.

Upon the Admission of the Secluded Members, divers of the rest quit the *House*.

Some there were of these restored Members, who at the first admission, could not well be present, by reason of their far distant Habitations; of which number was Mr. *William Morrice*, whom Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, the General's Brother, knowing him to be a Prudent Person, and well disposed for his Prince's Service, and the good of his Country, writ to *Clarges* to put the General in mind of sending for him, that being near him, he might be assistant to him in his Counsels: To this the General was easily perswaded, having had long before by his Brothers report of him, a good Opinion of his Abilities and Worth; and the rather, for that by his Wife he was somewhat allied to him. *Clarges* acquainted Mr. *Nicholas Monk* with what he had done, and inclosed a Letter from the General to Mr. *Morrice*, to acquaint him with his admission of the Secluded Member, and to desire him to repair to the *Parliament*: Where he arrived whilest they were Sitting and took his place in the *House*; wherein he appeared a most useful Instrument by his great Abilities, in Promoting and carrying on of the General's Affairs in relation to his Majesties Interest.

The *Parliament* repealed the ACT for the former *Council of State*, and the Oath of *Abjuration*, and passed an ACT for another *Council* to consist of one and Thirty Persons: Which were,

A new *Council of State* chosen.

General *George Monk*,
William Pierpoint,
John Crew, Esquire,
Colonel *Rossiter*,
Richard Knightly, Esquire,
Colonel *Popham*,
Colonel *Morley*,
Lord *Fairfax*,
Sir *Anthoney Ashley-Cooper*,
Sir *Gilbert Gerard*,
Lord Chief Justice *St. John*,
Sir *John Temple*,
Lord Commissioner *Widdrington*,
Sir *John Evelin* of *Wilts*,
Sir *William Waller*,
Sir *Richard Onslow*,
Sir *William Lewis*,
Colonel *Edward Montague*,
Colonel *Edward Harley*,
Colonel *Richard Norton*,
Arthur Anstey, Esquire,
Denzel Holles Esquire,
Colonel *George Thomson*,
John Trevor, Esquire,
Sir *John Holland*,
Sir *John Potts*,
Colonel *John Birch*,
Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*,
John Swinfin, Esquire,
John Weaver, Esquire,
Serjeant *Maynard*.

Most of them Men of Integrity, and well affected to Kingly Government.

The General hearing that Colonel *Rich* was about St. *Edmunds-Bury*, and having actually debauch'd two Troops, was endeavouring to corrupt the rest of his Regiment, he sent the Life-Guard to reduce them, and gave a Commission to Colonel *Ingoldsby* to Command the Regiment.

The Life-Guard had been lately in defection with the rest of the Troops under *Lambert*, and had not been mustered since the Restauration of the *Parliament*, nor had hitherto any Commander in Chief. And therefore the General thought fit at this time to model that Troop, and to give the Command thereof to Captain *Philip Howard*, making Mr. *Robert Harley* his Lieutenant, and his Kinsman Mr. *Henry Monk*, Cornet; who were so Active, that in six hours time they displaced all of whom they had any suspition, and filled up the Troop with honest and gallant men; who immediately Marched towards *Suffolk*, to execute the General's Orders upon Colonel *Rich*; but he having Notice of the Marching of that Party towards him, retired privately, and the

The Life Guard, modell'd, and conferred upon Captain *Philip Howard*.

Rich his Regiment submit to the General's Orders.

the Regiment quietly received Col. *Ingolsby* to Command them, who by the Generals appointment put out all such Officers as were of froward and seditious Principles in Religion or Government.

The General takes care for the setling of *North-Wales.*

And to reduce *North Wales* to a more settled condition, than it was in at that present; the General gave Colonel *Carter* a Commission to be Governour of *Beau-morris* Castle, (the Souldiers whereof had been placed there by Colonel *John Jones*) with Authority to raise Forces to reduce *Denbigh* and *Conway*, which had been in very ill hands, and to settle that Country in quiet: which he did in a very short time, to the great satisfaction of all the Gentry and people in those parts.

The late *Common-wealth-Parliament* before the admission of the Secluded Members, had given *Desborow*'s Regiment to Colonel *Walton*; but the General disposed of it to Colonel *Charles Howard* of *Naworth*, whom he also made Governour of *Carlisle*.

The Parliament levy a new Tax, and proceed to the settlement of the *Militia.*

The *Parliament* passed an *Act of Assessment* for a Hundred Thousand Pounds a Month for Six Months, and proceeded with much hast to settle the *Militia* both in the City and all other parts of *England* and *Wales*, having vacated the former *ACT* made before their admission, because most of the Commissioners and Officers all over *England*, were of Persons of suspected Inclinations to the Government.

There being at this time an unusual Confluence of Officers of the Army in *London*, and some Troops and Companies drawing together in several Parts of the Kingdom; the *Parliament* by Proclamation Commanded all Officers to repair to their respective Charges, and not to depart from thence without special Order from the Lord General: And that all such Troops and Companies as had removed from their Quarters without the Lord General's Licence, should return forthwith to their Last Quarters formerly Assigned, or to such others as should be Assigned them by directions from the Lord General.

They Command all Officers and Souldiers to repair to their several Commands and Quarters.

But notwithstanding all this Care in the *Parliament*, Colonel *Overton* was designing to make Disturbances in *York-shire*; He drew up a Letter to Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethel*, and Colonel *Smithson*, which he caused to be Subscribed by all his Officers; And therein signified to them;

A Letter of Col. *Overton* and the Officers with him, to some of General *Fairfax*'s Officers.

That having received intimation from private hands, That the abandoned Interest of Charles Stuart *doth seem so to shine in the face of Publick Transactions, that many Jealousies and Dissatisfactions were created amongst their Brethren in the Army, who remained faithful to the true* Cause *they had contended for, insomuch, that (as it was represented to them) several Regiments had declared their disconcurrence with these present Distractions, and their Resolutions in adhering to the* Cause *God had determined with Victory against all Monarchical Interests, they could not but judge it incumbent upon them to wake in such a time, and to endeavour to be found in the discharge of that Duty which their Instruments commanded from them; wherein as on the one hand they were unwilling to appear precipitate in their proceedings, so on the other they were afraid to fall short of a timely interposing of their Assistance against that old Bondage which was likely to break in anew upon them: And therefore they thought fit to expedite that Intimation unto them, and desire to understand as well what was their sense, as what was signified or imparted to them: That as they were equally engaged and concerned in one Publick Cause, so they might (if occasion required) be as conjunctively abetting and assisting to the defence of it; which through the Assistance of God they were resolved to assert and maintain (as the fruits of their Blood, the Nations Treasure, and the Prayers of the People of God) against any design whatsoever which threatned the ruine of their Civil and Religious Rights.*

The General sends Col. *Overton* to the Officers with him, to some of General *Fairfax*'s Officers.

Many Copies of this Letter were dispersed amongst the Souldiers before the Original was sent, and an Attestation added in these words, *This is* Overton's *and the Officers of the Garrison of* Hulls *Letter: And it is hoped, will meet with the Concurrence of all our honest Fellow Souldiers, who have been engaged in the* Good old Cause *against the Interest of a* King *and* Single Person.

If Colonel *Fairfax*, *Smithson*, and *Bethel* had not been very Active, this practice had perverted many Souldiers, but they were vigilant to prevent it. Upon knowledge of this Letter, the General writ to *Overton* by Colonel *Allured* and Major *Smith*, to give him Satisfaction in his proceedings here; and the *Council of State*, upon his Motion did the like. Major *Smith* was well known and beloved in *Hull*, and, the General having a Design to Remove *Overton*, he was privately to deal with some Officers and Souldiers under him who loved him not, to bring him to Reason, if upon Orders for his Remove, he should be disobedient to them; And as soon as they were gone, he sent private Orders to Colonel *Fairfax* (to whom he gave a Commission to be Governour of *Hull*) to draw some Companies to *Beverly*, and Writ to *Overton* to repair immediately to him; his Letter was sent to Colonel *Fairfax* open, that he might see the Import of it. The Letter was in the following Words.

The General sends Col. *Fairfax* to take possession of *Hull.*

SIR,

The Generals Letter to Colonel *Overton*.

'I Have seen a Letter from you and some o-
'thers at *Hull*, dated from that Garrison
'on the twenty eight of *February* last, and di-
'rected to Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethel*, and
'Colonel *Smithson*; wherein you complain of
'the present Transactions of the Publick Affairs,
'as if they tended to the bringing in of the King,
'and a Monarchical Bondage, which (you write)
'seems very likely to break in a new upon us,
'and threatens the ruine of our Civil and Re-
'ligious Rights: All which, you say, is derived
'to you from private hands, which do not only
'insinuate their private Jealousies, but inform
'you that several Regiments have declared their
'disconcurrence with the present Transactions.
'I must confess, I am a little suprized at this
'your Letter, and manner of Proceedings, ha-
'ving so lately sent to you from my Self, and the
'greatest part of the Officers of the Army, a
'full Accompt of the Necessities that induced
'us, to consent to the Return of the Secluded
'Members to the exercise of their Trust; and
'our Resolutions to that Cause we have so
'long contended for, and to the *Parliament* in
'the prosecution of it: And (notwithstanding
'the Information you pretend to have receiv-
'ed, I cannot in my own observation discern
'any Grounds for such Aprehensions of Affairs
'here as you seem to entertain: nor has there
'appeared a discontent in any one Regiment
'of the Army, except part of Colonel *Rich*'s
'Regiment, which is since reduced: wherefore
'(although you pretend not to be too precipi-
'tate in your proceedings) your dispersing Co-
'pies of your Letter before you sent it, may
'reasonably make me judge otherwise: And
'if you prosecute the matter further, I cannot
'but interpret your Action as tending to divide
'the Army, by withdrawing their Obedience
'from the *Parliament*, and consequently to in-
'volve the Nations in a new and Bloody War.
'So that to avoid all occasions of this nature,
'I desire that within twenty four hours after
'this Letter comes to your hands, you set for-
'ward from *Hull* towards *London*, to give me
'an accompt of the present posture of that
'Garrison; And that within six hours after
'this comes to you, you signifie to Colonel
'*Fairfax*, and Colonel *Bethel*, your Compliance
'herein, and the Day wherein you intend to
'begin your Journey, and be with me here,
'where I shall expect you within a Week af-
'ter your departure from *Hull*. I have writ-
'ten to Colonel *Fairfax* more particularly con-
'cerning the Peace and Safety of the *Northern*
'parts, and of the Garrison of *Hull*; and if he
'communicates any orders from me to you, I
'expect your obedience to them:

Yours,

GEORGE MONK.

Colonel *Overton* was surprized at the receipt of this Letter; but finding himself in no capacity to dispute the Order for his delivery up of *Hull*, he submitted to it; and sent to Colonel *Fairfax* to acquaint him with that his resolution; and himself at a Eleven a Clock the same Night, began his Journey towards *London* to the General. The Colonel submits to the Generals Orders.

The General about the same time gave his Commission to Mr. *Clarges* to be Commissary-General of the Musters of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and to Mr. *Morrice*, to be Governour of *Plymouth*; and to Major-General *Morgan*, to be Commander in Chief of the Army in *Scotland*.

Morgan was already upon the place, but wanted sufficient Authority, till he had his Commission sent to him; and all the Army there submitted to the General's Actions in reference to the *Secluded Members*, except a Company in Garrison in the Isle of *Orkney*, commanded by one *Watson*, which was reduced by Captain *Man*, and *Watson*, and his Officers imprisoned, and his Company disbanded. The Army in *Scotland* well satisfied with the General's Actions.

Many private Overtures were made to the General by some of the Peers that sate in the Lords House a little before the death of the late King, to be admitted to Sit; but he thought it inconvenient and hazardous, in regard the Army was already so Jealous upon the Sitting of the *Secluded Members*, that he had difficulty enough to moderate them. Yet at the Request of the Earl of he sent Commissary-General *Clarges* to confer with him.

A Conference between Commissary *Clarges* and a Peer of the Land, about the Sitting of the *Lords House*.

The *Earl told him*, 'The Sitting of the Lords
'would be very advantagious to the good of the
'Kingdom, and to the Souldiers in particular;
'for that they would joyn in an ACT for the
'Confirmation of their Estates: And if it should
'be thought convenient for the good of the
'Kingdom to receive the *King*, he could not
'upon any Conditions with so much safety be
'restored, as such as should be made by *Act of*
'*Parliament*.

To this *Clarges* replied, 'That the General
'was very well satisfied, that the *Parliament*
'was Dissolved by the Death of the late King,
'and that the present Sitting of the Members,
'was a Constitution rather taken up upon Ne-
'cessity, than Right, which was but to make
'way for another *Parliament*; That one great
'Argument for the Admission of the *Secluded*
'*Members*; was their Consent to a quick Disso-
'lution; which could not be, if the *Lords* should
'Sit: For they would then think themselves in-
'vested in that perpetuity which some fancy is
'of right in this *Parliament* still. *But that which*
'*was most convincing*, *was*, That the Army was
'not yet in temper for it.

Every

Every Poſt brought the General *Addreſſes* from all the Regiments in *England*, of their conſent to his Actings: And Sir *Charles Coot* in *Ireland* had with many other Officers, upon the ſame day that the *Secluded Members* were admitted, declared at *Dublin* for them, and had ſecured Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, that had diſſented from him.

An Act propoſed for the ſetling of *Hampton-Court* upon the General.

Thoſe of the former Members who ſtaid in the *Houſe* after the admiſſion of the *Secluded Members*, that they might ingage the General againſt the King, promoted an *ACT* for the ſetling of *Hampton-Court*, with all the Parks and ſome other Lands upon him and his Heirs for ever; which ſo troubled him, that he uſed all the Friends he had to divert it; and at laſt an Expedient was found out by giving him by *Act of Parliament*, a Preſent of twenty thouſand pounds in Money, and the Cuſtody or Stewardſhip of that Houſe, and the Parks for his Life: They alſo conferred upon Commiſſary *Clarges* the Hamper-Office; and about the thirteenth of *March* they Ordered, that the *Engagement*, appointed to be taken by each Member of Parliament in theſe words, (viz.) *I do declare and promiſe, that I will be true and faithful to the Common-wealth of* England, *as the ſame is now eſtabliſhed without King or Houſe of Lords*, ſhould be taken off the File, and made null.

The Engagement abrogated.

Scot, *Haſterig*, and ſome others, (whoſe names we ſhall forbear to mention, becauſe they are yet living, and have repented of the raſhneſs of their former proceedings) were much alarm'd at this proceeding, which they took to be an inevitable Prognoſtick of introducing the King; and though they ſo much affected Power, as to endure no Rivals in it, they choſe rather to have the General take the Dominion of the Three Kingdoms upon himſelf, than to have the King reſtored. They conſulted privately with ſome of the Officers of the Army, whom they truſted moſt, and theſe approved ſo well of the Expedient, that the General was Treated with about it in *White-Hall*, where *Haſterig* told him, 'That 'many of his Friends were much troubled at the 'Parliaments Actions, which tended both to the 'ruine of him, and all the good people of the 'Nation, ſince it was evident, that by what they 'had Voted the day before, nothing was intend-'ed but the Reſtitution of the King. His over-'throw, *they ſaid*, muſt needs ſucceed the admi-'ſſion of the King; for a Merit too great to be 'rewarded, could have no recompence but 'death; whereof frequent Examples are to be 'found in all Hiſtory, and in none more preg-'nant than our own; where it is recorded, That 'the ſame *Stanley* who placed the Crown upon 'Henry the Sevenths Head, had his own ſtruck 'off, upon a very frivolous pretence, when the 'reaſon was only exceſs of Merit. *They told him likewiſe*, They found a *Common-wealth-Govern-'ment* not agreeable with the diſpoſition of the 'People who are always bad Judges of what is 'beſt for themſelves; and therefore ſince a *Single 'Perſon* was neceſſary, there could not be one 'fitter than he for that Office. To which they 'had very good grounds to believe all the good 'People of the Nation would concur with them.

The *Common-wealth* Faction deſire the General rather to take the Government upon himſelf than to bring in the King. They Treat with him about it.

The General told them, 'He himſelf was not 'well pleaſed at the late unneceſſary *Vote of Par-'liament* concerning the *Engagement*, but many 'of the moſt diſcreet Members had been with 'him, and ſatisfied him, that had no deſign in 'it, but to keep themſelves free againſt the next 'Parliament; for in regard (they ſaid) that he 'had conſented that the final determination of 'Government ſhould be referred to that, they 'were unwilling to anticipate their Counſels by 'determining of it by that *Engagement*, which 'would be too great a Snare unto them: *Still 'urging*, 'That they knew not any cauſe he 'ſhould have of fear, for that the very Writ of 'Summons of the next *Parliament*, did ſuffici-'ently defend the Government, in reſtraining 'their Debates to it. As for the Government in 'his own Perſon, *he ſaid*, The experience of 'Cromwel's Fate gave him Reaſons to avoid the 'Rock on which that Family was ſplit.

They replyed, 'That *Oliver Cromwel* uſurped 'the Dominion againſt the ſuffrage of the Ar-'my, and the conſent of all the good people; 'whereas he ſhould have it by their unanimous 'conſent, and under what Name and Title he 'pleaſed to accept it.

The General refuſeth their Offer.

The General would by no means hear more of theſe temptations, reſolving not to loſe the Honour derived to him from as Ancient a ſtock of Gentry as any was in *England*, by ſo treacherous a Proſtitution of it.

A little before theſe Men went to the General, Commiſſary *Clarges* had been tampered with by them, to the ſame purpoſe; and obſerving them to go from him to his Lordſhip, he deliberated how to extricate from further Applications of this kind, and puniſh the Inſolency of theſe Undertakers.

Commiſſary *Clarges* gives intimation of theſe proceedings to the *Council of State*.

The *Council of State* Sitting at the time of this private Conference, and within two Chambers of the place where it was tranſacted, he ſent in to the Council to Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, and informed him of what he knew, and what he further ſuſpected: Upon which it was agreed, That as ſoon as the General ſhould depart from them, and come into the Council, he ſhould move, That all Clerks and Attendants, that were not Counſellors, ſhould withdraw, and the Doors be locked, and then declare, That he had had Information of a dangerous Deſign in ſome ſeditious perſons, who were contriving to make diſturbances in the Nation, and that they had proceeded ſo far, as to make ſome indecent Overtures to him, of which he deſired that the Council might receive a full diſcovery, that thereupon they might apply themſelves to prevent the Conſequences of it.

The General in favour of thoſe Perſons mitigates the matter.

But the General being unwilling to expoſe thoſe men to ruine, though they deſerved not his favour) becauſe his purpoſes were deſigned to be effected by the moſt peaceable ways, told the *Council, That there was not ſo much danger in agi-tation as they apprehended; but that it was true, ſome had been with him to be reſolved in ſcruples concerning the preſent Tranſactions in* Parliament, *but they went away from him well ſatisfied.*

Thus

They yet attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army.

Thus the goodneſs of the General was abuſed, for theſe unreaſonable men, when they ſaw they could not allure him to their ends by the temptation of power, attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army; wherein they prevailed ſo far, as that the Officers had had one Meeting, and had appointed another. In their firſt they were ſo heated, that a Declaration was immediately prepared, and brought by ſome of them to the General, to oblige him with his Army to declare for a *Common-wealth*, and ingage againſt all them that ſhould attempt the ſetting up of a *Single Perſon*; and that he ſhould ſend to the *Parliament* to joyn with them in this Declaration.

A Declaration brought by the Officers to the General to ſign.

Commiſſary *Clarges* and Mr. *Clark*, the General's Secretary, were with him when this was brought to him, and obſerving great trouble in his Countenance at the reading of it, moved, That he would defer the ſigning or giving any opinion of it till the next Morning, becauſe then the Officers of the Army were to have a General Council. This was done, that the General might have time to provide himſelf of Arguments againſt it, and prepare ſome of his Friends to joyn with him: One of the chief Motives that induced him to make Mr. *Morrice* an Officer of the Army, was to have his aid in Conſultations at ſuch times as theſe: For there were frequent Meetings of Officers, and one of ſo good Judgment and Elocution, as he, could not but perſwade much: So that he had been the fitteſt Perſon that could been thought on, had not his being unuſed to ſuch Aſſemblies made him not care to be preſent at them.

Okey's Speech at the Council of Officers.

The next Morning a great concourſe of Officers met at S. *James's*, and Colonel *Okey* opened the Council, with a long Speech, *of the fears they were in of an Inundation of Evils breaking in upon them, to invade their Civil and Religious Liberties; and if great care was not uſed to prevent it*, Charles Stuart *would be introduced: And that the beſt Expedient that could be thought of, was to ſend immediately to the* Parliament, *to oblige them to declare and ingage for a* Free State *and* Common-wealth, *without a* King *or* Houſe of Lords: *And if they refuſed to do it, to take ſuch a Remedy as God ſhould put into their hearts to ſave the Nation from deſtruction.*

Commiſſary *Clarges* his Anſwer.

Commiſſary *Clarges* anſwered, *That he ſaw no cauſe for thoſe fears that were inſinuated; and that if they ſent to the* Parliament *in ſuch a manner, they would find no pleaſing return from them; for if theſe Men would have been terrified by the Army, there would not have been fourteen of them Impeached at one time of Treaſon, and two hundred ſecluded at another; and they firſt thing the would probably do, upon the receipt of ſuch a Meſſage, would be to diſſolve themſelves, and then there would be no Government; but inſtead of the* Single Perſon *they were ſo much afraid of, they muſt neceſſarily have recourſe to* Richard Cromwel, *and expoſe themſelves to his Revenge, for the Indignities they had lately with ſo much ſcorn put upon him and his Family.*

And as for the General (applying himſelf to him) *he ſaid, He knew he would not aſſume the Government, having heard him profeſs, (on occaſion of theſe Alterations) he would rather be drawn in pieces with wild horſes, than be ſo treacherous to the Nation.*

The General concluded, and told them, 'The 'time of this *Parliaments* ending was ſo near, 'they could not do the ills ſome of them (he 'hoped) cauſleſly feared. And that from the 'next *Parliament* he doubted not they would re- 'ceive better ſatisfaction than they had in this, 'ſince it was provided in the ACT for their 'Aſſembling, that none ſhould be Elected that 'had been againſt the *Parliament* ſince 1641. 'Withal, *He confirmed what Comiſſary* Clarges 'had ſaid, That if by this violent proceeding 'they ſhould make the *Parliament* haſtily diſ- 'ſolve themſelves, and leave the Nation in con- 'fuſion, they muſt not expect he would take 'upon him the Government, which he had ra- 'ther loſe his life than accept.

The General's determination of the Latter.

After this, there was little moved by any of the Officers; onely one ſaid, *That nothing could be hoped from Qualifications for a new* Parliament, *for they themſelves being to be Judges of them, it might ſo happen, that the major part might be of ſuch as were not themſelves Qualified.*

The General knew this to be an unanſwerable Argument, (and it was for this reaſon he preſſed for a new *Parliament* on any terms) but was unwilling to hear more diſcourſe of this kind, and therefore told them, *Nothing was more injurious to Diſcipline, than their meeting in Military Councils to interpoſe in Civil things.* And from that time he forbad them to aſſemble again; and within a few days after, that is to ſay, on the 17th of *March*, the Parliament by Act diſſolved it ſelf, having before ſummoned a *Parliament* to ſucceed them the twenty fifth day of *April* following; and paſſed *two Votes* to keep the *Royal Party* out of both *Houſe* and *Army*. The firſt concerning the *Militia*, where no perſons was to be admitted for a *Commiſſioned Officer*, without declaring in theſe words following. *I do acknowledge and declare, that the War undertaken by both Houſes of Parliament in their defence, againſt the Forces raiſed in the name of the late King, was Juſt and Lawful; and that Magiſtracy, and Miniſtry, are the Ordinances of God.* Secondly, *Reſolved, that all and every Perſon who have adviſed, or voluntarily aided, abetted or aſſiſted in any War againſt the Parliament, (ſince the firſt day of* January 1641.) *his, or their Sons, unleſs he or they have ſince manifeſted their good affections to this Parliament, ſhall be uncapable to be elected to ſerve as Members of the next Parliament.* The *Royal Party*, who had ſuffered ſo much in the *Defence* and *Service* of the *Government*, and who had behaved themſelves ſo Honourably in their endeavours of extinguiſhing all *Animoſities*, upon this hopeful change of Affairs; little, I ſay, did they expect to ſee *themſelves turn'd out of Doors* by ſuch a preclusion from *Publick Office*, or *Imployment*, upon the very *Teſt* of their *Fidelity* to their *Sovereign*. But Theſe Votes were little heeded by the *Electors*, the People having ſo great an eſteem for the *Royal Party*, that almoſt generally whereſoever they ſtood, they carried it; and kept their places too in the Houſe of Commons, notwithſtanding a contrivance there alſo, to have ejected them after they were met.

Mounſieur

The Conference between Monsieur de Bordeaux, and Commissary Clarges.

Mounsieur de Bordeaux the French Embassador then Resident in *London*, was very desirous to interess Cardinal *Mazarini*, in this great Revolution of Government, and having had acquaintance with *Clarges*, expected by him to discover all the Generals Designs, and in order thereunto, sent his Secretary to him, *To desire him to move the General, to have Licence to give him a visit, and to confer about some overtures he had to make to him.*

Clarges, upon this intimation, went to the Embassador, who carried him into his Closet, and they two being alone, he told him, 'That is was 'visible to all, that the General had some great 'Design in projection, and that most wise men 'believed it was, either to advance himself to the 'Monarchy of these Nations, or introduce the 'King; and that in either of these, he had the advantage of being more serviceable to him then 'any other; for if he should use any *Englishman* 'in so important an Intrigue, if he should not 'have success, that would be brought in evidence 'against him to his destruction: Whereas he as 'a stranger, and a publick Minister could not 'be questioned. He further said, What he propos'd, was not only in reverence to himself, but 'to Cardinal *Mazarini*, who would be glad to 'have the honour of his friendship, assist him 'faithfully in all his purposes. He said moreover, 'That he could not undertake to determine, 'Whether it was not best for him to dignifie his 'Family with the Empire of these Kingdoms, or 'to restore the King to them; They were both 'actions of much glory; and if the latter were as 'easie, the honour of it would be as great: But 'that he might be confident of the Cardinal he 'did assure him, that *Oliver Cromwel* kept so strict 'a League with him, that he did not assume the 'Government without his privity, and was directed step by step by him in the progress of that 'action: And therefore, if he resolved on that 'course, he should not only have the Cardinals 'friendship and counsel in the attempt, but a safe 'retreat and honourable support in *France*, if he 'failed in it. Or if he would admit the King, and 'put them anner of it into the Cardinals hands, 'whatever he would desire for himself of Security, or honour from the Crown, he would undertake to obtain, and in such a manner, that it 'should rather seem by the Cardinals advice, 'then his particular Inclinations; and the King 'would gladly receive it, and *France* should be 'the place to which (if he agreed) the King 'should presently retreat; where he should have 'a Train provided proportionable to his greatness, that his People here might, with greater 'Reverence, apply themselves to him; and by 'this way (he said) the General might not only 'oblige the King of *England*, but the King his 'Master also, by making him a Mediator and Instrument in his Restauration.

To this *Clarges* answered, That the matter 'was too deep for him to be involv'd in, in regard (as he himself had acknowledged) of the 'danger of having such a secret known to any 'second Person a Native of *England*.

'But nevertheless, to satisfie him, he assured 'him, That the General did not intend to take 'upon him the Government, but submit all to 'the determination of the next Parliament.

He then Replyed, 'That a Parliament in *Eng-* 1659.
'*land* was a kind of tumultuary Council, so vari-
'ous in their Debates, that no certain measure 'could be taken from them, & therefore for not 'taking this course which he advis'd, he might 'be hurried by their froward proceedings, to 'some sudden Enterprise, neither safe for himself, 'nor good for the people; & that with him, in a-'ny misfortune, all his Relations would be ruin'd.

To this Conference, *Clarges* put an end, by telling him, 'He would take a suddain occasion 'to sound the Generals Inclinations, and though 'he would not directly tell him what had pass'd 'betwixt them, he should nevertheless guess, 'whether it might be fit for him to impart it 'to him; the only difficulty that remain'd, was 'the Generals want of the *French*-Tongue; 'Which the Ambassador said, 'Was not neces-'sary, for, that he had *English* enough to be un-'derstood, and to understand all that should be 'said to him; and thus they parted.

The General refuseth to treat with the Embassador, or the Cardinal.

Clarges told all that pass'd to Mr. *Morrice*, and to the General himself, who absolutely refus'd to have any Commerce with the Ambassador or the Cardinal; nevertheless, that he might not appear uncivil, he was contented to receive his Visit, but on Condition, *That he should not propose any thing to him in reference to the publick Affairs of Government.*

This was signified to the Ambassador, and he came that Evening to complement the General, making great professions of his Services to him, on all occasions, without descending to particulars.

The manner of Sir *John Greenvil's* application to the General.

Much more successful was the Application made by Sir *John Greenvil*, who being an active Agent for the King, and a neer Kinsman to the General, was therefore by his Majesty thought a fit person to be imployed to him; but he knowing the wary temper of the General, was much troubled how to get access to him; till bethinking himself of Mr. *Morrice*, his Neighbour in the Countrey, a person often conversant with the General, he concluded by his mediation to do it, and thereupon requested him to let the General know he had something of great Importance to impart to him, and desired he would give him the opportunity to do it.

When Mr. *Morrice* inform'd the General of this, he receiv'd it with much strangeness; for althought Sir *John* was his near Relation, yet by reason of his youth, and the Generals long absence from his Countrey, they had little acquaintance with each other, and therefore he told Mr. *Morrice*, *Except he would send him information by him, of the nature of his business, he could not admit of any intercourse with him.*

Mr. *Morrice* told him, *He had already desired to know that, but* Greenvil *refused it.* The General in his mind, liked well of this reservedness in Sir *John*, and bid Mr. *Morrice* acquaint him, *That if he came the next day at nine in the evening to St.* James's, *he would speak with him.* And accordingly *Greenvil* came to him, at the appointed time, which was the next evening, after the dissolution of the Parliament.

His Reception.

When he came, after he had requested Pardon for the Importunity of his visit, he desired his permission to deliver a Message he had to him from

1659. from his Majesty. The General seem'd surpriz'd at this saying; but seeing that there was no body in the Room but Mr. *Morrice*, and he at a good distance from them, he bid him say what he pleas'd.

He delivers his Message.

He then presented to him a Letter from the King, and told him, 'That his Majesty had great 'Confidence in his affections to him, and since 'he had complyed so far with the desires of all 'the sober part of the Kingdom, for the admis-'sion of the Secluded Members, in order to a 'free Parliament; The consequences of that 'could not but give sufficient evidence of his In-'clinations to his Majesties Service and Restitu-'tion, which would naturally flow from his En-'deavours, in Conjunction with their Councels.

The General's Answer.

The General replyed, 'That he had long la-'mented the miserable distraction of his Native 'Countrey, and waited a fit occasion to contri-'bute his assistance to the Redemption of it. 'And when *Lambert* and those with him had in-'terrupted the *Parliament*; Considering that the 'Army had been newly in a great measure by 'that *Parliament* modell'd, he supposed by a De-'claration for their Restitution he might gain a 'Power in his hands for better purposes, and, as 'the better to bring these his purposes about, he 'resolv'd if by his Arms the *Parliament* should 'be restored, together, with those few Members 'which sate at their interruption, to admit those 'also who had been secluded; intending to that 'end, by degrees, to put his Army into such 'hands as would favour his intentions: That it 'was well known to all, How he was disappoin-'ted in that design, and through what difficul-'ties he arrived to the Station he was then in, 'nor was he even at that time secure from great 'danger of disappointment, if he should not man-'age his Affairs with more than ordinary secresie.

'As to the Kings Majesty (he said) None wish'd 'him greater felicity than he, nor desired his Re-'stauration with more passion; but if it were not 'cautiously attempted, it would be out of his 'Power to serve him in it, since in Counsels of so 'nice concernment, there would not be room for 'two Errors. The People he told him, had been 'long seduc'd by seditious insinuations, and the 'Army in the hands of such, as had always been 'against his Royal Father, and many of them e-'ven against Monarchy it self; but nevertheless, 'he hoped, if they might find the same security 'under his Majesties Government, as they had 'under the Usurpers of it, he might not despair 'of their reduction to obedience. And to effect 'this, it was his humble advice, that his Majesty 'should prevent their fears, by declaring a free 'and general Pardon to all his Subjects, and en-'gage himself to give it under the Great-Seal, to 'all that should submit to his Authority, except 'such as should be exempted by the *Parliament*.

'And that he would consent to any *Act* or *Acts* 'of *Parliament*, that should be presented to him 'for the settlement of publick Sales and Dispo-'sitions of Lands, to Officers, Souldiers, and o-'thers; and the payment of the Souldiers Ar-'rears; As also for toleration of Liberty of Con-'science to all his Subjects; And that none should 'be punished for differences in matters of Reli-'gion who should not disturb the publick Peace.

A farther discourse between them confirming the sincerity of the General's Intentions

Sir *John* asked him, 'What he would give 'him in Command for himself, and if he would 'write to his Majesty? Which he excused at 'that time, saying, 'If his Letter should be in-'tercepted before he had compleated the Refor-'ming the Armies, it would be impossible for 'him to keep them in temper, or hinder the 'subversion of all he had hitherto done; Adding, 'That he sought not his own advantage in his 'Endeavours for the publick benefit of his Coun-'try; and that having with much hazard, brought 'matters near to a fair issue, in pursuance of the 'general suffrage of the Nations, he was unwil-'ling, by indiscretion, to venture a relapse, but 'would choose to involve himself in the same 'Condition with the generality of the People, 'in expectation of what the next *Parliament* 'should bring forth, to the happiness of his Ma-'jesty, and all his Kingdoms.

Sir *John Greenvile* writ down the substance of this Discourse, and repeated it to the General, to be the better able to retain it in his Memory; but as soon as he had read it, he entreated him to tear it in pieces, and conjur'd him to acquaint no person whatsoever with their Conference, except the King himself, and to request him also to conceal it. But above all things, he intreated him, *To desire his Majesty from him, to go out of the King of* Spains *Dominions to* Breda, *or some other place under the Government of the States of the United Provinces; for that he had certain Intelligence, he would be detained by the King of* Spain's *Ministers, if he stayed in his Dominions.*

And at Sir *John*'s Parting from him, he told him, *He was glad that this occasion of presenting his Duty to the King, was an effect of his diligence, whom he was glad to find so industrious and vigilant in his Masters Service: of which he had before some experience when his Brother* Nicholas *came from him into* Scotland.

Sir *John* takes his Journey towards *Bruxels.*

He promis'd to observe all the General's Instructions; and when he came to *Ostend* (where he arriv'd the 23d. of *March*) he put all that had passed betwixt them into Writing, and digested it into form, to be presented to his Majesty. And in the Conduct of the whole affair, he was so secret, that the Lord *Mordant*, who went over with him to his Majesty, knew nothing of it.

He gives his Majesty an account of his Negotiation, and the effects thereof.

At *Bruxels* he retired to a private house, to which his Majesty (upon intimation) very secretly repaired, and with great satisfaction receiv'd the Inteligence he brought, but because he could not prosecute the General's desire (as to his removal) without advice for the manner of executing it, he consulted the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, being persons in whom, from just reason and experience, he had most intire confidence, by whose assistance the matter was so order'd, that in two or three days, he took his Journey to *Breda*; where we shall leave his Majesty in Consultation to return to the Transactions in *England* of that busie time.

The King removes to *Breda.*

The Council of State took care to have the Act put in speedy execution throughout *England*, for the Election of Members to serve in *Parliament*, and for putting the Militia into sober hands: And because many seditious People were endeavouring to debauch the Army, they published

The Council of State set forth a Proclamation for the preventing of tumults and disturbances.

lished a Proclamation to forbid all Persons whatsoever, to correspond with any of the Officers & Souldiers of the Army in the way of agitating, or otherwise, whereby any dissatisfaction might be raised towards the present Government, to endanger the Peace of the Nation, giving power to all Officers, both Military and Civil, to seize upon any Persons offending as aforesaid: And for the better encouragement of all whom it should concern, they declared and promised to give to the discoverer of any such person, who should apprehend and secure such offenders, the summe of ten pounds. And this Proclamation was ordered to be published in the Head of every Regiment, Troop and Company of the Army, to the intent, the same should be the better taken notice of, and put in more effectual execution: And the General sent it to every Regiment to be proclaimed accordingly. But this did not sufficiently prevent the ill humours amongst the Souldiers, which made Commissary *Clarges* consult privately with the General, about some other more effectual course; he propos'd to frame an *Engagement* for all to subscribe, to acquiesce in whatsoever the next *Parliament* should do, and to displace all that should refuse: His Lordship liked very well of this Proposition, but thought it very hard to be executed; nevertheless, he encouraged him to go on, and that night alone he fram'd it, and immediately advis'd with Colonel *Howard*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Mr. *Ansty*, and Colonel *Knight* (who all of them with one consent approved it, being all Persons of great Credit with the General) about putting it in execution. Colonel *Knights* undertook by the next day at noon, to get it Signed by all the Officers of his own Regiment, and the Generals Regiment of Horse, and the Life-Guard; & Colonel *Howard* did the like for his Regiment which lay about *Croydon*, for he had so modell'd it, that he was sure of all his Officers; all which by the foresaid time being accordingly effected, they met together at Sir *Anthony Ashley Coopers* Lodging, and glad to see their business so well advanc'd by the subscription of these three Regiments, they, in the next place, thought it expedient to have the Officers of all the Regiments, in *London*, to be summon'd to meet that Evening at St. *James's*, which was accordingly done: and they being all met, It was mov'd to them by Colonel *Knight*,

That at this time, when several Imputations lay upon the Army of Inconstancy, and that many Disaffected Persons were endeavouring to divide them, it was requisite they should give some publick testimony of their Affections and Inclinations, and in order thereunto, some Officers having shew'd him an Address, which they had framed to be presented to the General, to testifie their Resolution of Obedience and Duty to the Powers God hath placed over them; He could not but approve so well of it, as readily by himself, and all his Officers, to give their Attestations to it, and some more had done the like, it being intended by those who had first advis'd it, to be tendered to every Regiment of the Army; of which, there being a great part here, they had by the Generals Permission invited them thither, to communicate what was done, and to desire their Concurrence with them in it.

Colonel *Knight* and *Clarges* had before prepared most of the Officers of the Regiments which came from *Scotland*, so that they made no difficulty of it, especially seeing a Subscription of other Regiments to induce them: Moreover, it was intimated, That their Meeting was by the privity and permission of the General, which Obligation they knew none would offer to oppose. The Address was immediately read, being in these Words:

1659.

The Form of the Armies engagement.

WEE *the Officers of the* Army *under your* Excellencies *Command, whose Names are hereunto written, being truly sensible of the merciful and wonderful Providence of* Almighty God, *in bringing Us, after so many* Revolutions *and* Changes, *into an hopeful way of Settlement; and perceiving, to our great grief, that there are too many, who seeking more their own private Interest, than the Publick Good, are endeavouring to reduce us again to our old* Necessities *and* Confusions; *and that they have proceeded so far, as to cause Jealousies in the* Council of State, *in whom the* Supream Power *and* Trust, *now, till the Meeting of the* Parliament, *is residing, Do hold it our Duties, for the preventing of all such Jealousies for the future, and for the strengthning of your* Excellencies *Hands, in the carrying on of this* Good Work, *in which it hath pleased* God *to make you so highly Instrumental, humbly to make this* Address *unto your* Excellency, *in the Name of our Selves, and all the Souldiers under our Command, and to Declare, That We shall, according to our Duties, carry and behave our selves, as Officers of an Army, instructed by your Examples and Discipline, to obey, and not to dispute the* Orders *of our* Superiours, *and shall freely and readily observe such Commands, as we shall receive from your* Excellency, *or the* Council of State, *or the* Parliament *when Assembled: And in particular, we shall, according to the late* Proclamation *of the* Council of State, *of the seventeenth of* March, *decline any Meeting or Meetings, for the contriving or carrying on of any* Declarations *or* Subscriptions, *concerning* Affairs of State, *or* Government, *thereby avoiding those Mischiefs, which made many lately in Arms, so justly distastful to the People, by making themselves a divided Interest from the rest of them. And we are the more willing to make this* Address *at this time, to evince to all the World the Integrity of our Obedience, because of the great Expectation of the next* Parliament, *from whom we hope for a happy Settlement to all the Nations; And that they may have no ill Apprehensions of Us, We are resolved, as it becomes Us in Duty, to submit to whatsoever the* Lord *shall bring forth from their* Consultations, *knowing that* Parliaments *only can secure Us in our* Religions *and* Civil Rights: *And forasmuch as many* Representations *heretofore made to* Persons *in Eminent Authority, have been too frequently contriv'd in the Name of the* Army, *which were done rather in Formality, (as we perceive by the Event) than otherwise; We do solemnly desire, that this may be Recorded as a Testimony and Witness against Us, if ever We shall be guilty of any such Backslidings.*

The Address signed by all the Officers about *London*; and those of two other Regiments

At that very time, this *Engagement* was signed by Lieutenant Colonel *Morgan*, and all the Officers of the Generals Regiment of Foot; by Colonel *Hubblethorn*, and all the Officers of his Regiment; by Colonel *Cloberry*, Colonel *Lydcott*, Colonel *Read*, and the rest, with all their

Commissary *Clarges* draws up an Engagement to be subscrib'd for acquiescing in the determinations of the next Parliament

The Officers of three Regiments subscribe it.

The substance of Colonel *Knights* Speech to the Officers at St. *James's*, incouraging them to subscribe the Engagement.

1660. their Officers; which made up in all, with those that had sign'd before, Ten Regiments of Horse and Foot, besides the Life-guard, and all the General Officers. Also, Colonel *Fairfax*, and Colonel *Bathel*, who upon the first Consultation of this Matter had been sent unto, in four days had return'd the Subscriptions of themselves, and all their Officers; after which it was agreed, That Colonel *Howard*, with fourty Officers, should present it to the General, which was done at St. *James*'s the 9th. Day of *April*, and was with much satisfaction and content received by him: It was also afterwards recommended to Major-General *Morgan* in *Scotland*, to have it subscribed by his Officers there, and likewise to all the Regiments in *England*, with an Accompt of what had bin done in *London*, and the Names of all those Regiments that had concur'd in it.

Presented to the General by Col. *Howard*. Sent into *Scotland* to M. General *Morgan*.

And because he heard that some disaffected Persons were tampering to seduce the Souldiers in *Scotland*, he sent another Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot thither, who were of such as Major General *Morgan* might confide in, to assist him, if need were, to model the rest. In conclusion, this Address was subscribed by all the Regiments, and the Subscriptions return'd to the General; only some Officers refus'd it, and were immediately displac'd, and the General took that opportunity, of giving to the Lord *Faulconbridge*, Colonel *Rossiter*, and General *Mountagne*, to each of them a Regiment of Horse, and to Colonel *Sheffield* a Regiment of Foot. And whilst he was thus employ'd in ordering the Army, the Council of State was active in forming the *Militia*, in all the Cities and Counties of *England* and *Walet*, wherein such care was taken, to have the Arms in good Hands, that from all Parts the Lists of the Officers were sent to the *Council of State*, to be by the General and them approv'd.

Two more Regiments sent to *Scotland*.

All disaffected Officers displac'd, and others put in their rooms.

These preparations engaged many Factious People to design against the Government, insomuch, that on the Evening of that Day, wherein Colonel *Howard* presented the above-mentioned Address to the General, Colonel *Lambert* having made an Escape out of the Tower, was conceal'd by some of that Party, that had been lately ingaged against General *Monk*, and some others of Fanatick Principles: These held a Council in *London*, but were not so private in their Consultations, but the General had from time to time intimation of much of their Proceedings. They sent some busie men to all the Regiments in *England*, and these Officers that refus'd the *Address*, had inticed many of the Troopers to steal after them; but such was the vigilance of the rest of the Officers, that there got not above Seven or Eight Troops of Horse in a Body to joyn with *Lambert*, and but one Company of Foot.

Lambert escapes out of the Tower.

On *Wednesday* the 18th. of *April*, the General, upon Advice from Colonel *Streater* of *Lamberts* hovering in the *North*-Parts, and of the want of Horse in his Quarters, sent for Colonel *Ingoldsby* to him, and told him, He must be at *Northampton* with his Regiments on the *Saturday* following; and that he should receive Orders to take any of Colonel *Rossiter*'s Troops to his Assistance, which quartered in those Parts: He also told him, That Colonel *Streater*, a Person whom he could Trust, was with some of his Companies at *Northampton*, whom he would find ready to joyn with him. The Colonel told him, *That his Regiment was dispersed in* Norfolk *and* Suffolk, *but he would do his endeavours to get them together*. And he was so diligent herein, that by the *Fryday* following he got his Regiment to *Cambridge*, and on *Saturday* in the Evening to *Northampton*.

The General also sent Colonel *Howard* with his Regiment, and some other select Troops, towards *Worcestershire* and *Warwickshire*, to hinder any Defection of the Troops in those Parts, and to have an Eye towards *Coventry*, which *Lambert* had design'd to Garrison; and indeed he had done it, had not the Care of the General prevented it, by Ordering three Companies of Colonel *Streater*'s Regiment to Quarter in that City: The Colonel also sending one Company more to strengthen that Place, who in their March met with a Party of Horse, among whom was one who having been Major to that Regiment, shewed them *Lambert*'s Orders, to march back again: But the Lieutenant that was intrusted with the Command of that Company, observing the Colonel's Orders, marched intire with great speed, stood upon his defence, and opposed them twice in his march thither.

The Council of State by Proclamation declar'd *Lambert* and his Adherents Traytors, and the General was careful the very next day after his getting out of Prison, to give Notice of it to all the Regiments and Troops, to prevent his Design of seducing them, and to command them to seize on him: By which Diligence, and the sending these Parties out, his Confederates were interrupted in their Endeavours. One *Merry*, a Disbanded discontented Officer of Col. *Smithson*'s Regiment had inticed forty of Captain *Peverel*'s Troop to revolt, with Design to seize on *York*, but by the care of other Troops they were dissipated; and one *Everard*, and Captain *Lockier*, two discontented Officers that had been lately in Custody, and releas'd upon their Engagement, not to act any thing in Disturbance of the Publick Peace, did nevertheless march through *Nottingham*, with a Seditious Troop of their Companions.

The General takes great care for the suppressing of *Lambert*.

Whereof Captain *Sherman* of Colonel *Sanders* his Regiment having notice, drew out his own Troop, and that of Captain *Craddocks* of *Hackers* Regiment, to engage them; but immediately *Craddocks* Troop joyned with the Enemy, which made *Sherman* (finding himself too weak for them) to retreat to *Nottingham*, to secure that place, where the Mayor, Aldermen, and Gentry, gave him ready assistance. This News made the General give Orders, That the late *Address* signed by the Officers, should be tendred to all the private Souldiers also, which made so thorough a Reformation, that in many Regiments Thirty of a Troop disbanded, rather than they would consent to it, and many in the Foot Companies also left their Arms: But in all the General's Regiments in *London*, that marched with him from *Scotland*, there were but two Dissenters.

On *Easter-Eve*, Colonel *Ingoldsby* joyned with Colonel *Streater* at *Northampton* where he was at that time, and had been some days before; The Earl of *Exeter*, who with several Loyal Gentlemen of that County, to the number of near

near one hundred Horſe, with much Reſolution offered to aſſiſt Colonel *Streater*: Likewiſe the Trained Bands of that Town were in Arms at the ſame time, in order to the ſecuring thereof, in a caſe of a neceſſity of Colonel *Streater*'s attending *Lambert*'s Motion; The Colonel purpoſing that Night, if need had been, to have mounted 400 Foot of his Regiment with the Horſes that came into the Town that day (againſt the Fair on *Monday* following) and to have beaten up *Lambert*'s Quarters.

Col. *Ingoldsby* and Col. *Streater* march againſt *Lambert*

On *Eaſter* Day early Intelligence was brought to Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Streater*, That *Lambert* was at *Daventry*; upon which they marched towards him: When they came to *Daventry*, they heard *Lambert* was marched two miles from thence, and therefore haſtened to meet him; which they did in a plain Field, where a little Brook parted them. *Lambert* had with him beſides the Troops of Horſe before mentioned, theſe Perſons, *viz.* Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Axtel*, Colonel *Cobbet*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Young*, Major *Creed*, Captain *Timothy Clare*, Captain *Gregory*, Captain *Spinage*, beſides divers private Souldiers, who were *Anabaptiſts*.

The two Parties fac'd one the other near four hours; during which time, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, and Colonel *Streater* ſpent their time, partly in their vigilant obſervation of the Intention of the Enemy, and partly in encouraging of the Horſe and Foot under their command, whereby they begot a more than ordinary reſolution in both Horſe and Foot: In the mean time, *Lambert* ſent out ſeveral Scouts towards them; but *Ingoldsby* would not permit any of his to leave their Ranks, only he himſelf riding up towards them, had many Diſcourſes with them: *Ingoldsby* was not known to the Scouts, but appearing to them as a private Souldier dealt ſo effectually with them, by laying open the danger of their Action, that 25 Troopers, with a Quarter-Maſter, came over to him. The Colonel diſmounted and diſarm'd them for the preſent, becauſe they were unwilling to engage in his party, but afterwards reſtored their Horſes and Arms to them.

Lambert's delay in Engaging being obſerved by Col. *Streater*, he adviſed that both Horſe and Foot ſhould immediately advance, and put the Buſineſs to an Iſſue, out of the Confidence he had of the Foot eſpecially: And withal deſired Col. *Ingoldsby*, *That if he ſhould be routed, he would rally with what ſpeed he could; For that he ſhould be confident to find the Foot to maintain their Ground.* Colonel *Streater*'s Foot being about Five Hundred; two compleat Companies, the reſt commanded Men out of ſeveral Companies, moſt Pikes, which in that Champion-ground would ſerve well to ſecure the Body againſt the Horſe.

When the two Bodies came near juſt as Col. *Ingoldsby* was going to charge, Colonel *Streater* commanded ſix Files of Muſqueteers to advance, one File gave fire and hurt one or two of *Lambert*'s Horſe; his Drums beat, and in good Order he advanced, having given ſtrict command that his Muſqueteers ſhould not fire till they came as near as puſh of Pike. But *Lambert*'s men held the Noſes of their Piſtols towards the ground, and *Nelthrop*'s Troop came off to *Ingoldsby*; *Haſterig*'s Troop having deſerted him before; for Colonel *Ingoldsby* ſending Captain *Elſmore* before him with a party, as he march'd to find *Lambert*, met Captain *Haſterigg*, and took him priſoner, but releas'd him upon his Parole, to ſend his whole Troop over to joyn with *Ingoldsby*, which he faithfully perform'd, ſending it to them by his Quarter-maſter, but retir'd himſelf: Colonel *Ingoldsby* told *Lambert*, *He was his Priſoner*: Whereupon *Creed* and the reſt earneſtly intreated him, *to do what he pleaſed with them, but to permit* Lambert *to eſcape*; acquainting him, *That his Life could be of no advantage to him*, Which *Ingoldsby* abſolutely refuſed telling them, *He would not be treacherous to thoſe that had commanded him by ſuch an ingenerous Act: Lambert* then turned about his Horſe, and attempted to eſcape, but *Ingoldsby* purſued him ſo cloſe, that he came quickly up to him, and vow'd to piſtol him, if he did not immediately yield. *Lambert* in great depreſſion of Spirit, twice pray'd him to let him eſcape, but when he ſaw he could not prevail, ſubmitted as all the reſt did except *Okey*, *Axtel*, and *Clerk*, who eſcaped.

1660

Defeats his Party, and takes him Priſoner.

General *Montague*, who had been ſome time before by the Generals advice, made one of the Generals at Sea, (General *Monk* being himſelf the other) and ſent to take charge of the Fleet, ſent an accompt to the Council of State, of the condition of it, how that Vice-admiral *Lawſon*, and with him the whole Navy, had received him with great ſatisfaction, and were all fix'd in obedience to their Authority, with reſolution to ſubmit to the Determination of the next Parliament.

Gen. *Montague* acquaints the Council of State with the condition of the Fleet.

The *Tueſday* after this defeat of *Lambert*, all the *Militia* of the City of *London* drew into *Hide-Parke*; there were ſix Trained-Band Regiments, the Red, the White, the Green, the Blew, the Yellow, and the Orange, beſides ſeveral Regiments of Auxiliaries: The Red was commanded by Colonel *Bateman* Alderman, the White by Col. *Wale* Alderman, the Green by Col. *John Robinſon* Alderman, the Blew by Col. *William Vincent*, the Yellow by Col. *William Broomfield*, and the Orange by Col. *Thomas Bloodworth*, all men of courage and good Affections to the Peace and Felicity of their Native Country. They made up in all twelve thouſand Men: The General, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and a great concourſe of Noble-men and Gentlemen, were preſent at the Appearance. And that Evening, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Cobbet*, and Major *Creed*, were brought Priſoners to the Council of State, and committed to the Tower. And the next day the reſt of the Priſoners were brought by Captain *Parry* to the General, and by him committed to the Marſhal-General.

The Appearance of the City *Militia* in *Hide-Parke*.

Col *Lambert*, Col. *Cobbet*, and others ſent Priſoners to the Tower.

The defeat of *Lambert* did not make the Phanatiques leave the purſuit of their Miſchiefs, ſeveral Seditious Pamphlets being publiſhed in Print, to deprave the Minds of the People, and Tickets were thrown into the Courts of Guard in the Night to debauch the Souldiers. But none of them appear'd to have been pen'd with more Virulency and Malice, than that vile ſuppoſititious Paper which they ſcatter'd about, carrying in its Frontice-piece, *A Letter from Bruxels*, &c. with which ſome of his Majeſties moſt implacable Enemies attempted to poyſon, or palliate the now high Expectations, and Impreſſions

Several Seditious pamphlets publiſh'd and diſperſt.

1660. of his good Subjects: and it was in truth ſo fatally tim'd, and ſo ſubtily contriv'd, that it had like to have done a great deal of Miſchief amongſt ſome, who not acquainted with the innate, and unparalell'd inclination of his Majeſty to Clemency, began to apprehend their forwardneſs for his Reſtauration, and to remit of their former zeal: But this *Hydra* was dextrouſly cut off by Mr. *Evelyn*, whom we formerly mention'd, in a Reply which was Printed, to the intire ſatisfaction of all that read it. I take pleaſure to mention the Particular, becauſe upon another occaſion, long before, he publiſh'd, with no ſmall hazard of his Life and Liberty, that his *Apology to the Royal Party*, in anſwer to that *Remonſtrance*, Entituled, *the Plea of the Army*, (contriv'd and ſet forth by that Phanatick Power, immediately upon their Dethroning of *Richard*) as being it ſeems no longer able to ſupport the common, but unjuſt Reproaches of his Majeſties Cauſe, by Arguments deriv'd from their ill Conduct, and Fatal Succeſs of divers of his ſuffering Party; and becauſe I take it to be the boldeſt Piece (not excepting even the famous *Killing no Murther*; written, as we ſince learn, by Captain *Titus*) that ever durſt ſee the light in that raging Period; and for that it was no leſs than thrice re-printed (an Honour which the Pamphlets of that Age did ſeldom arrive to) and obſerv'd to have won more *Proſelytes* to the *King*, than any thing of that nature had done before it; which, was a Service the greateſt that Conjuncture was capable of, and none of the leaſt to his Majeſties Advantage all along; as thoſe who ſhall pleaſe to call to mind the Effects of thoſe Paper-Weapons, muſt needs acknowledge, by warming and inſpiriting the Hearts of an oppreſſed People, in danger of being Poyſon'd by the perpetual Venome of his Majeſties Adverſaries, whoſe *Pens* as well as *Swords*, were daily ſharpened againſt him, but for ſuch ſeaſonable *Antidotes*, as upon all occaſions encountered their *Libels*, and inſidiary Diſcourſes; amongſt which there were alſo ſeveral *Letters* ſent to the *General* from unknown Hands, to ſubvert his Allegiance likewiſe; and to *Clarges* it was written, *That notwithſtanding his Practices, to introduce the King and his Family, all his Endeavours were blaſted by* Morrice, *who had aſcribed to himſelf alone the Reputation of that Service, and diſperſed to all the Royal Party, that he had no Credit with the General, and therefore to him only Application ſhould be made, as to one in whom the General repoſed his greateſt truſt.* But theſe and all other Artifices were too poor to ſubvert the Loyalty of one, who valued not to whom the good of his Services was attributed, if the Effects he deſired were produced by them: But nevertheleſs, theſe Practices, to divide the Generals Friends, made the Council of State, the General, and all his Officers more watchful for the Publick Peace, and more diligent in their Duties: The Officers began more and more to be convinced of their former Errours, by ſeveral publique and private Diſcourſes of the Clemency and other Royal Endowments of his Majeſty: That which they moſt apprehended, was from Rumours which had been diſperſed amongſt them, of the implacability of all thoſe of his Party, of whom it was ſaid, If they had Power they would ſhew themſelves full of Rancour and Revenge againſt all that were ingaged in the late War againſt them: and obſerving that moſt of the Members of Parliament were ſuch, notwithſtanding all the Qualifications for their Elections, many ſtrange Doubts poſſeſſed them; and amongſt other Effects of their Diſeaſed Imaginations, they fancied, the Parliament (when met) would rather hinder, than promote his Majeſties Goodneſs and mercy towards them: But whileſt they were in the midſt of theſe various Inquietudes, the Royal Party, in all the Counties of *England*, publiſhed ſeveral excellent Declarations, which fully ſatisfied and appeaſed their Minds, wherein they Declared, *That they reſolved to adhere to the largeſt Aſſurances of amicable Agreement with all Perſons, and that they would never put any Difference betwixt ſuch as ſhould now unite with them, and thoſe who firſt engaged in the ſame Perſwaſion with themſelves.* Of all which, we ſhall only herein publiſh one, they being all to the ſame purpoſe: It was Intituled,

A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry, that adhered to the late King in and about the City of London; Which was expreſſed in theſe words.

The Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry about *London.*

A*Fter the Miſeries of a Civil War, and the many and fruitleſs Attempts towards Settlement, upon ſeveral Intereſts, and imaginary Forms of Governments, it having pleaſed Almighty God, by unexpected and wonderful means, to give theſe Nations a probable hope of being reſtored to thoſe Laws and Priviledges, which have been tranſmitted to them from their Anceſtors; We do Declare, That we think our ſelves obliged, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this Gracious Work to his Excellency the Lord General* Monck, *who, as he had the Courage to aſſert the Publick Liberty, and the Prudence to carry it on againſt ſo many Difficulties, has alſo had the Happineſs, to lead Us thus far through the Wilderneſs of Confuſion, without paſſing the Red-Sea of Blood: And becauſe the Enemies of the Publique Peace, have endeavoured to repreſent thoſe of the Kings Party, as men implacable, and ſuch as would Sacrifice the Common Good to their own private Paſſions; We do ſincerely profeſs, That we do reflect upon our paſt ſufferings as from the Hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent Thoughts or Inclinations, againſt thoſe who have been any way Inſtrumental in them: And if the Indiſcretion of any hot ſpirited Perſons, tranſports them to Expreſſions contrary to this our ſenſe, we utterly diſclaim them; and deſire, that the Imputation may extend no further, than the fault of the Offenders. And we further Declare, That we intend by our quiet and Peaceable Behaviour, to teſtifie our ſubmiſſion to the preſent Power, as it now reſides in the Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament: upon thoſe Wiſdom and Determinations, we truſt God will give ſuch a Bleſſing, as may produce a perfect Settlement, both in Church and State.*

'And

'And as his Excellency hath not chosen the Sandy Foundations of Self-government, but the firm 'Rock of National Interest, whereon to frame a 'Settlement; It is our hope and prayer, That 'when the Building comes to be raised, it may 'not like *Rome*, have the beginning in the Blood 'of Brethren, nor like *Babel*, be interrupted by 'Confusion of Tongues: but that we may all 'speak one Language, and be of one Name; 'That all mention of Parties and Factions, and 'all Rancour and Animosities may be thrown in, 'and buryed like Rubbish under the Foundation.

Subscribed by

The Marquess of *Dorchester.*
The Earl of *Northampton.*
The Earl of *Devonshire.*
The Earl of *Berkshire.*
The Earl of *Dover.*
The Earl of *Peterborough.*
The Earl of *Norwich.*
The Earl of *Cork.*
The Earl of *Carbery.*
The Earl of *Desmond.*
The Viscount *Ogle.*
The Viscount *Grandison.*
The Viscount *Lumley.*
The Viscount *Brunker.*
The Lord *Belassis.*
The Lord *Loughborrough.*
The Lord *Lexington.*
The Lord *Brereton.*
The Lord *Lucas.*
The Bishop of *Kerry.*
Sir *William Compton.*
Sir *Francis Vane.*
Sir *Tho. Prestwich*, Baronet.
Sir *Orlando Bridgeman.*
Sir *Edward Pye.*
Sir *Lewis Kirke.*
Sir *Thomas Smith.*
Sir *Robert Stapleton.*
Sir *William Coney.*
Sir *Nicholas Crisp.*
Sir *Hugh Cartwright.*
Sir *Sutton Coney.*
Sir *Henry Chichley.*
Sir *William Morton.*
Sir *Edw. Savage.*
Sir *Thomas Armstrong.*
Sir *John Stephens.*
Sir *Humphrey Bennet.*
Sir *William Howard.*
Sir *Henry Wroth.*
Sir *William Dacres.*
Sir *Robert Malevery.*
Sir *Jervace Clifton*, Knight and Baronet.
Sir *William Thorald*, Baronet.
Sir *Thomas Corbet*, Baronet.
Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Baronet.
Sir *Arthur Gorge.*
Sir *Anthony Jackson.*
Sir *Robert Butler.*
George Morley, D. D.
Thomas Warmstry, D. D.
Philip King, D. D.
Jer. Tayler, D. D.
Thomas Howard Esquire.

A

John Russel.
Will. Ashburnham.
Edw. Villers.
Edw. Penruddock.
George Penruddock.
William Legge.
Thomas Lower.
Herbert Price.
Thomas Panton.
Robert Ruthen.
Col. *Fretwell.*
John Jeffries.
Adrian Scroop.
William Burgh.
John Maynard.
Edw. Roscarake.

1660.

This and the other *Declarations* of the same nature, were wholesome Preparations to usher in the *Parliament*, which met at *Westminster*, on the 25th. day of *April*. The Lords chose the Earl of *Manchester* to be their *Speaker*, and the House of Commons Sir *Herbert Grimstone*; where after the appointment of the usual *Committees* for Priviledges, and other essential matters usual at their first Assembling, They gave all due acknowledgments to General *Monk*, for his Eminent Services and great Wisdom in subduing his Enemies without Blood, magnifying the Mercies of God, That made him so Instrumental to keep up the Nations from sinking, when no way appeared whence Deliverance should arise. The Parliament assembles.

Sir *Arthur Hasterig* was by the General suspected to have contributed towards the Insurrection of *Lambert*, but upon notice thereof, he came to him, and gave him evident proofs to the contrary, and promised to live peaceably at home; having before quietly submitted his Regiments of Horse and Foot to the General's disposal, together with the Garrisons of *Berwick*, *Newcastle*, *Carlisle*, and *Tinmouth*. Sir *Arthur Hasterig* being suspected by the General clears himself.

On the 27th. of *April*, Sir *John Greenvill* attended the General, and presented to him a Letter from his Majesty, to be communicated to the Officers of the *Army*, and the *Council of State*, with a Commission from his Majesty to Constitute him *Captain-General of all the Armies of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; Informing him likewise, That he had Letters from his Majesty to both *Houses of Parliament*, the City, and the Navy. Sir *John Greenvill* presents the General with a Commission from his Majesty, and a Letter for the *Council of State.*

His Excellency received the Commission with all Humility and Respect; but in regard the *Parliament* was Adjourn'd for three days, advis'd him the next day to deliver that Letter which was to be by him imparted to the *Council of State*, to the Council at their next Sitting; which he accordingly did, but they would not presume to open it without the *Parliaments* directions, and took caution of Sir *John Greenvill* to attend the *House* at their next Sitting. At which time, by the General's advice, he went, without acquainting them, to the *House of Lords*, to inform them he had a Letter from the King; who being acquainted that Sir *John Greenvill* attended at the door with a Letter from his Majesty, The Earl of *Manchester* went down to the Clerk and received it. The Letter had a *Declaration* inclosed in it; which were both read in the *House*. The Letter first, which was in these words:

(*Viz.*) CHARLES.

CHARLES R.

Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin, and Right Trusty and Welbeloved Cousins, and Trusty and Right Welbeloved; We Greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise Our self an end of our Common Sufferings and Calamities, and that Our Own Just Power and Authority will with Gods Blessing be restored to Us, Than that We hear You are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always belonged to You by Your Birth, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land: And we have thought it very fit and safe for Us to call to you for your help in the Composing the Confounding Distempers and Distractions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to those We have undergone Our Selves; And therefore you cannot but be the most proper Counsellors for removing those Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Trust We repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed Declaration; *Which Trust, We are most confident you will discharge with that Justice and Wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that upon your experience, how one violation succeeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed you will be as Zealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for your selves. And then you cannot but discharge your Trust with good success, and provide for, and establish the Peace, Happiness and Honour of King, Lords and Commons, upon that Foundation which can only support it, and We shall be all happy in each other. And the whole Kingdom will bless God for you all, for we shall hold Our Self obliged in an especial manner to Thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards Us. We need add no more to you upon this Subject, because We have likewise writ to the* House of Commons, *Which We suppose they will communicate to you. And We pray God to bless your Joynt Endeavours for the good of us all. And so We bid you Heartily farewel.*

Given at Our Court at *Breda*, this 14 day of *April*, 1660. In the Twelfth Year Our Reign.

The *Declaration* was next read, which was Intituled,

His Majesties gracious Declaration to all His *loving Subjects.*

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Declaration

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the general Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing, that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all We can say will be to no purpose. However after this long silence, We have thought it Our Duty to declare how much We desire to contribute thereunto? And that as we can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the possession of that Right which God and Nature hath made Our due; so we do make it Our daily Suit to the *Divine Providence*, that he will, in Compassion to Us and our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit, and put Us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to our People as is possible. Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is Ours, then that all Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and intire administration of Justice thorowout the Land, and by extending Our Mercy where it is wanted and deserv'd.

'And to the end that the fear of Punishment may not engage any Conscious of themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country in the Restoration both of *King, Peers*, and *People*, to their Just, Ancient, and Fundamental Rights, We do by these Presents declare, That We do grant a *Free and General Pardon*, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under Our Great Seal of *England*, to all Our Subjects of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publique Act declare their doing so, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; Excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by *Parliament*: Those only excepted, Let all our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever committed against Us, or Our Royal Father before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question, against any of them, to the least Endamagement of them either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) so much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any reproach, or term of distinction from the rest of any of Our best Subjects; We desiring and ordaining, That henceforth all Notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, be utterly abolished among all Our Subjects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves, under our Protection, for the resettlement of Our Just Rights and Theirs, in a *Free Parliament*, by which upon the Word of a King We will be advised.

'And because the passion and uncharitablenes of the times have produced several Opinions in Religion, by which men are ingaged in Parties and Animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of Conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, And that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kindom, and that We shall be ready to consent to such an *Act of Parliament*, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to Us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

And

'And because in the continued distractions of 'so many Years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have 'been made to and by many Officers, Souldiers, 'and others, who are now possessed of the same, 'and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon 'several Titles; we are likewise willing that all 'such differences and all things relating to the 'said Grants, Sales and Purchases, shall be determined in *Parliament*, which can best provide for 'the Just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

'And we do further declare, that We will be 'ready to consent to any *Act* or *Acts of Parliament* to the purposes aforesaid, And for the full 'satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers 'and Souldiers of the Army, under the Command 'of General *Monk*, and that they shall be received into our Service upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet at our Court at Breda *this* 14 *day of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.*

After the Reading of these, the Lords Ordered Thanks to be given to Sir *John Greenvil*, for bringing that Gracious Declaration and Letter, and Resolv'd by Vote, *That they do own and declare, That according to the Ancient and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords and Commons.*

The Vote of the House of Lords upon the reading of the Kings Letter and Declaration.

Sir *John Greenvill* came then to the *House of Commons*, who were before his Coming acquainted with the Letter he delivered to the Council; upon Notice of his being at the Door, he was admitted, and presented a Letter to them from his Majesty. The Letter had in it a Duplicate of the same *Declaration* which was inclosed in the Letter to the *Lords*: The Letter and it were both read, and the Letter was Superscribed;

'To Our Trusty and Well-beloved, the *Speaker* of the *House of Commons*.

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the House of Commons.

'TRusty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well. 'In these great an insupportable afflictions 'and Calamities under which the poor Nation 'hath been so long exercised, and by which it is 'so near exhausted, We cannot think of a more 'natural and proper Remedy, than to resort to 'those for Counsel and Advice, who have seen and 'observed the first beginning of our Miseries, the 'Progress from bad to worse, than the mistakes 'and misunderstandings which have produced 'and contributed to Inconveniences which were 'not intended, and after so many Revolutions, 'and the observation of what hath attended them, 'are now trusted by Our good Subjects to repair 'the Breaches which are made, and to provide, 'proper Remedies for these Evil, and for the 'lasting Peace, Happiness and Security of the 'Kingdom.

'We do assure you upon Our Royal Word, 'That none of Our Predecessors have had a greater Esteem of *Parliaments*, than we have in Our 'Judgment, as well as from our Obligations; We 'do believe them to be so vital a part of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for 'the Government of it, that We well know neither *Prince* nor *People* can be in any tolerable degree happy without them: And therefore you 'may be confident, That we shall always look 'upon their Counsels as the best We can receive, 'and shall be as tender of their Priviledges, and 'as Careful to preserve and protect them, as of 'that which is most neer to Our Self, and most 'necessary for Our Own Preservation. 1660.

'And as this is Our Opinion of *Parliament*, 'That their Authority is most necessary for the 'Government of the Kingdom: So We are most 'Confident, that You believe and find, that the 'preservation of the Kings Authority is as necessary for the preservation of *Parliaments*; and 'that it is not the Name but the right Constitution of them, which can prepare and apply proper 'Remedies for those Evils which are grievous to 'the People, and which can thereby establish their 'Peace and Security. And therefore we have not 'the least doubt, but that you will be as Tender 'in, and as Jealous of, any thing that may infringe Our Honour, or impair Our Authority, 'as of your own Liberty and Property; which 'is best preserv'd by preserving the other.

'How far We have trusted You in this great 'Affair, and how much it is in your Power to restore the Nation to all that it hath lost, and 'to redeem it from any Infamy it hath undergone, 'and to make *King* and *People* as happy as they 'ought to be, You will find by Our inclosed *Declaration*, a Copy of which We have likewise sent 'to the *House of Peers*; and you will easily believe that We would not voluntarily, and of 'Our Self have reposed so great a Trust in you 'but upon an intire Confidence that you will not 'abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a 'manner, and with such due consideration of Us 'who have trusted you, that we shall not be asham'd of declining other Assistance (which We 'have assurance of) and repairing to you for more 'natural and proper Remedies for the Evils We 'would be freed from, nor sorry that We have 'bound up Our Own Interest so intirely with 'that of Our Subjects, as that we refer it to the 'same Persons to take care of Us, who are trusted to provide for them.

'We look upon you as wise and dispassionate 'Men, and good Patriots, who will raise up those 'Banks and Fences which have been cast down, & 'who will most reasonably hope, that the same 'Prosperity will again spring from those Roots 'from which it hath heretofore & always grown; 'Nor can we apprehend that you will propose any 'thing to Us, or expect any thing from Us, but 'that We are as ready to give as you to receive.

'If you desire the Advancement and Propagation of the Protestant Religion, We have, by 'Our constant profession and Practice of it, given sufficient Testimony to the World, that neither the unkindness of those of the same Faith 'towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations 'from those of a contrary Profession, (of both 'which We have had abundant Evidence) could

in

1660 'in the leaſt degree ſtartle Us, or make Us Swerve 'from our zeal and affection for it, to which We 'will not readily conſent. And we hope in due 'time Our ſelf to propoſe ſomething to you for 'the Propagation of it, that will ſatisfie the 'World, that We have always made it both Our 'Care and Our Study, and have enough Obſerved 'what is moſt like to bring diſadvantage to it.

'If you deſire ſecurity for theſe, who in theſe 'Calamitous times either wilfully or weakly have 'tranſgreſſed thoſe bounds which were preſcri- 'bed, and have invaded each others Rights, We 'have left to you to provide for their Security and 'Indempnity, and in ſuch a way as you ſhall think 'Juſt and Reaſonable; And by a Juſt Computa- 'tion of what men have done, and ſuffered, as 'near as is poſſibly, to take care that all men be 'ſatisfied, which is the ſureſt way to ſuppreſs and 'extirpate all ſuch uncharitableneſs and animoſi- 'ty, as might hereafter ſhake and threaten that 'Peace which for the preſent might ſeem Eſta- 'bliſhed.

'If there be a crying Sin for which the Nati- 'on may be involv'd in the infamy that attends 'it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as ſo- 'licitous to Redeem and Vindicate the Nation 'from the Guilt and Infamy, as we can be.

'If you deſire that Reverence and Obedience 'may be paid to the fundamental Law of the 'Land, and that Juſtice may be equally and im- 'partially adminiſtred to all men, it is that which 'We deſire to be ſworn to our Self, and that all 'Perſons in Power and Authority, ſhould be ſo 'too.

'In a word, there is nothing which you can 'propoſe, that may make the Kingdom happy, 'which We will not contend with you to com- 'paſs; and upon this Confidence and Aſſurance, 'we have thought fit to ſend you this Declaration, 'that you may, as much as is poſſible, at this di- 'ſtance, ſee Our heart, which when God ſhall 'bring Us nearer together (as we hope he will do 'ſhortly) will appear to you very agreeable to 'what We have profeſſed; and we hope that We 'have made that right Chriſtian Uſe of Our Af- 'fliction, and that the Obſervation and experience 'We have had in other Countries, hath been ſuch, 'as that We, and We hope all Our Subjects, 'ſhall be the better for that We have ſeen and 'ſuffered.

'We ſhall add no more, but our Prayers to *Al- 'mighty God*, that He will ſo bleſs your Counſels, 'and direct your endeavours, that his Glory and 'Worſhip may be provided for, and the Peace, 'Honour and Happineſs of the Nation may be e- 'ſtabliſhed upon thoſe Foundations which can 'beſt ſupport it. And ſo we bid you farewel,

Given at Our Court at Breda, *this* 14 *day of* April, 1660. *In the twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

After the reading of this Letter and the Declaration, his Excellency the Lord General deſired the Letter that was directed to him, to be Communicated to the Council and the Army, might alſo be read, which was agreed. In that Letter there was alſo the former Declaration incloſed, and the Addreſs of the Letter was:

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved General Monk, *to be by him Communicated to the Preſident and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.*

CHARLES R:

His Majeſties Letter to the General, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army, and Council of State.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well: It cannot be believ'd, but that We have 'been, are, and ever muſt be, as ſolicitous as 'We can, by all endeavours to improve the af- 'fections of Our good Subjects at home, and to 'procure the aſſiſtance of Our Friends and Allies 'abroad, for the recovery of that Right, which 'by the Laws of God and Man is unqueſtionable, 'and of which We have been ſo long diſpoſſeſſed, 'by ſuch force, and with thoſe Circumſtances, as 'We do not deſire to aggravate by any ſharp ex- 'preſſions, but rather wiſh, that the memory of 'what is paſſed, may be buried to the World: 'That we have more endeavoured to prepare, and 'to improve the Affections of Our Subjects at 'home, for Our Reſtauration, than to procure 'Aſſiſtance from abroad, to invade either of Our 'Kingdoms, is as manifeſt to the World, and We 'cannot give a better Evidence, that We are ſtill 'of the ſame mind, than in this Conjuncture, when 'common reaſon muſt ſatisfie all men, that We 'cannot be without Aſſiſtance from abroad, We 'choſe rather to ſend to you, who have it in your 'own power to prevent that Ruine and deſolati- 'on which a War would bring upon the Nation, 'and to make the whole Kingdom owe the 'Peace, Happineſs, Security, and Glory it ſhall 'enjoy to your Vertue; and to acknowledge that 'your Armies have complied with their Obliga- 'tions for which they were firſt raiſed, for the 'preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, the Ho- 'nour and Dignity of the King, the Priviledges 'of *Parliament*, the Liberty and Property of the 'Subject, and the fundamental Laws of the Land; 'and that you have vindicated that Truſt, which 'others moſt perfidiouſly abuſed and betrayed.

'How much we deſire and Reſolve to contri- 'bute to thoſe good ends, will appear to you by 'Our encloſed Declaration, which We deſire you 'to cauſe to be publiſhed for the Information and 'Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who do not de- 'ſire a further effuſion of precious Chriſtian 'Blood, but to have their Peace and ſecurity 'founded upon that which can only ſupport it; 'an Unity of Affections amongſt our ſelves, an 'equal adminiſtration of Juſtice to men, reſto- 'ring *Parliaments* to a full Capacity of provi- 'ding for all that is amiſs, and the Laws of the 'Land to their due Veneration.

'You have been your ſelves witneſſes of ſo 'many Revolutions, and have had ſo much ex- 'perience, how far any Power and Authority 'that is only aſſum'd by Paſſion and Appetite, 'and not ſupported by Juſtice, is from providing 'for the happineſs and peace of the People, or 'from receiving any obedience from them, with- 'out which no Government can provide for 'them; and that you may very reaſonably be- 'lieve, that God hath not been ſo well pleaſed 'with the attempts that have been made, ſince he 'hath uſually increaſed the confuſion, by giving 'all the ſucceſs that hath been deſired, and

brought

'brought that to pass without effect, which the 'designers have propos'd as the best means to 'settle and Compose the Nation: And therefore 'We cannot but hope and believe, that you will 'concur with us in the Remedy, We have ap- 'plyed, which to humane understanding, is only 'proper for the ills We all groan under; and that 'you will make your selves the Blessed Instru- 'ments to bring this Blessing of Peace and Re- 'conciliation upon *King* and *People*; it being the 'usual method in which Divine Providence de- 'lighteth it self, to use and sanctifie those very 'means which ill Men design for the satisfaction 'of private and particular ends and ambition, 'and other wicked purposes, to wholsome and 'publick ends, and to establish that good which 'is most contrary to the designers: which is the 'greatest manifestation of *God*'s particular kind- 'ness to a Nation that can be given in this world. 'How far we resolve to preserve your Interests, 'and reward your Services, We refer to Our 'Declaration, And we hope *God* will inspire you 'to perform your duty to Us, and to your Na- 'tive Country, whose happiness cannot be sepa- 'rated from each other.

'We have intrusted Our Well-beloved Ser- 'vant Sir *John Greenvill*, one of the Gentlemen of 'Our Bed-Chamber, to deliver this unto you, 'and to give us an accompt of your reception 'of it, and to desire you, that it may be pub- 'lished. And so we bid you farewel.

Given at our Court at Breda *this* 14 *of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.*

After the Reading of these Letters, his Excellency desired their permission to answer it, and to Communicate that his Majesties Declaration to the Officers of the Army; which was readily consented to.

The Parliament present his Majesty and his two Brothers, with the Sum of 65000 l.

And then they took into their Consideration, That his Majesty having been deprived of his Revenue, could not but be in want of Monies; and therefore Ordered, That the Sum of Fifty thousand pounds should be presently raised and presented to his Majesty from that House, and Ten thousand pounds to his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and Five thousand pounds to the Duke of *Glocester*.

The Lords sent down a Message to the Commons, with the Vote of Recognition formerly mentioned, which was agreed to, and each of the Houses appointed Committees to draw up their several Answers to his Majesties Letters, and Resolv'd that the Superscription should be,

To the King's *most Excellent Majesty.*

And the Commons Ordered, That all the Journals should be search'd, and those Acts and Orders razed out, which were inconsistent with the Government of King, Lords and Commons; These were the chiefest Transactions in *Parliament* that day.

Col. *Lydcot*'s Speech upon the reading of his Maiesties Letter and Declaration.

In the Evening his Excellency summoned all his Officers that were in and near the City, and Communicated to them his Majesties Letter and Declaration; upon the reading whereof, Colonel *Lydcot* first spake; addressing himself to his Excellency then present; He said, *They were all bound to bless God for the happiness of that day, which made them Witnesses of his Majesties great goodness and clemency to all his Subjects expressed in that Declaration, and for his particular kindness to them manifested in his most Gracious Letter.* 1660.

He said, *It was most true, that they had been Witnesses of many Revolutions (as it is therein expressed) and experienced to their sorrow the inconveniencies of them; That at the beginning of the Wars, the safety of the Kings Person, Protestant Religion, Privileges of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subjects, were Principles that many good Men with them thought they might safely engage for, but by degrees after they came into Blood, some implacable Spirits improved their Successes to make the Divisions irreparable, and many Men were forc'd to continue their Arms, more for their own Security, than the Justice of them:* But that which was his comfort, and ought to be all theirs, was, *That they had now, by the Prudence of their ever to be honoured General, the opportunity to comply with the Obligations for which they were first raised, and they were these whom his Majesty was pleas'd to own in their Submission to his most Just and Lawful Authority, to be the Instruments to bring the Blessing of Peace and Reconciliation upon the King and People.*

This Speech was approv'd by all them that heard it; but Colonel *Knight* desired they might give some written Testimony of their acknowledgments of his Majesties Authority over them, to be presented to his Excellency the Lord General; *That since his Majesties Letter was by him communicated to them, he might, in his Answer to it, return their humble Sense of it.*

This motion produc'd a Reference to a Committee of Officers, to draw up an Address to his Excellency, in Compliance with his Majesties Letter and Declaration, to be prepared against six of the clock the next morning, and to desire his Excellencies leave, that they might then meet to give their Consents, and subscribe their names to it; which his Excellency readily approved. And the next Morning, the Address being prepared, was read to the Council of Officers, and Signed by them, and presented to his Excellency.

The Title was,

To his Excellency the Lord General *Monk*, Captain General of all the Armies and Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and one of the Generals at Sea.

The humble Address of the Officers of your Excellencies Army, in the Name of themselves and their Brethren.

The Officers Address to his Excellency, in Compliance with his Majesties Letter and Declaration.

'ALthough we cannot doubt of your Excel- 'lencies Confidence in our Affections, and 'our Faithfulness to your Excellency, and that 'Discipline which by your good and prudent 'Conduct, hath been exercised over us, whereby 'we are instructed to an intire obedience to your 'Excellency, and that Authority which the Lord 'shall place over us, which we hope we have 'manifested in our last Actions under your Ex- 'cellency, against all persons whatsoever, in 'any ways disturbing the Peace and Settlement 'of the Nations; although some of them have

1660. 'been our Brethren formerly engaged in the 'ſame Cauſe with Us. As alſo in our late Re- 'monſtrance and Addreſs to your Excellency, 'wherein as it becomes Us in Duty, we have ſo- 'lemnly declared to acquieſce in what the Lord 'ſhall bring forth from the Conſultations of this 'preſent *Parliament*.

'Yet in regard your Excellency hath been 'pleaſed to communicate to Us, a Letter and 'Declaration from the *Kings Majeſty*, full of gra- 'cious Expreſſions, we cannot but acknowledge 'that the matter of it gives a great meaſure of 'quiet to our minds, and more than ordinary 'expectations of the enjoyment of much tran- 'quility and happineſs under his Majeſties Go- 'vernment.

'The free and general Indempnity offered by 'his Majeſty, with a liberty to tender Conſci- 'ences, ſatisfaction of Arrears, his readineſs to 'conſent to a Confirmation of Sales, and other 'Grants and Purchaſes of Eſtates to all Perſons 'now in poſſeſſion of the ſame, is that of which 'we cannot doubt of the real performance, be- 'ing left by His Majeſty to the *Parliaments* de- 'termination; ſo we believe it is the moſt pro- 'bable way to bring the Nations to their deſired 'Settlement. And we hope to evince to his Maje- 'ſty, and all the world, That we are his *Maje- 'ſties* Loyal Subjects, and that your Excellency, 'and the Armies under your Command, have 'Complyed with the Obligations, for which they 'were firſt raiſed, for the preſervation of the 'true Proteſtant Religion, the Honour and Dig- 'nity of the *King*, the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, 'the *Liberty* and *Proſperity* of the *Subject*, and 'the *Fundamental Laws* of the *Land*.

It is ready by the Commons, and approved.

In the morning, at the firſt ſitting of the Commons-Houſe, the General acquainted them that he had communicated his Majeſties Letter, and the Declaration in it encloſed, to the Officers of the Army; and that thereupon they had preſented an Addreſs to him, which he deſired they would be pleaſed to read, which was ordered, and after the reading, it was well approved of.

Commiſſary Clarges appointed by the General to wait upon his Majeſty with this Addreſs.

His Excellency then told them, *He intended to prepare a Letter, to be ſent to his Majeſty, and did with their leave, purpoſe to ſend that Addreſs to him, that his Majeſty might thereby perceive, the Armies were at his devotion; and deſigning to ſend it by Commiſſary* Clarges, *who was as well a Member of their Houſe, as an Officer of the Army, he requeſted their permiſſion for him to go.*

The Houſe then Ordered, he ſhould have leave to go from his Excellency to the King; and they gave five hundred Pounds to Sir *John Greenville*, to buy him a Jewel, as a Teſtimony, of the Reſpects of the Houſe to him.

After this Alderman *Robinſon* inform'd them, *That the ſaid Sir* John Greenville, *with the Lord* Mordant, *had preſented a Letter from his Majeſty, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and they Commanded him to ask their leave to return an Anſwer to it.* Which after the reading it in the Houſe was granted; In that Letter alſo his Majeſties Declaration was encloſed: The Letter it ſelf was directedi

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved, the Lord Mayor Aldermen, and the Common-Council of Our City of *London*.

CHARLES R.

His Majeſties Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: In theſe great Revolutions of late hapned in that Our Kingdom, to the Wonder and Amazement of all the World, there is none that We have looked upon with more Comfort, than the ſo frequent and publick manifeſtations of their affections to Us in the City of London, *which hath exceedingly raiſed Our Spirits, and which no doubt hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary mercy to the Nation, which hath been encouraged by you, and your good Example, to aſſert that Government, under which it hath ſo many hundred years enjoyed as great felicity as any Nation in* Europe, *and to diſcountenance the Imaginations of thoſe, who would ſubject Our Subjects to a Government they have not yet deviſed, and to ſatisfie the Pride and Ambition of a few ill men, would introduce the moſt arbitrary and tyranical Power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all ſuffered under thoſe and the like devices, all the World takes notice, to the no ſmall reproach of the* Engliſh *Nation, which We hope is now providing for its own Security and Redemption, and will be no longer bewitch'd by thoſe Inventions: How deſirous We are to contribute to the obtaining the Peace and Happineſs of Our Subjects without effuſion of blood; and how far we are from deſiring to recover what belongs to Us by a War, if it can be otherwiſe done, will appear to you by the incloſed Declaration, which together with this Our Letter, We have inſtruſted Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Couſin, the Lord* Viſcount Mordant, *and Our Truſty and Well-beloved Servant, Sir* John Greenville *Knight, one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to you; to the end, that you, and all the reſt of Our good Subjects of that Our City of* London *(to whom We deſire it ſhould be publiſhed) may know how far We are from the deſire of revenge, or that the Peace, Happineſs, and Security of the Kingdom, ſhould be raiſed upon any other Foundation than the affections and hearts of Our Subjects, and their own Conſents. We have not the leaſt doubt of your juſt ſenſe of theſe Our Condeſcenſions, or of your zeal to advance and promote the ſame good end, by diſpoſing all men to meet Us with the ſame affection and tenderneſs, in reſtoring the Fundamental Laws to that Reverence that is due to them, and upon the preſervation whereof all Our happineſs depends. And you will have no reaſon to doubt of enjoying your full ſhare in that happineſs, and of the improving it by Our particular Affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native Countrey, and to advance the Honour of it: And as We have that full affection for the Kingdom in general, ſo We would not be thought to be without ſome extraordinary Kindneſs for Our Native City in that particular, Which We ſhall manifeſt on all occaſions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming all thoſe Priviledges, which they have received from Our Predeceſſors; but by adding and granting any new Favours, which may advance the*

Trade

Trade, Wealth and Honour of that Our Native City, for which We will be so solicitous, that We doubt not but that it will in due time receive some benefit and advantage in all those respects, even from Our own Observation and Experience abroad. And We are most confident, We shall never be disappointed in Our Expectation, of all possible Service from your Affections; and so We bid you farewel. Given at Our Court at *Breda*, the 14 day of *April*, 1660. In the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

We must not omit to commemorate the Cities joyful Resentment of this *Letter*, and the *Declaration* in it, expressed by the Grateful Duty of the Common-Council; who immediately upon the reading of them, ordered ten thousand pounds to be presented to his Majesty, a thousand pounds to the Duke of *York*, and a thousand pounds to the Duke of *Glocester*; and that Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Reynaldson*, Alderman *Brown*, Alderman *Thompson*, Alderman *Frederick*, Alderman *Wale*, Alderman *Adams*, Alderman *Bateman*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. Recorder *Wild*, Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Bidolph*, Mr. *Foord*, Mr. *Bloodworth*, Sir *James Bunce*, Mr. *Lewis*, and Mr. *William Bateman*, should from that City attend his Majesty, with a Presentment of their most Dutiful Acknowledgments for his Clemency and Goodness towards them. His Excellency took care, that the *Address* presented to him by the Officers, together with Copies of the Kings *Letter* and *Declaration*, should be sent to all the Regiments and Garrisons in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and *Dunkirk*; requiring all to return their Subscriptions to him, and the Names of Dissenters (if any were.) But it appeared by the Returns made, that the Army was so well purged by the *Remonstrance* that went before, that all readily and dutifully comply'd with this.

Divers Aldermen, and other Eminent Citizens, sent from the City to his Majesty.

The Lords House nominated the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and *Middlesex*, and the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord *Brook*, and the Lord *Berkly*, to attend his Majesty from that House; and the Commons appointed the Lord *Fairfax*, Lord *Bruce*, Lord *Falkland*, Lord *Castleton*, Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, Lord *Mandeville*, Sir *Horatio Townesend*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and *Denzill Hollis* Esquire, to attend his Majesty from that House; who were ordered to make the quickest preparation they could for their Journey, to desire his Majesty to make a speedy return to his Parliament to the Exercise of his Kingly Office.

Six of the House of Lords, and Twelve of the Commons sent to attend upon his Majesty.

His Majesties *Letter* and *Declaration* to the Fleet, by the diligence of General *Mountague*, had the same success there, as that in the Army, being gratefully received by all the Commanders and Sea-Men.

The *Letter* it self was in these words:

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the Officers of the Fleet.

'TRusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: It is no small comfort to us, after so long and great Troubles and Miseries which the whole Nation hath groaned under, and after so great Revolutions, which have still increased those Miseries, to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which are the Walls of the Kingdom, are put under the Command, of two Persons so well disposed to, and concerned in the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the Officers and Sea-men under your Command, are more inclined to return to their Duty to Us, and put a period to these Distempers and Distractions which have so impoverished and dishonoured the Nation, than to widen the Breach, and to raise their Fortunes by Rapine and Violence; which gives Us great incouragement and hope, that *God Almighty* will heal the Wounds by the same Plaister that made the Flesh Raw; that he will proceed in the same method, in pouring his Blessings upon Us, which he was pleased to use when he began to afflict Us; and that the Manifestation of the good Affection of the Fleet and Sea-men towards us, and the Peace of the Nation, may be the Prologue to that Peace which was first interrupted by the mistake and misunderstanding of their Predecessors, which would be such a Blessing upon Us all, that We should not be less delighted with the manner, than the matter of it: In this Hope and Confidence, We have sent the inclosed *Declaration* to You, by which you may discern how much We are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the General and Publique Peace: In which, as no man can be more, or so much concern'd; so no man can be more solicitous for it. And We do earnestly desire you, that you will cause the said *Declaration* to be published to all the Officers and Sea-men of the Fleet; to the end, that they may plainly discern, how much We have put it into their Power, to provide for the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, who have been always understood by them, to be the best and most proper Counsellors for those good Ends. And you are likewise further to declare to them, That We have the same Gracious purpose towards them, which We have expressed towards the Army at Land; and will be as ready to provide for the payment of all Arrears due to them, and for rewarding them according to their several Merits, as We have expressed to the other; and We will always take so particular a care of them, and their condition, as shall manifest Our kindness towards them. And so depending upon Gods Blessing, for infusing those good Resolutions into your and their Hearts, which are best for Us all, We bid you farewell. *Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14 day of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

Subscribed,

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General *Monck*, and General *Mountague*, Generals at Sea: To be communicated to the Fleet.

Clarges on the fifth day of *May* began his Journey to his Majesty; and at his parting from the General, he gave him no other Instructions, but *to give the King all manner of assurance of his Fidelity to him, and his Resolution to improve all his Opportunities to his Service; desiring him*

The General Instructions to *Clarges*, when he began his Journey.

1660. *him not to move any thing to his Majesty, either for himself, or him, or any other in his Company, That his Majesty might see that both he, and those so nearly concern'd with him in his Restauration, sought more the Publique Good of their Country, than their own private Honour or Profit:* which he did faithfully observe at that time, and ever after.

The Solemn manner of proclaiming his Majesty in *London* and *Westminster*.

And three days after the Lords and Commons having agreed upon a *Proclamation* to that purpose, his Majesty was proclaimed with great Solemnity in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, the Lords and Commons, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* being present; the manner was as followeth:

The Lords came out of their Houses into the *Painted-Chamber*, where they continued till they were placed in Order; the Earl of *Manchester* first, then the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Oxford*, &c. Thus they walked out along with the Heralds before them, through the Court of Requests, and *Westminster-Hall*, to the *Palace*, where they staid before the Hall-Gate, whilest Mr. *Bish*, one of the Heralds, and Mr. *Ryly* that officiated as King at Arms, with a loud Voice, proclaimed the King in these words.

'ALthough it can no way be doubted, but that 'his Majesties Right and Title to his Crown 'and Kingdoms, is, and was every way compleat'ed by the Death of His most Royal Father of 'Glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or 'Solemnity of a *Proclamation*: Yet since *Procla'mations* in such cases have always been used, to 'the end that all good Subjects might, upon this 'occasion, testifie their Duty and Respect; And 'since the Armed Violence, and other the Cala'mities of many years last past, have hitherto 'deprived Us of any such Opportunity, wherein 'we might express our *Loyalty* and *Allegiance* to 'his *Majesty*; We therefore the *Lords* and *Com'mons* now Assembled in *Parliament*, together with 'the *Lord Mayor*, *Aldermen*, and *Common-Council* 'of the City of *London*, and other *Free-men* of 'this Kingdom now present, do according to 'Our *Duty* and *Allegiance*, heartily, joyfully, and 'unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, That 'upon the *Decease* of Our late *Soveraign Lord* 'King *Charles*, the *Imperial Crown* of the *Realm* 'of *England* and of all the *Kingdoms*, *Dominions*, and *Rights* belonging to the same, did by 'Inherent Birth-right, and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to his 'most *Excellent Majesty CHARLES* the Second; as being Lineally, Justly, and Lawfully next *Heir* of the *Royal Blood* of this *Realm*; 'And that by the Goodness and Providence 'of Almighty *GOD*, He is of *England*, *Scot'land*, *France* and *Ireland*, the most Potent, 'Mighty, and Undoubted King: And thereunto 'we must humbly and faithfully do submit, and 'oblige Our Selves, our Heirs and Posterities.

The *Proclamation* being ended, the Lords and Commons took their Coaches, and proceeded in this Order; First, the Head-Bayliff of *Westminster*, and his Servants, did ride along with white Staffs to prepare the way; Then followed a gallant Troop of the Officers of the Army, and other Gentlemen, with Trumpets before them; Then the Life-Guard, commanded by Captain *Philip Howard*, very well mounted, and richly cloath'd; after them a Class of Trumpets, and three Heralds; then a Herald between the Serjeant to the Commons, and the Mace of the Council; Next, *Ryly* King at Arms, in a rich Coat of the Kings Arms, betwixt Serjeant *Norfolk*, and Serjeant *Middleton*; after whom came the Usher of the Black-Rod, and Mr. *Bish*. These thus Ushering the way, the Earl of *Manchester* followed in his Coach and six Horses, the Speaker of the House of Commons in his, then his Excellency General *Monck* in his; after which followed both Houses of Parliament in Coaches, and after them a Troop of Horse: in this manner they came to *White-Hall*, where they proclaimed his Majesty, a second time; and then proceeded to *Temple-Bar*, where the Gates being shut, the King at Arms, with Trumpets before him, knocked, and demanded entrance: The Lord Mayor appointed some to ask, *Who it was that knock'd?* The King at Arms reply'd, *That if they would open the Wicket, and let the Lord Mayor come thither, he would to him deliver his Message.* The Lord Mayor came then on Horseback richly habited, in a Crimson-Velvet Gown, to the Gate, and then the Trumpets sounded; and after silence being made, Alderman *Bateman*, by order of the Lord Mayor, demanded of the Herald, *Who he was, and what was his Message?* To which he answer'd, with his Hat on, *We are the Heralds at Arms, appointed and Commanded by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, to demand Entrance into the Famous City of* London, *to proclaim* Charles *the Second King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *and we expect your speedy Answer to this Demand.* To which after a little consultation amongst themselves, Alderman *Bateman* answered, *Their Message was accepted, and the Gates should be immediately opened*; which was done accordingly.

The King at Arms entred first, Trumpets sounding before him, and was joyfully received by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and all the Officers of the City *Militia* gallantly accoutred, both sides of the streets were lin'd by the Trained-bands of *London*, from *Temple-Bar* to the *Old-Exchange*, who stood all with their Swords drawn: The City-Troops march'd next to the Life-guard, then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; after whom the Heralds, and the rest, as before: When they came to *Chancery-lane* end, they proclaim'd his Majesty a third time: And from thence they march'd to *Cheap-side*, where he was proclaim'd a fourth time; and from thence to the *Old-Exchange*, where he was again proclaim'd. The shouts and acclamations of the people, at this gallant and orderly Procession, were very great, and their demonstrations of joy, at the several Stations, when the Ceremony, of proclaiming was performing, not to be expressed; sometimes they lookt upwards, and then presently cast their eyes towards the General, as if they intended at one time to pay a Tribute of Thankfulness to Heaven, and his Excellency, who had done an action so glorious and transcendent, *that this present Age cannot but admire, and our Posterity will with difficulty believe:* And then again they cry'd out, *God save King* Charles *the Second*; as if they acknowledged that days joy, as a recompence sufficient

sufficient for all their Pressures and Grievances; *so excellent a Tutor is the want of that, which long Fruition makes us imperfectly understand.*

The Guns from the Tower were all shot off, and all the Streets that Evening were fill'd with Bone-fires, and the Air with the sound of ringing of Bells; and all seem'd too little to celebrate the content and exultation of the people, at that days Solemnity.

Commissary *Clarges* made such speed in his journey to his Majesty, that on Tuesday the 8th of *May* in the morning, which was the day after the happy making of this *Proclamation*, he arrived at *Bergen-ap-Zome* in *Holland*, half a days journey from *Breda*: There the Governour gave him a very Honourable Reception, and accommodated him with his Coach and six Horses to *Breda*; and a League before he came to the Town, the Lord *Gerrard* met him with two Coaches and six Horses, and accompanied him to his Majesty, who received him with most Gracious Expressions of satisfaction, as well that he was the first Authorized Messenger, that came to him with the News of the intire Submission of his Kingdoms and Army to his Obedience; as for his Relation to that most Renowned General, from whose prudent Conduct and Courage principally, all that Happiness was derived to his Majesty, and his People,

Commissary *Clarges* his arrival at *Breda*, where he is graciously received by his Majesty.

He presented to his Majesty a *Letter* from the General, in Answer to his Majesties sent before to him; and in it was inclosed the *Address* of the Officers of the Army.

The General's Letter to his Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Parliament being Sitting at my receipt of your Majesties gracious Letter to me, 'I thought my self obliged in duty to present it 'to the *House of Commons*; whose sense of it, and 'of that other your Majesty was pleased to send 'to them by Sir *John Greenvill*, I doubt not but 'your Majesty will receive an accompt of by some 'of their own Members: I have also communi-'cated your Majesties Letter and Declaration to 'as many of the Chief Officers of the Army as 'were present in or about *London*, who resented 'your Majesties Clemency and Grace to them 'with very great Duty and Affection, as your 'Majesty may perceive in the inclosed Address, 'which within few hours after their Convention, 'they deliver'd to me.

'By all which circumstances, I hope I may as-'sure your Majesty, That as the Army hath been 'very Instrumental in their Endeavours to fur-'ther the Settlement, Peace and Prosperity of 'your Majesties Kingdoms and Dominions; so 'nothing will be dearer to them and me, than 'to be found in our Generations pursuing those 'good Ends, which may render us serviceable 'and acceptable to our Country, to *give unto* 'Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsars, *and to God the things which are Gods.*

May the 5th.

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesties most humble, and Obedient Servant and Subject,

George Monck.

This Letter was dictated by his Excellency in the presence of many Officers of the Army; but he writ another short Letter with his own hand: Wherein he acquainted his Majesty, 'That he 'chose to send Mr. *Clarges* to him, because he 'was the only Person he trusted in the neerest 'Concernments and Consultations for his Re-'stauration, as one to whom he desired his Ma-'jesty to give Credit to what he should say on 'that behalf.

1660.

After the reading of these Letters, and the Address inclosed in the former of them, his Majesty Knighted him, and by many kind expressions demonstrated his sense of his Merit and Service to him; and after he had been about an hour with his Majesty, he had his permission to attend his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Gloucester*, who received him with that affability which was inherent in them, the most accomplished and most generous Princes in the world. From them he waited on the Princess of *Orange*, who expressed great content at his Relation of the News he brought; and at his parting from her, she gave order he should with his whole Retinue be entertained at her Charge whilest he staid in *Breda*, and have a Coach and six Horses of her Highnesses, with Equipage suitable, to wait on him when he should give order for it. He went then to visit the Lord Chancellour, and from him the Marquess of *Ormond*, as those deservedly (next the *Royal Family*) in greatest Credit with his Majesty, both of them receiving him with that respect, as the import and relation of his Message and Person did deserve.

Clarges Knighted by his Majesty, presents himself to the two Dukes, the Princess Royal, and others of the most Eminent of the Court.

The *Two Houses of Parliament* having perfected the *Instructions* for their Commissioners, and the Letter to his Majesty, they were delivered to them, and they began their Journey towards the *Hague* (at which place his Majesty intended to meet them) on the 11th of *May*, the time prefix'd in the *Instructions* for their Journey.

Instructions for *Aubry* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles* Earl of *Warwick*, *Lionel* Earl of *Middlesex*, *Lycester* Viscount *Hereford*, *George* Lord *Berkley*, *Robert* Lord *Brook*; the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandevel*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Castletowne*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Fairfax*, *Denzel Holles* Esquire, Sir *Horatio Townsend*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*.

The *Instructions* were thus; (*Viz.*)

The Parliaments Instructions to their Commissioners, who were sent to wait upon his Majesty.

YOu are to begin your Journey towards his Majesty on Friday next, and make a speedy repair to such place where his Majesty shall 'be, and humbly to present the Letters where-'with you are respectively intrusted by both 'Houses of Parliament.

'You are to acquaint his Majesty with what 'great Joy and Acclamation he was proclaimed in 'and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, 'upon the eighth day of *May* instant, and pre-'sent the Proclamation it self to his Majesty, and 'to acquaint him with the Orders of both Hou-'ses to have the same proclaimed throughout the 'Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Do-'minion of *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick* up-'on *Tweed*.

'And

1660.

'And that both *Houſes* have Ordered,

'That all and every the Miniſters throughout 'the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, be in- 'joyned in their *Publick Prayers* to pray for his '*Moſt Excellent Majeſty*, and for the moſt Illu- 'ſtrious Prince *James* Duke of *York*, and the 'reſt of the *Royal Progeny*. And alſo have or- 'dered, That the aſſumed Arms of the late pre- 'tended Commonwealth, where-ever they are 'ſtanding, be taken down; and that his Maje- 'ſties *Arms* be ſet up inſtead thereof: And 'you are to communicate to his Majeſty the Re- 'ſolution of both *Houſes* relating to theſe *In- 'ſtructions*.

'You are to acquaint his Majeſty with the 'earneſt deſire of both *Houſes*, that his Majeſty 'will be pleaſed to make a ſpeedy return to his '*Parliament*, and to the Exerciſe of his *Kingly* '*Office*; and that in order thereunto, both *Hou- 'ſes* have given direction to General *Mountague*, 'one of the Generals at Sea, and other Officers of 'the *Fleet*, to obſerve ſuch Commands as his Ma- 'jeſty ſhall pleaſe to give him or them for diſpo- 'ſal of the *Fleet*, in order to his Majeſties return. 'And you are to communicate to his Majeſty the 'reſolution of both *Houſes* relating to this In- 'ſtruction.

John Brown, Cl. Parl.

The *Houſe of Commons* added one more *Inſtruction* to the Commiſſioners; which was, *To beſeech his Majeſty, that the Parliament may know where he purpoſeth to take Shipping, and to Land at his coming over, that preparation may be made for his Reception; and which of his Majeſties Houſes he intended to make uſe of at his firſt coming to* London; *And whether he will come all the way by Land after he comes on Shore, or whether he will pleaſe to come by Water from* Graves-End *to* London? *And that his Majeſty will declare in what manner he is pleaſed to be Received.*

The Parliament and City Commiſſioners have their Audience from his Majeſty at the *Hague*.

All theſe Commiſſioners in three days after their departure from *London*, arrived at the *Hague*; And on *Wedneſday* the ſixteenth of *May*, our Stile, they had their ſeveral Audiences by his Majeſty who received them all with a ſweet and ſerene Countenance, and a Heart full of content and good inclinations towards them; and all the City Commiſſioners were Knighted by him. He gave that Evening his Diſpatch to Sir *Thomas Clarges*, and Commanded him to acquaint the General, *He intended to take Shipping at the Bay of* Scheveling *on* Monday *after, and to Sayl to* Dover, *and Land there; from whence he would immediately go to* Canterbury, *and ſtay there ſome time to determine of the manner of Entrance into* London. The Fleet was ſome days before in purſuance of the *Orders* of both *Houſes* in the ſaid Bay.

Sir *Thomas Clarges* returns with intimation of his Majeſties Reſolution.

On *Thurſday* early in the Morning, Sir *Thomas Clarges* attempted by Boat from *Scheveling*, to get on Board the Admiral, but the Weather was ſo ſtormy he could not do it, till towards the Evening; and then General *Mountague* ordered the *Norwich* Frigate for his Tranſportation: The Winds were ſo contrary, and the Weather ſo ſtormy, that the Pilot could not make any Land in *Engl*[illegible] till *Monday* morning, at which time he Landed at *Aldbrough* in *Suffolk*, and immediatety from thence ſent an Expreſs to the General, and the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons*, with intimation of his Majeſties Reſolutions: Whereupon his Excellency with a great and gallant Company of the chiefeſt of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, ſet foward from *London* the 22th of *May*; and for the more conveniency of Quartering ſo numerous a Company, he adviſ'd them to divide themſelves into Troops according to the ſeveral Counties, and the intereſt of the Noble-men preſent.

At *Rocheſter* Sir *Thomas Clarges* met the General, and preſented unto him his Majeſties Letter, with Royal and moſt indear'd Aſſurances of Eſteem from the Beſt of Kings, to the Worthieſt and moſt deſerving of Subjects. The Letter was dated the 26th of *May*. Directed,

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved General *Monck*, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army.

CHARLES R.

His Majeſties Letter to the General.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well. You will eaſily believe that your 'Letter of the fifth of this Month by Sir *Tho- 'mas Clarges*, was very welcom to us: And that 'as we muſt always acknowledge the infinite 'Mercy of God Almighty in diſpoſing the Hearts 'of the Army in ſuch an intire obedience to 'you, for the promoting and carrying on Our 'Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom; So 'We can never be without a Juſt Eſteem of ſuch 'a great and well-diſciplin'd Army, upon which 'the Eyes of the World are ſo much fixed. We 'muſt deſire you to return Our very hearty 'Thanks to the Officers and Souldiers for their 'Affection and Obedience to Us; and to aſſure 'them from Us, that we ſhall always have an in- 'tire Confidence in them, and ever acknowledge 'them to be the great Inſtruments of reſtoring 'Us the Peace, and Happineſs, and ſecurity to 'Us all: And therefore they may not only with 'all imaginable confidence aſſure themſelves, that 'We will punctually perform whatever We 'have promiſed to them into Our *Declaration* or '*Letter*, but that We will take them into Our par- 'ticular Care and Protection. And if the Licence 'and diſtemper of the Time ſhall ſo far tran- 'ſport any men, as to preſume upon memory of 'former animoſities, and of what is paſt, to 'uſe any reproaches towards them, We will 'look upon ſuch Perſons as Diſturbers of the 'Peace and Security of the Kingdom, and ſhall 'cauſe them to be proſecuted accordingly. And 'towards this Settlement and Compoſure, and 'for the prevention of many inconveniencies 'which may fall out, We think nothing ſo neceſ- 'ſary as our Preſence with you, by which (in a 'very ſhort time) every Member of the Army, 'who ſhall faithfully adhere to you in advance- 'ment of the Publick Peace, ſhall with the Bleſ- 'ſing of God, find himſelf ſecured and provided 'for, to his ſatisfaction. And longing for that 'bleſſed time, We bid you heartily farewel.

His Excellency being in his Journey, had no opportunity to communicate this Letter to any

any more of his Officers than those that were present with him.

But the Fame of his Majesties transcendent Vertues had prevented this written discovery of them, and made indelible impressions of duty and affection in the Army.

The King intended to have taken shipping on *Monday*, but the Crosnes of the Winds forc'd him a little to defer it. His Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, went on *Monday* and *Tuesday* to the Fleet, to take Charge thereof as Lord High Admiral: And on *Wednesday* the 23 his Sacred Majesty, the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princess Royal of *Orange*, the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, and the Prince of *Orange*, went on board the *Naseby*, (which his Majesty now named the *Royal Charles* (where after a Re-past, The Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princes Royal, and the Prince of *Orange*, her Son, took leave of his Majesty, and then the Fleet set sail for *England:* His Royal Highness the Duke of *York* came in the *London*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter* in the *Swiftsure*, now called the *James*.

The King and the Dukestake Shipping for *England.*

During the time his Majesty had remain'd at the *Hague*, and all the way thither from *Breda*, the States of *Holland* entertain'd him with great Magnificence; and at his departure they presented him with a rich Bed, of the Value of Seven Thousand pounds *Sterling*; and as much Linnen as was valued at a Thousand pounds.

His Majesties Entertainment from the States of *Holland.*

On *Friday* about three of the Clock in the Morning, the Fleet was in sight of *Dover*, whereupon an Express was sent to the General (then newly come to *Canterbury*) to hast to *Dover*; which he presently did, and about ten of the Clock came thither.

His Excellency before he came from *Canterbury*, advising with the Earl of *Lindsey*, and some of the other Noble-men that accompanied him, about the conveniency of his Majesties stay at *Dover*, was informed that he could have no accommodation there for a fourth part of his Train, and those that came to wait on him, and therefore he resolv'd humbly to move him, at his Landing, to proceed on directly to *Canterbury*.

His Majesty Lands at Dover.

About One in the Afternoon, his Majesty Landed at the *Beech* near *Dover-Peer*, with the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and many Noble-men an Gentlemen. All that were present put themselves into Posture, to see the Meeting of the King and the General. The Admirers of Majesty, were Jealous on His Majesties Behalf, of too low Condescension; and the Lovers of Duty fearful on the other Side of an Ostentation of Merit: But such an humble Prostration was made by the General, and so generous a Reception by his Majesty kissing and imbracing him, that all Parties were satisfied, to admiration. And his Excellency from that time received so great an Impression of the marvellous Goodnes of his Majesty, that he resolv'd what before he had perform'd out of bounden Duty to his Liege-Lord, should be for ever continued with the same observing, out of Loyal Affections to his Gracious Soveraign.

His Reception there.

His Majesty walked from the Water-side, towards the Town, with the General, a Canopy being carried over his Head, and a Chair of State by him; and upon his Excellencies Motion, for his going to *Canterbury*, for the Reasons before expressed, he hasted to his Coach; in his Passage to which, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen of the Town, with Mr. *Reading* their Minister, who presented his Majesty with a large Bible, with Gold Clasps: At one end of the Coach next the King, sate the Duke of *York*, and at the other the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the General, and the Duke of *Buckingham* sate in the Boot. About two miles from *Dover*, his Majesty took Horse, his Royal Brothers rode on his right hand, and the General on his left; After whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, and several other Noble-men and Gentlemen follow'd in gallant Equipage. 1660.

His Reception at *Canterbury.*

At his Majesties Entrance into *Canterbury*, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen, and Mr. *Lovelace* the Recorder, who made an eloquent Speech to him; the Mayor also presented him with a Tankard of Massie Gold, and then conducted him to the Palace, where he remained till *Monday*.

His Majesty confers the Order of the Garter, upon the General, and the Honour of Knighthood upon the Earl of *Winchelsea*, the Lord *Mordant* and divers others.

The next day after his Arrival at *Canterbury*, his Majesty Dignified his Excellency with the Honour of the Garter; he was brought up to the King by the Earl of *Winchelsea*, and the Lord *Mordant*, who were both Knighted with him; and his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, in great Testimony of Respect to him, assisted at the Ceremony, and put on the *Garter*, and the *George*; Mr. *Morrice* was also Knighted, and Declared Secretary of State; and that Evening his Majesty sent the General a Warrant to be Master of his Horse.

His Majesty likewise at *Canterbury*, conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on Major-General *Massey*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. *Daniel Harvey*, Mr. *Thomas Stewkley*, Colonel *Rossiter*, Captain *Philip Howard*, and Mr *Robert Paston*. Moreover, his Excellency, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, were Sworn of the Privy-Council.

He is entertained at *Rochester* by Col. *Gibbons.*

On *Monday* following, his Majesty came into *Rochester*, where, after he had a little refreshed himself, he went, to *Chatham*, to see the *Royal Soveraign*, and returned that Night to Colonel *Gibbons* his House, where he lay, and was by the Colonel presented with a most Dutiful and Loyal *Address* from him and his Regiment which was then Quartered in *Rochester*.

The Army being drawn up on *Black-Heath* welcomed his Majesty with great joy and acclamation.

From thence his Majesty marched to *Black-Heath*, where the Army was drawn up, and was much pleas'd with the sight of it; for indeed they seem'd all men of one age, and one mind, and were for their number, as gallant Troops as were to be seen in the World.

Colonel *Knight* there most humbly presented to his Majesty a Writing, which contained the most humble and obedient Declaration of the Armies joy, for the Honour of his Majesties presence amongst them; wherein after many dutiful expressions of exalted gladnes for his Majesties Restauration, they besought, *That his Majesty would, have now his great Council about him, who had already given proof of their Loyalty and Wisdom both to his Majesty and all his People.* They also declared, *That as they had not been altogether useless in the Restauration of his* Sacred Majesty, *to his Crown and Kingdom, and his People to their just Rights thereby; so they should for the future chearfully sacrifice their Lives,*

or

1660. *or whatsoever could be more dear unto them, in the service of his* Majesty, *against all opposers whatsoever, and by a ready Obedience to his* Majesties *Commands, express themselves better than in words.*

The manner of his Majesties Triumphal Cavalcade through the City of *London.*

When his Majesty came to St. *George*'s Fields, the Lord Major and Aldermen humbly on their knees Reverenc'd him, and the Lord Major presented his Sword, which his Majesty gave back to him; and after a little Collation in a Tent, provided by the Lord Major, his Majesty went towards *White-Hall* in this manner.

All the Streets were richly adorn'd with Tapistry, from *London-Bridge* to *White-Hall*; and as far as *Temple-Bar*, were equally ranked in good order, the Trained-Band-Forces on the one side of the Street, and the several Companies in their Liveries on the other: From *Temple-Bar* to *White-Hall*, the Trained-Bands of *Westminster*, and the parts adjacent on one side, and some Companies of the Army on the other, to whom was joyn'd a gallant Company of the late King's Officers, Commanded by Sir *John Stowell*.

The Procession was led by Major General *Brown*, who had a Troop of Three hundred, all in Cloth of Silver Doublets; then followed Twelve hundred in Velvet Coats, with Foot-men and Liveries attending them in Purple; Then another Troop led by Alderman *Robinson*, in Buff-Coats with Cloth of Silver-sleeves, and very rich Green Scarfs; and after these a Troop of above a Hundred and fifty with blew Liveries, laced with Silver Lace; with six Trumpeters, and seven Foot-men in Sea-green and Silver: Then a Troop of Two hundred and twenty, with Thirty Foot-men in Gray and Silver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly Cloathed; Then another Troop of one hundred and five, with Gray Liveries, and six Trumpets: and another of seventy with five Trumpets: And then three Troops more, two of Three hundred, and one of One hundred, all richly habited, and bravely mounted. After these came two Trumpets with his Majesties Arms; The Sheriffs Men in red Cloaks richly Laced with Silver Lace, to the number of Fourscore, with half-Pikes in their hands: then followed six hundred of the several Companies of *London* on Horseback, in black Velvet Coats, with Gold Chains, each Company having Foot-men in Liveries attending.

After these came a Kettle-Drum, five Trumpets, and Three Streamers, and many rich Red Liveries with Siver Lace: After these Twelve Ministers, and then another Kettle-Drum, and four Trumpets, and his *Majesties* Life-guard of Horse, Commanded by the Lord *Gerrard*; Then three Trumpets in rich Coats, and Satin Doublets, and the City Marshal, with eight Foot-men in French-Green, Trim'd with Crimson and White: The City Waits, and all the City Officers in order: Then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of *London* in Scarlet Gowns, and rich Trappings, with Footmen in Liveries, Red Coats Laced with Silver, and Cloth of Gold and Silver. The Heralds and Maces in rich Coats. Then the Lord Major carrying the Sword bare, and next to him the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the General, and then the *Kings Majesty* betwixt the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*. Then followed a Troop of Horse with white Colours, and after them, the General's Life-guard, led by Sir *Philip Howard*: Then five Regiments of the Army-Horse, led by Colonel *Knight*: And after them, two Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Thus was his *Majesty* conducted to his Royal Palace at *Whitehall*, on the Nine and twentieth day of *May*, His Birth-day; and with him, Peace and Happiness remain'd to His Kingdoms and People, which all good Men desire may be for ever continued to them, under the happy Government of Him and his Posterity.

His Majesties Reception by the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

When the Lord Major had taken leave of him, he went to the *Lords*, where he was entertained with a Grave but Eloquent Speech of the Earl of *Manchesters*, and from thence to the *Banquetting-House*, where the whole *House of Commons* attending him, the *Speaker*, in their Names, expressed *the Joyful Sence they all had, to behold his Majesty returned in safety, and thereby an end was put to that Tyranny and Slavery his good People had endured.*

He expresseth in brief his Gracious Intentions to them.

The King told them, *He was so disordered by his Journey, and with the Noise still sounding in his Ears, (which nevertheless He confess'd was pleasing to him, because it expressed the Affections of his People) that he was thereby unfit to make such a Reply as he desired*; But added, *That he took no greater Satisfaction to himself in this his Change, than that he found his heart really set to endeavour by all means the restoring of these Nations to their Freedom and Happiness; which he hoped by the Advice of his* Parliament *to effect: And that, next to the Honour of God, from whom he chiefly owned the Restauration to his Crown, he would study the Welfare of his People; and not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a Just Assertor of the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects.*

After the conclusion of these Ceremonies, he intended to go to *Westminster-Abby* to offer up a Thanksgiving to GOD for all his Deliverances and Mercies towards him; but by the Weariness he had contracted through the Toil, (however grateful) of that Days Action, he was diverted from his Intention of going thither; yet would he not, for any consideration, be withheld from his Devotion, and his Oblations of Thanks to God, which at that time he made in his Presence-Chamber, because his Chappel was not yet prepared for his Reception.

The two Dukes and other Peers take their Seats in the House of Lords.

The next day the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester* took their Places in the *House of Peers*, as did a while after several other Peers who were made by his Majesty beyond the Seas, and Summoned by Writ; *viz. Henry Jermin* Earl of St. *Albanes*, and Baron of St. *Edmonds-Bury*; *John Mordant*, Viscount *Mordant* of *Aveland*: Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Baron *Langdale* of *Holm*; *Charles Crofts*, Baron *Crofts*; Sir *John Barklay*, Baron *Barklay*.

The chief Officers of State, and of the King's Houshold.

In the first place, after his Majesties Arrival, were appointed the chief Officers of *State*, and of his Majesty's Houshold, His Highness the Duke of *York* was Invested with the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports. The Lord General *Monk* was continued Captain-General of all the Forces of the Three Kingdoms, and made Master of the Horse to His *Majesty*: Sir *Edward Hide*

Hide (afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*) was conſtituted Lord High-Chancellour of *England*: The Earl of *Southampton* Lord High Treaſurer of *England*: Sir *Edward Nicholas*, and Sir *William Morrice*, Chief Secretaries of State. The Marqueſs of *Ormond* was appointed Lord Steward: and the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſties Houſhold: Sir *Frederick Cornwalis*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold; and Sir *Charles Barkley* Comptroller: and Sir *George Carteret* Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and afterwards Treaſurer of the Navy: Beſides ſeveral others, who, for their Eminent Loyalty and good Services, were advanced to Places of Higheſt Truſt and Dignity in Court and Commonwealth. Moreover, His Majeſties Privy-Council conſiſted of theſe Perſons following:

The Lords of His Majeſties Privy-Council.

The Duke of *York*.
Lord Chancellour.
Marqueſs of *Ormond*.
Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*.
Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord High-Chamberlain of *England*.
Earl of *Berkſhire*.
Earl of *Southampton*.
Earl of *Norwich*.
Lord *Say* and *Seal*.
Lord *Wentworth*.
Lord *Seymour*.
Mr. *Denzell Hollis*.
Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Treaſurer of His Majeſties Houſhold.
Sir *Edward Nicholas*.
Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain to His Majeſty.
Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*.
Colonel *Charles Howard*.
The Duke of *Glouceſter*.
Lord General *Monck*.
Marqueſs of *Hertford*.
Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold.
Earl of Northumberland.
Earl of St. *Albans*.
Earl of *Leiceſter*.
Lord *Culpepper*.
Lord *Roberts*.
Mr. *Arthur Anneſly*.
Sir *Charles Barkley* Comptroller of His Majeſties Houſhold.
Sir *William Morrice*.
General *Mountagu*.

Military Commands conferred upon ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen.

The Clerks of the Privy-Council were Sir *Richard Brown* Knight and Baronet, (who having been 19 Years Reſident in the Court of *France* for His Majeſty and His Royal Father, managed that Imployment with extraordinary Prudence, Addreſs and Integrity, and in whoſe Chappel at *Paris* the Liturgy of the Church of *England* had been ſolemnly kept up during its Eclipſe at home) Sir *Edward Walker* Garter King of Arms. *John Nicholas* Eſq; Eldeſt Son to the Secretary of State; And Sir *George Lane*, Secretary to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*.

In the next place, ſpecial Care was taken for the committing of all Military Offices of higheſt Truſt, as well as the Civil already mentioned, into the hands of ſuch Perſons as were judged moſt faithful to the King's Service; ſo that the Governments of all the moſt Important Caſtles, Fortreſſes and Iſlands, and the firſt Commands of the ſeveral Regiments of the Army, were by the Lord General conferred upon ſuch Lords and other Perſons of Honour, as the King was pleas'd to recommend unto him to that effect, until ſuch time as the Army could conveniently be disbanded. Likewiſe, for the farther ſetling of the *Militia* of the Nation, there were of the Chief Nobility of the Land Conſtituted Lord-Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties, each having under them, as Deputy-Lieutenants, ſuch Gentlemen of the ſame Counties as had moſt eminently ſhewn their affections to his Majeſty. 1660.

The Commons ſet upon the Act of General Pardon.

The *Houſe of Commons* in the mean time, applied themſelves to the perfecting of an *Act of General Pardon*, which was read Twice in the *Houſe* the One and Thirtieth of this Moneth, thereby complying with that great Clemency and Indulgence of His Majeſty to His People, expreſſed in his moſt Gracious Letter from *Breda*. They had in the firſt Propoſition of this Act, deſigned to except from Pardon ſeveral of the Judges of the late King, and others Inſtrumental in the Perpetration of that horrid Treaſon: of which they had in Cuſtody Eight perſons, (*viz.*) *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Clement* and *Jones*, of the Judges; *Cook* who was the Proſecutor, *Hacker* Captain of the Halberdeers, and Colonel *Axtel*, alſo *Hugh Peters* the Miniſter, a virulent Incendiary in the Action, who, for a while, had been ſculking up and down in ſecret, was at length taken in *Southwark*: There were others that had been ſeduced into that Treaſon, (*viz.*) Colonel *Richard Ingoldsby*, *Francis Laſſels*, and *John Hutchinſon*; but ſo much was ſaid in the Houſe in their favours, that they were not made culpable with the reſt. As for *Ingoldsby*, it was made to appear, that *Oliver Cromwell*, without his conſent, ſet his Hand and Seal to the Warrant for Execution of the King: Beſides that, by many Actions of his Loyalty ſince, and his Engagement in Sir *George Booth*'s buſineſs, and againſt *Lambert*, (as is before related) he had given eminent teſtimony of his Abhorrency of ſo foul a Crime. *Laſſels* had never been in the High Court of Juſtice, and but once at any Meeting with them, and at that time he declared his diſſent to their proceedings. And *Hutchinſon* had been a very early Convert, and appeared much againſt that execrable Oath of Abjuration of the King's Perſon and Poſterity, in that part of the *Parliament* which ſate at the time of General *Monck*'s March into *London*.

The King comes to the *Parliament*, and gives his Royal Aſſent to ſeveral Bills.

This *Act of General Pardon* had ſo many particulars in it of different nature, that it took up very much time; but nevertheleſs, the *Parliament* omitted not to perfect ſome neceſſary Laws for the ſafety of the Government. On the Second of *June*, the *Parliament* having the day before intimated to the King, that they had prepared Three Bills for Him, His Majeſty came to the *Houſe of Lords*, and having ſent to the *Houſe of Commons* to attend him, there gave his Royal Aſſent to them; (*viz.*) *To an ACT for Confirmation of an Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons in his abſence for the raiſing of Seventy Thouſand Pounds a Month for Three Months. An ACT for Confirmation of the preſent Parliament.*

1660. And, *An ACT for the Continuance of Proceſs in Judicial Proceedings.* Which laſt was for avoiding of Diſcontinuances in the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, becauſe the firſt four Returns of *Eaſter*-Term could not be conveniently kept, and to prevent the Abatement of Writs that were not iſſued in the King's Name before his Return to the Exerciſe of Government. 1660.

His Majeſty alſo preſt them (as well by his particular Charge, as by the Lord Chancellor's Speech) to haſten their paſſing of the *Bill of Indemnity*, which (as well as all other Bills of Publick Concernment) he was ready to Sign; whereupon this Bill was from thenceforth the Grand Buſineſs of both *Houſes* until it was finiſhed: Nor could it be finiſhed till after ſome conſiderable time, and many large and ſerious Conſultations. In the mean time, the *Two Houſes* themſelves deſired to lay hold upon this *Amneſty* in the Name of the whole Nobility and Commonalty of the Nation: which being eaſily granted by the King, the Ceremony was performed in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, where they waited upon his Majeſty to that end.

About this time came forth a *Proclamation*, whereby it was declared, *That all ſuch of the late King's Judges as did not render themſelves, ſhould be Excepted out of the General Pardon:* And thereupon *Adrian Scroop*, and Nineteen others of them, Concealed in ſeveral parts, Preſented themſelves to the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons*, and were Committed to Cuſtody. The Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, and Four and twenty more were dead, and *Thomas Scot*, and Nineteen others eſcaped beyond the Seas, but were attainted by Act of Parliament, as ſhall be hereafter expreſſed; And *Scot* was, ſhortly after his Eſcape, taken at *Bruxels*, and by the diligence of the King's Agent there ſent into *England*, and ſent to the *Tower*.

The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance taken by both Houſes of Parliament.

The Kings Servants and Officers of his Houſhold, *&c.*

On the 4th of *June*, the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* to the King were tendered to all the Members of both *Houſes of Parliament*, with the King's Servants and Officers of his Houſhold, by the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain: And, by Order of *Parliament*, of the *4th* of the ſame Month, the Lord General was deſired to take an effectual Care, that the ſame Oaths ſhould be Adminiſtred to all the Officers and Soldiers of the Armies under his Command. And the Lord Chancellor to that end was alſo deſired to Iſſue forth Commiſſions under the Great Seal of *England*, to ſuch Perſons as the Lord General ſhould nominate and appoint, for adminiſtring the ſaid Oaths to the Officers and Soldiers accordingly. This Order was with all imaginable Care executed both by the General and the Chancellor: And to ſettle the Army ſo as it might be moſt ſerviceable to His Majeſty, he removed ſeveral Colonels and other Officers, and placed divers of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry in their places.

His Majeſties Arrival Congratulated by the People from all parts of the Nation.

As the Generality of the People had a little before, upon the concluſion of His Majeſties Admiſſion into his Dominions, and His preparation to come over, given great demonſtrations of their Affection and Loyalty to him, by their univerſal alacrity in Proclaiming him throughout the Three Nations; So likewiſe, immediately after he was come, they were no leſs forward to manifeſt their Duty and Allegiance by Congratulatory Addreſſes from all parts of the Kingdom, (the like duty being perform'd by ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry both of *Scotland* and *Ireland*: alſo thoſe Towns and Corporations that had bought out their ſeveral Fee-Farm-Rents belonging Formerly to the Crown, and by the late *Common-wealth* alienated from it, ſent their Deputies to His Majeſty, to make a voluntary Surrender of them back again unto Him. Others preſented him with ſumms of Gold, and other Gifts according to their abilities: But the City of *London*, as being the firſt, the richeſt and moſt Honourable, and the Seat of Kings for many Ages, judg'd themſelves oblig'd in point of Duty and Reputation, to exceed all the reſt in the glory of their performances toward their Soveraign; and therefore to the ſplendour of their former preparations at his firſt Reception, and Triumphal *Extrada*, they added the Coſt of a moſt Magnificent Entertainment at *Guild-Hall*, (which was for that very purpoſe richly beautified and adorn'd) to which the King, the two Princes his Brothers, the Lords of the Privy-Council, the Two Houſes of Parliament, and the Chief Officers of State being ſolemnly invited, were, on *Thurſday* the *5th* of *July*, conducted thither in very great Pomp by the Lord Major and the Grandees of the City, where they were Treated in a Royal Manner with the choiceſt of Delicacies, with exellent Muſick, and whatever elſe could be thought on, or delightful for ſo illuſtrious an Aſſembly.

His Entertainment at *Guild-Hall*.

Nor was His Majeſty wanting on the other ſide to give ſuch publick Teſtimonies of his Vertue and Prudence, as might render him deſervedly glorious in the eſteem of all ſober and moderate Perſons, and that by ſeveral wholſom Edicts, eſpecially by that ſeaſonable *Proclamation* which he Publiſhed, one of the firſt things he did after his Arrival, for the diſcountenancing and puniſhing of Debauchery, Profaneneſs, and all manner of Vice: Dated the 31 of *May* 1660.

He ſets forth a Proclamation againſt Debauchery and Prophaneneſs.

The King ſate very frequently in Council about the great Affairs of Government; and upon Information that many *Iriſh* Rebels had in unuſual numbers reſorted from beyond the Seas to *England* and *Ireland*, and were ſo inſolent as to diſpoſſeſs many Soldiers, and Adventurers in *Ireland*, who had poſſeſſion of their forfeited Eſtates; at the humble Requeſt of the Parliament, the King publiſh'd a *Proclamation*, Commanding all *Iriſh* Rebels (ſuch only excepted as by Articles had the Liberty of reſiding in his Majeſties Dominions, and have not forfeited the ſame,) that ſtill ſtay in, or ſhall reſort to, *England* or *Ireland*, to be apprehended and proceeded againſt as Rebels and Traytors: And that the Adventurers and Soldiers ſhould not be diſturbed in their Poſſeſſions, until the King, by Advice of Parliament, ſhall take further Order, or they be Legally Evicted. And requiring all Officers both Civil and Military, to ſee the ſaid *Proclamation* put in Execution.

The Kings *Proclamation* concerning the *Iriſh* Rebels.

But notwithſtanding his Majeſties great Care and Zeal to Settle and Compoſe all publick Differences, many ill-affected People in Pamphlets aſperſed his Actions, maliciouſly endeavouring to inſinuate, that he intended nothing leſs than the performance of his Promiſes from

Breda

Breda, which made him send a Message to the *House of Commons* by Sir *William Morrice*, to quicken their Debates about the *Act of General Pardon and Indemnity*, as that which would best quiet the minds of his Subjects.

The Kings Message to the *House of Commons* about the *Act of General Pardon.*

He told them, 'He had too ample a manifestation of their affections and duty towards him, (the good Effects of which was notorious to the World) to make the least doubt of the continuance and improvement thereof, or in the least degree to dislike what they had done, or to complain of what they had left undone: And that he knew well the Weight of those Affairs, which depended upon their Counsels, and the time that must unavoidably be spent, where there must be naturally difference of Opinions and Judgments amongst those, whose desires of the Publick Peace and Safety were the same. And that neither he nor they must be over much troubled, if they found their good Intention, and unwearied pains taken to reduce those good Intentions into real Acts for the quiet and security of the Nation, mis-represented and misinterpreted, by those who are in truth afflicted to see the Publick Distractions, by Gods Blessing, so near an end; and by others, upon whose weakness, fears and jealousies, the activity and cunning of those ill men hath had too great an Influence.

'That how wonderful and miraculous soever the great harmony of affections between him and his Subjects is, (it being so visible to the World, that there scarce appears the view of any Cloud to over-shadow or disturb it) yet it is not to be thought that God Almighty had wrought the Miracle to that degree, that a Nation so miraculously divided for so many years, would be so soon and intirely united in their affections and endeavours as were to be wished; but that the Evil Consciences of many continued so awake for mischief, that they would not be willing to take rest themselves, or suffer others to take it: And that they all had too sad Experience of the unhappy effects of fears and jealousies (how groundless and unreasonable soever) nor to think it very necessary to apply all timely and proper Remedies to those Distempers, and to prevent the inconveniences and mischiefs which so naturally flow from thence: That he well foresaw, that the great violation which the Laws of the Land had for so many years sustained, had filled the hearts of the people with a terrible apprehension of insecurity to themselves, if all they had said and done should be liable to be examined and punished by those Laws which had been so violated; and that nothing could establish the security of King and People, but a full Provision, that the returning to the reverence and obedience of the Law, (which is good for all) should not turn to the ruine of any, who were willing and fit to receive that Protection hereafter from the Law, and to pay that subjection to it which were just and necessary; and therefore, *he said*, he made a free Offer of a General Pardon in such a manner as was expressed in his *Declaration*; and how ready and desirous he was to make good the same, appeared by his *Proclamation* issued out upon and according to their desire: However, it was evident, that all 'he had offered, or did offer, did not enough 'compose the minds of his people; not in their 'Opinions could their security be provided for, 'till the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* were passed. *He said*, He found great industry used (by those who did not wish that Peace to the Kingdom they ought to do) to perswade his good Subjects that he had no mind to make good his Promises, which he desired to perform for his own sake, as well as theirs. And that therefore he did very earnestly recommend it to them, that all expedition might be used in the passing *that most necessary Act*; whereby his good Subjects generally would be satisfied, that their security was in their own hands, and depended upon their future actions, and that they were free for all past; and so all the endeavours of ill men would be disappointed, who would perswade them not to do well now, because they had done amiss heretofore. And that he was the more ingag'd to this his recommendation, because upon the reflection of their Eminent Zeal and affection for his Service, and hearty Concurrence with him in all things desired from them, men were apt to perswade others (though not believing it themselves) that the passing of this *Act* was therefore not desired, because he did not enough press the dispatch of it; which he did desire from his heart, and was confident they would the sooner do it, upon his earnest recommendation. 1660.

This *Message* did so much quicken their Debates, that they dispatch'd the Bill in a very short time, and sent it up to the Lords, and the Peoples minds were much composed thereby; and the more, for that his Majesty by a *Proclamation* after it, did declare a kind of impatience for the delay thereof.

General *Monck* created Duke of *Albemarle.*

About the beginning of *July*, General *Monck* was by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, made Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron, *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchampe*, and *Teyes*, and summoned by Writ to the House of Peers. The Titles of *Albemarle* and *Beauchampe*, were conferred on him, because he was descended from *Margaret*, one of the Daughters and Co-heirs of *Richard Beauchampe*, Earl of *Albemarle* and *Warwick*, who was married to the Famous Warriour *John Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, well known in *France*, whose Son *John* had only one Daughter married to *Edward Grey* Viscount *Lisle*, whose Daughter and Heir *Elizabeth Grey* was married to *Arthur Plantagenet*, a Natural Son of King *Edward* the Fourth, who was in her right Viscount *Lisle*; and *Frances*, one of the Daughters and Co-heirs of the said Viscount *Lisle*, was married to Sir *Thomas Monk* Great Grand-father to the present Duke of *Albemarle*.

General *Mountague* made Earl of *Sandwich.*

And a few days after, Mr. *Edward Montague*, one of the Generals at Sea, was made a Knight of the Order of the Garter, and by Letters Patents dignified with the Honours of Earl of *Sandwich*, Viscount *Mountague* of *Hinchingbrook*, and Baron of S. *Neots*. And the Marquess of *Ormond* was made Earl of *Brecknock*, and Baron *Butler* of *Lanthony*; and these two in the same Order they were created, had Writs to summon them to the *House of Peers*. Which Marquess was afterwards created the Duke of *Ormond*.

The Marquess of *Ormond* made Duke of *Ormond.*

1660.

The Lords in *Parliament* were in Conſultation to except all from Pardon that had been Judges in any High Court of Juſtice, which was no more than ſuch men deſerved, who could ſo maliciouſly contribute to the Subverſion of the good Laws and Government of their Native Country: But the King's Clemency extended to all who were not guilty of his Fathers Murder, and obſerving thoſe Debates to obſtruct much the ſpeedy perfecting that Bill he ſo earneſtly deſired to have finiſhed, on the 27th of *July* he went to the ſaid *Houſe*, and in a handſom and moſt gracious Speech, expreſſed his Zeal for it in the following words:

My Lords,

The Kings Speech to the Parliament to haſten the perfecting of the Act of Oblivion.

'When I came firſt hither to you, which 'was within two or three days after I 'came to *White-Hall*, I did with as much earneſtneſs as I could, both by my ſelf, and the *Chancellour*, recommend to you and the *Houſe of Commons*, the ſpeedy diſpatch of the *Act of Indemnity*, as a neceſſary Foundation of that Security We all pray for: I did ſince, by a particular *Meſſage* to the *Houſe of Commons*, again preſs them to haſten that important work. And did likewiſe by a *Proclamation* publiſh to all the Kingdom, That I did with impatience expect that that *Act* would be preſented to me 'for my Aſſent, as the moſt reaſonable and ſolid Foundation of that Peace, Happineſs, and Security I hope and pray for to my ſelf, and all my Dominions. I will not deny it to you, I thought the *Houſe of Commons* too long about that work; and therefore now it is come up to you, I would not have you guilty of the 'ſame delay. I thank God I have the ſame intentions and Reſolutions, now I am here with 'you, which I had at *Breda*, and believe that I owe my being here, to Gods bleſſing upon the 'intentions and Reſolutions I then expreſſed to 'have. I will read to you what I then ſaid:

'And to the end that the fear of Puniſhment may not engage any, Conſcious to themſelves 'of what is paſſed, to a perſeverance in Guilt for the future, by expoſing the quiet and happineſs of their Country in the Reſtauration both of King, Peers and People, to their juſt, Ancient and Fundamental Rights; We do by theſe Preſents declare, That we do grant a 'Free and General Pardon, which We are ready upon demand, to paſs under Our Great Seal of *England*, to all Our Subjects of what 'Degree or Quality ſoever, who within forty 'days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay 'hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and 'ſhall by any publick Act declare their doing ſo; 'And that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects (excepting only ſuch perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by *Parliament*.)

'Thoſe only excepted, let all Our loving 'Subjects, how faulty ſoever, relye upon the 'Word of a King, ſolemnly given by this preſent *Declaration*, That no Crime whatſoever committed againſt Us or Our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judgment or be brought in Queſtion againſt any 'of them, to the leaſt endamagement of them, either to their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, or (as far forth as lies in Our power) ſo much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any reproach or term of diſtinction from the reſt of 'Our beſt Subjects: We declaring and ordaining, 'That henceforward all Notes of Diſcord, Seperation and Difference of Parties be utterly abolliſht among all Our Subjects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themſelves under Our Protection, for the re-ſettlement of Our juſt Rights, and Theirs, in a *Free Parliament*; by which, upon the Word of a King, We will be advized.

'*My Lords*, If you do not joyn with Me in 'exting uiſhing this Fear, which keeps the hearts 'of men awake, and apprehenſive of ſafety and 'ſecurity, you keep me from performing my Promiſe, which if I had not made, I am perſwaded neither I nor you had been now here. I pray 'let us not deceive thoſe who brought or permitted us to come together. I knew well there 'were ſome men who could neither forgive themſelves, nor be forgiven by Us; and I thank you for your juſtice towards thoſe, the immediate Murtherers of my Father. And I will deal 'truly with you, I never thought of excepting any other. I pray think well upon what I have offered, and the benefit you and I have received 'from that offer; and incourage and oblige all 'other perſons, by not excluding them from the 'benefit of this Act. This Mercy and Indulgence is the beſt way to bring them to a true repentance, and to make them more ſevere to themſelves, when they find we are not ſo to them. 'It will make them good Subjects to me, and 'good Friends and Neighbours to you, and we 'have then all our ends, and you ſhall find this the ſecureſt Expedient to prevent future miſchief. 'Therefore I do earneſtly deſire and conjure you, 'to depart from all particular animoſities and revenge or memory of paſt provocations, and 'that you will paſs this Act without other Exceptions, than of thoſe who were immediately 'guilty of that Murther of my Father.

'*My Lords*, I have told you my Opinion, and 'I hope you will be of the ſame. If any perſons appear of ſuch dangerous and obſtinate 'Principles, that the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be preſerved whilſt they have Liberty in 'it, ſome other courſe may be taken, that they 'ſhall not be able to do hurt; and I aſſure you, 'there is nothing can inable them to do ſo much 'harm, as the deferring the paſſing this Act.

'I hope I need ſay nothing of *Ireland*, and that 'they alone ſhall not be without the benefit of 'my Mercy. They have ſhewed much affection 'to me abroad, and you will have a care of my 'Honour, and of what I have promiſed to them. 'I do again conjure you, that you will uſe all 'expedition in the diſpatch of this *Bill*.

This Speech did not only expedite the paſſing of this Act in the *Houſe of Peers*, but give a general ſatisfaction to the people, who were exceedingly quieted in their minds with the Kings reſolute care on the behalf of all his Subjects; nor was his mind ſo intent on this neceſſary Affair, as to neglect the other Concerns of Government: But obſerving, that the late Differences of his People had created many Animoſities

1660.

His Majesties Proclamation against fighting of Duels.

sities amongst them, which occasioned frequent Duels, he thought fit to prevent the inconveniencies thereof by a *Proclamation*, whereby he manifested so great a dislike of Duels, as *strictly to command all his Subjects whatsoever, neither by themselves, nor any other by Message, Word or Writing, or other ways or means to Challenge, procure to be Challenged, any person or persons to fight in Duel, nor to carry, accept, nor conceal any Challenge, nor actually to fight, on pretence to any election.*

And he further declared, *That every person offending against his Commands herein, should not only incur his Displeasure, but be incapable of holding any office in his Service, and never after be permitted to come to Court, or preferr'd, besides the suffering such punishment as the Law should inflict on such Offenders; and all persons that should accept or know of such Challenges, and not reveal the same to one of the Privy Council, or the next Justice of Peace, should be liable to the same Penalties.* And further, he was so severe in this matter, as to forbid *any Intercession to be made for Offenders against this Proclamation.*

By this good Government, a general tranquility appear'd in all the King's Dominions; and to lessen the Publick Charge, the *Parliament* were providing Money to disband the Armies, and pay off such of the Ships as were more than needful for the guard of the Seas. And in order hereunto, the General was so provident, as to give order to the Muster-Master-General to admit of no new Souldiers in any Troop or Companies, and the Officers likewise had Charge to entertain none upon any vacancies.

The *English* Commissioners in *Scotland* having been imployed as Judges for the Government of that Nation, and having had their Commissions continued in force for some time after the Kings coming in, they were at length by the Letters from the Duke of *Albemarl* acquainted with the Kings pleasure, That from the 21 of *August* they should cease to act any more in this their Judicatory Power, in regard that Kingdom was thenceforth to be reduc'd to its ancient form of Government; in order to which *Proclamation* was made in the Kings Name, for the speedy Convening of the *Committee* of the *Three Estates* of *Scotland*; a *Parliament* also being to be called there within a few Months: And in the interim, the Chief Ministers of State were Constituted: The Earl of *Glencarn* was made Lord Chancellour; the Lord *Crauford-Lindsey* Lord Treasurer; the Earl of *Cassiles* Justice-General, the Earl of *Lauderdale* Chief Secretary of State, and General *Middleton* the Kings Commissioner, with several others.

A Committee of Estates Convened in Scotland.

The chief Ministers of State Constituted in Scotland.

The *Committee of Estates* being assembled, made it their first care to keep all things in peace and quiet, and obedience to the present Government; for notwithstanding the late unanimous concurrence of the people at *Edenburgh*, (as well as other places) in the publick Proclaiming of his Majesty, yet after a short while there began to discover it self a spirit of discontent among certain *Scotch* Ministers, who were of the principal Sticklers of the Kirk-party, as appear'd by their meeting together at a place appointed, for the drawing up of a *Remonstrance* concerning certain things wherein they thought themselves aggrieved; which the *Committee of Estates* having notice of, sent forthwith to apprehend them, and clapt them up in Prison; and for the prevention of the like disturbances for the future, set forth a *Proclamation* against all *Unlawful Meetings*, and *Seditious Rapers*.

Certain *Scotch* Ministers imprisoned by Order of the *Committee of Estates*.

Also the same thing that befel these Ministers, happen'd also to their Country man the Marquess of *Argyle*, who notwithstanding that he came to Court with others of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, upon pretence of tendring his service to his Majesty, yet he had not it seems carried himself so blamelessly, but that a sufficient cause was found for the laying of High Treason to his Charge, and committed him thereupon a Prisoner to the *Tower*; and together with him were committed the Marquess of *Atholl*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, besides several others that follow'd soon after.

The Marquess of *Argyle*, and others, sent to the *Tower* of *London*.

In *Ireland* the Convention that had assembled there upon the change of Government, as soon as they had taken order for the settling of things in that Nation, in conformity to the Kings Authority, (Colonel *Eytes*, who endeavour'd to raise a Party in opposition to it, being reduc'd by Sir *Charles Coot*) and had appointed from among them certain Commissioners to wait upon his Majesty with their Gratulations and desires, thought fit to dissolve themselves, in expectation of the Kings Pleasure for the calling of a full *Parliament*, and to make way for the Ancient Constitution of the Government by a Lord Lieutenant, as had been determin'd by the King and his Council.

The Convention in *Ireland* dissolve themselves.

The Act of Indempnity was sent from the *Lords* to the *Commons* with several alterations, to which the *Commons* were very unwilling to agree; for they had subjected twenty that were not the Kings Judges, to be liable to such pains and penalties, not extending to life, as should be inflicted by another Act to be passed in this *Parliament*: Whereas the Lords finding the Kings Inclination to tend towards the pardoning of all but such as were his Fathers Judges, or otherwise Actors in his Murther they disagreed to that part of the *Act*, as to all those named by the Commons, except Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Colonel *John Lambert*, who were esteemed to be so maliciously active in opposition to his Majesties Government, as to be excepted from any conditions of Pardon. The *Commons* for some time adhered to their first Resolutions; but after several Conferrences, they agreed with the *Lords* in all things, except some little alterations to their frame of the *Act*; *Vane* and *Lambert* were excepted, but *Hasterig* remained liable to such pains, penalties, and forfeitures as should be inflicted on him, not extending to life; and the rest of those put under the same Qualification by the *Commons* that were not of the Kings Judges were made only with others incapable of Offices, as shall be hereafter shewn, when we come to write of the parts of that *Act*.

The Debate between the Lords and Commons concerning the Act of Indempnity.

That which put Sir *Arthur Hasterig* under so favourable a Qualification, was an Engagement made to him by the Duke of *Albemarl*; for *Hasterig* coming to him, when he perceiv'd the Revolution [illegible] towards the Restauration

Sir *Arthur Hasterig* pardoned, upon the Mediation of the Duke of *Albemarl*.

1660. stauration of the King and his Government, he expostulated with him about it, in reference to the security of his own Condition: The Duke was unwilling to make him desperate, because he had at that time a Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot in the Garrisons of *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth*, *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, under his Government, which (if he had opposed) could not have been reduced to obedience without the effusion of Blood, which his Excellency much endeavoured to avoid in all the progress of his Actions; and therefore told him, *If he would quietly give up his Command, and retire to his house he would endeavour to secure him in his Life and Estate, and doubted not to effect it.* This being made known at a Conference by the *House of Commons*, was justified with great modesty by the Duke in the *House of Peers*, and his Life was thereupon pardoned in the *Act*; and a small time after his Estate also was at the mediation of the Duke, granted to his Heir, a man averse to his Fathers disloyal Principles: Sir *Arthur* himself a while after his Imprysonment, dying of a Feaver in the *Tower*.

An Instance of his Majesties Affection to his People.

At this last Conference of the *Lords* and *Commons*, the Lord Chancellour took occasion to speak of the Kings Affection to his people, by a very remarkable Instance, saying, *That he being imployed in an Embassy to Spain, had it strictly given him in charge by his Majesty to avow and declare, That the horrid Murther of his Royal Father, was not the Act of the Parliament, or People of England, but of a very wretched and little company of Miscreants in the Kingdom.* Which was so pleasing to the *House of Commons*, that upon the report of it to them, they ordered such of the Privy Council as were Members of that House, to present to his Majesty the humble and thankful Sense they had of his Justice and Favour for that Just Defence he had been graciously pleas'd to make in behalf of the *Parliament*, and People of *England*.

A few days after this, that is to say, the 29th of *August*, the King had notice that there were five *Acts* prepared for his Royal Assent, and he therefore repaired to the *Lords House*, and sent for the *Commons* to him, where he assented to them. The *Acts* were;

Several Acts Signed.

1. *An Act for Confirmation of judicial Proceedings.* 2. *An Act for a speedy Provision of Money to pay off and disband all the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.* 3. *An Act for the restraining the taking of* Excessive Usury. 4. *An Act of General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion.* 5. *An Act for a Perpetual Anniversary Thanksgiving on the Twenty Ninth day of* May, *the day of his Majesties Nativity and Restauration.*

At the passing of which *ACTS*, he express'd himself in these words;

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

The Kings Speech in *Parliament* at the passing of those Acts.

'I Have been here sometimes before with you, but never with more willingness, than I am at this time. And there be few men in the Kingdom, who have longed more impatiently to have those Bills passed, then I have done to pass them; and I hope they will be the Foundation of much security and happiness to us all. I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this *Act of Indemnity*, to that time which is mentioned in the Bill; Nay, I will tell you, that from that time to this day, I will not use great Severity, except in such Cases where the Malice is notorious, and the Publick Peace exceedingly concern'd: But for the time to come, the same Discretion and Conscience, which disposed me to the Clemency I have expressed, which is most agreeable to my Nature, will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary soever it be to my Nature, towards those who shall not now acquiesce, but continue to manifest their sedition and dislike of the Government, either in action or words.

'And I must conjure you all (my *Lords* and *Gentlemen*) to concur with Me in this just and necessary severity; and that you will in your several Stations be so jealous of the Publick Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cause exemplary Justice to be done upon those who are guilty of Seditious Speeches or Writings, as well as those who break out into Seditious Actions: And that you will believe those who delight in reproaching and traducing my Person, not to be well affected to You and the Publick Peace.

'Never King valued himself more upon the affections of his People than I do; nor do I know a better way to make my self sure of your affections, than by being just and kind to you all: And whilest I am so, I pray let the world see that I am possessed of your affections.

'for your *Pole-Bill*, I do thank you as much as if the Money were to come into my own Coffers; and wish with all my heart, that it may amount to as great a sum as you reckon upon. If the Work be well and orderly done to which it is designed, I am sure I shall be the richer by it in the end: and upon my Word, if I had wherewithall, I would my Self help you, so much I desire the business done.

'I pray very earnestly, as fast as Money comes in, discharge that great burthen of the Navy, and disband the Army as fast as you can; and till you can disband the rest, make a provision for their support. I do conjure you, as you love me, let me not hear the noise of Free-quarter, which will be imputed to my want of Care and Government, how Innocent soever I am; and therefore be sure you prevent it.

'I am so confident of your affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immediately relates to my self; and yet I must tell you, I am not richer, that is, I have not so much Money in my Purse as when I came to you: The truth is, I have lived principally ever since upon what I brought with me, which was indeed your Money, for you sent it to me, and I thank you for it. The Weekly expence of the Navy, eats up all you have given me by the Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Nor have I been able to give my Brothers one Shilling since I came into *England*, nor to keep any Table in my House, but what I eat my Self. And that which troubles me most, is to see so many of you come to me to *White-Hall*, and to think you must go some where else to seek your Dinner.

'I do not mention this to you, as any thing that troubles me; do but take care of the Publick,

'lick and for what is neceſſary for the Peace and 'Quiet of the Kingdom, and take your own time 'for My Own particular, which I am ſure you 'will provide for with as much affection and 'frankneſs as I can deſire.

Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings.

The *ACT* for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings, was as neceſſary at this Juncture, as the *Act of General Pardon*, ſince without this, beſides many other Inconveniencies, ſo great a Concuſſion would have been in moſt mens Eſtates, as would have made them ſubject to perpetual Incertainties.

1. 'By this Law, All Proceedings in Law or 'Equity in all or any of the Courts at *Weſtmin-* 'ſter, or in *Wales*, or in the County Palatine, or 'Dutchy of *Lanchaſter*, or *Berwick*, or other in- 'feriour Courts, and all things done by the 'Judges and Officers in purſuance thereof, or of 'the Court of Admiralties, Delegates, Juſtices of 'Aſſize, *Niſi Prius*, Commiſſion of Sewers, Bank- 'rupts, or Charitable Uſes, and all proceedings 'thereupon had in *England* ſince the firſt of *May*, '1642. were Confirm'd, notwithſtanding any de- 'fect of Legal Power, or difference in Style or 'Title.

2. 'All Fines Levied without paying the Kings 'Silver, or without entry of Money given for 'the Concord, or before one Judge only, were 'made good and effectual; And all Fines, Reco- 'veries, Judicial Proceedings in the *Common-* 'Pleas, ſince the Death of the late King, of Lands 'in *Demeſne* were confirm'd.

3. 'Whereas ſince the Firſt of *May*, 1641. 'and before the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1660. divers 'who adhered to both *Houſes of Parliament* had 'been Indicted for Treaſon, and others alſo who 'adhered to His Majeſty or his Father, were Im- 'peached in like manner: All ſuch Indictments 'and Proceedings thereupon, and Grants made 'of any Lands forfeited by reaſon thereof, and 'Title to the mean profits claimed in that re- 'ſpect, were henceforth diſcharged, and reſtitu- 'tion to be made to the reſpective perſons and 'their Heirs.

4. 'All Recognizances, Bonds, and Securities 'made to the late Keepers, or Protector, not par- 'doned, or diſcharged, were to be proſecuted 'in the Name, and to the uſe of His Majeſty, his 'Heirs and Succeſſors.

To the Fourth Branch, ſuch Securities were excepted as had been given to the late Powers by any for their adherence to the King or his Father, or relating to the late Troubles, which was by this Act made void; as likewiſe were all *Obligations, Bonds, and Securities by Order of any Council of State, Committee of Safety, Major General, Decimators, or any other Military Power.*

5. 'After the 8th of *May*, 1660. no Judges at '*Weſtminſter*, Serjeants at Law, Commiſſions of 'Sewers, or of Bankrupts, or of Charitable U- 'ſes, Conſtituted by any of the late Uſurped 'Powers, were to be continued.

6. 'No non-claim upon, or after any Fine by 'this *Act* confirmed, ſhall extend to bar any 'Perſon or their Heirs (other than the Parties to 'the ſaid Fines, and their Heirs and Truſtees) 'for ſuch Rights as they had by colour of any 'Act or pretended Ordinance of Parliament, 'ſince the firſt of *May*, 1642. and before the '25th of *April*, 1660. as of Crown-Land, or of 'Church-Lands, or as the Lands of any perſon 'for adhering to the King, or his Father, or in 'relation to the late Troubles, ſo as ſuch per- 'ſons and their Heirs purſue their Claims by 'Actions or Entry within 5 years after the 29th 'of *May*, 1660. 1660.

7. 'The Name and Styles of the Uſurped 'Power and Authorities were declared to be 'Rebellious.

8. 'All Proceedings of High-Treaſon for Le- 'vying War againſt *Oliver Cromwell*, or any o- 'ther late Uſurped Power, were made void; as 'likewiſe all Aſſurances, Recognizances, and 'Judgments for Debt, or Damages heretofore 'had or ſuffered by any perſon whoſe Convicti- 'on, Outlawry, or Attainder, was by this *Act* 'diſcharged.

This *Act of Confirmation* was nevertheleſs not to extend to confirm any illegal proceedings of the late High-Courts of Juſtice, nor to confirm any Sales or Eſtates made by any pretended Act of Parliament ſince the firſt of *May*, 1642. nor to debar any Perſon grieved, from having a *Writ of Error*, or *Bill of Review*, in ſuch manner as formerly, Except ſuch Errours and defects as were not by this Act remedied.

The *Act for Proviſion of Money to pay off the Armies and Navy*, was by Poll, and was a very great Tax, becauſe many Orders of Men were included in it, which were not mentioned in any former Act of the like kind.

The ACT for Pole-Money.

1. 'Every Duke of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ire-* 'land, inhabiting and reſiding in this Kingdom, 'was to pay 100 *l.* Every Marqueſs, 80 *l.* Every 'Earl, 60 *l.* A Viſcount, 50 *l.* A Baronet, 40 *l.* 'The Eldeſt Son of a Duke of One and Twenty 'years of age, 60 *l.* of a Marqueſs, 50 *l.* of an Earl, '40 *l.* of a Viſcount, 35 *l.* of a Baron, 30 *l.* A 'Baronet of any of the three Kingdoms, or *No-* 'va Scotia, 30 *l.* A Knight of the Bath, 30 *l.* A 'Knight Batchelor, 20 *l.* A Serjeant at Law, 20 *l.* 'An Eſquire, 10 *l.* And every Widow, according 'to her Husbands degree, a third part what her 'Husband was to pay.

2. 'Every Parſon or Vicar poſſeſſed of a Par- 'ſonage or Vicarage, or other Eſtate of 100 *l.* '40 *s.* Every Doctor of the Civil or Common- 'Law, 5 *l.* Every Advocate 5 *l.* A Judge or Com- 'miſſioner in the Court of Admiralty, 20 *l.* A 'Pretor, 5 *l.* A Doctor of Phyſick, 10 *l.*

3. 'The Lord Major of *London*, 40 *l.* Every 'Sheriff, Alderman, or who hath Fined for Al- 'derman, 20 *l.* Every Deputy-Alderman, 10 *l.* 'The Town-Clerk of *London*, 20 *l.* Every Com- 'mon-Council-man, 5 *l.* Every Maſter of the 'Firſt Twelve Companies, 10 *l.* Every Warden 'thereof, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Every Livery-man of 'thoſe Companies, 5 *l.* Every one who had 'been Maſter of any of the Companies of *Dyers*, '*Brewers*, *Letherſellers*, *Girdlers*, *Stationers*, '*Woodmongers*, *Upholdſterers*, *Apothecaries*, '*Pewterers*, *Tallow-Chandlers*, *Armourers*, or '*Sadlers*, 6 *l.* Every Warden of any of thoſe 'Companies, 5 *l.* Every Livery-man of them '3 *l.* Every of the Yeomanry, 1 *l.* Every 'Maſter of the Company of *Barber-Chyrurgi-* 'ons, *White-Bakers*, *Wax-Chandlers*, *Cutlers*, 'Butchers,

1660. 'Butchers, Carpenters, Painters, Cordwayners, Coopers, Scrivners, Brown-Bakers, Turners, or Inholders, '3 l. Every one who had been Warden of any 'of thoſe Companies 2 l. Every Livery-man 'thereof 1 l. Every perſon who had been Maſter 'of the Company of Founders, Cutlers, Maſons, 'Bricklayers, Joyners, Plaiſterers, Weavers, Fruiterers, Marblers, Embroiderers, Poulterers, Cooks, 'or Plummers 1 l. Every Warden of thoſe Companies 15 s. and every one of the Livery 10 s. 'Every Perſon who hath been of the Livery of 'either Company of Bowyers, Fletchers, Blackſmiths, Bottle-makers, Wool-Packers, Farriers, Paviers, Loreiners, Gleſiers, Clerks, or Watermen 5 s. 'Every Freeman of any Company within the 'City of London 12 d. Every keeper of one or 'more Hackney-Coaches and two Horſes 10 s. 'Every Merchant Stranger if a Knight 40 l. If 'below that degree, and Trading to Sea 10 l. 'If Trading within the Land 5 l. Every Alien 'uſing Trade within any City or Corporation, 'if a Houſe-keeper 10 s. Every Engliſh Merchant 'in or about London, not a Freeman 10 l. Every 'Factor in the City 2 l. Every perſon that hath 'been Alderman in any City within the Kingdom, under the degree of a Knight or Eſquire '5 l.

4. 'The Prothonotary of the King's-Bench '00 l. Clerk of the Crown of the ſame 20 l. 'Cuſtos Brevium of the ſame 40 l. Marſhal 'of the ſame 50 s. Maſter of the Rolls 60 l. 'Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, 40 l. Clerk 'of the Rules and in the Kings-Bench 10 l. Maſter of the Subpœna Office 10 l. Warden of 'the Fleet 50 l. Clerk of the Hannaper 50 l. 'Clerks of the Inrollment, each 40 l. Each of 'the Six Clerks in Chancery 10 l. Every Curſitor of the ſame 10 l. Uſher of the ſame 10 l. 'Every Clerk of the Pettybeg 5 l. Every 'Examiner 10 l. Chief Regiſter of the ſame '20 l. Every Under-Regiſter 10 l. Every Clerk 'in the Office of the Six Clerks in Chancery 8 l. Each of the Clerks of the Chappel of 'the Rolls 3 l. Every Prothonotary of the 'Common-Pleas 50 l. Cuſtos Brevium of the 'ſame 80 l. Every Philizar of the ſame 10 l. 'Clerk of the Outlaries 20 l. Clerk of the 'Statutes 20 l. The Clerk of the Treaſury 10 l. 'Exigenter of London 40 l. Every other Exigenter 5 l. The King's Remembrancer of the 'Exchequer 40 l. Every Teller of the ſame 'Court 20 l. The Treaſurers Remembrancer 10 l. Every Attorney of the Office of the 'King's Remembrancer 10 l. Every Attorney 'of the Office of Pleas 10 l. The Remembrancer of the Firſt-Fruits 20 l. Clerk of the Eſtreats 20 l. Clerk of the Pleas 30 l. The 'Auditor of the Receipts in the Exchequer 40 l. 'Clerk of the Pel in the Receipt 30 l. Uſher of 'the Court of Exchequer 20 l. Every Attorney 'of the Office of Pleas there 10 l. Every Auditor of the ſame 10 l. Every Clerk of the 'Court of the Dutchy of Lancaſter 10 l. Every 'Auditor of the ſame 10 l. Every Clerk of the 'Privy-Seal 10 l. Every Clerk of the Signet 10 l. 'Every Attorney in any of the Courts at Weſtminſter, or within the Courts of Law or Equity, or in the Counties Palatine of Cheſter, 'Lancaſter, Durham, and the Marches of 'Wales 3 l. Every perſon in any Office, or 'Place under the King (except His Houſhold, 'Servants in Ordinary) 10 l. The Lieutenant 'of the Tower of London 50 l. Every one that 'could ſpend in Land, Leaſe, Monies, or Stock, '100 l. per annum, 40 s. and ſo for a greater or 'leſſer Eſtate; every ſingle perſon above the 'age of 16 years, 12 d. Every perſon not rated, nor receiving Alm, above 16 years of age, '6 d.

An Act for reſtraining exceſſive Uſury.

''The ACT for Reſtraining the taking of exceſſive Uſury, *makes it penal to the loſs of* treble 'the value of any Money, Ware, or Merchandize, to any that ſhould take above Six Pounds 'for the forbearance of One Hundred Pounds 'for a Year, in Money or Merchandize, and every Scrivner or Broker that ſhall take above five 'Shillings for the Lone or Forbearance of a 'Hundred pounds for a Year, or above 12 d. for 'making or renewing a Bill or Bond, ſhall forfeit 20 l. one Moiety to the King, and the other to the Informer.

The Act of Indemnity.

'The ACT of General Pardon, Indemnity 'and Oblivion, *Pardons all the King's Subjects of* 'England *and* Ireland, Wales, Guernſey, Jerſey, 'and Berwick, of all Treaſons, Miſpriſions of 'Treaſons, Murthers, Felonies, Offences and 'Crimes whatſoever, from the Firſt of *January* '1637. to the 24th of *June*, 1660. (not therein 'excepted) Committed by virtue or colour of 'any Command or Authority from the King or 'his Father, or any of the late Powers, and 'from all Pains of Death, pains Corporal, and 'Pecuniary; and generally from all other things, 'Cauſes, Suits, and Executions, which may, or 'can be by the King in any wiſe, or by any 'means Pardoned. And alſo all perſonal Actions, Suits and Perſecutions whatſoever, by 'reaſon of the late Troubles; And the *Act* may 'be pleaded for any thing therein pardoned, 'without any Fee to the Officers for entring 'Judgment or Cauſe concerning ſuch Plea. And 'if any Officer or Clerk in any of the King's 'Courts iſſue out any Writ or Proceſs, or moleſt any in their Bodies or Eſtates, for any 'thing herein Pardoned, or if any Sheriff, or 'Eſcheator, or other Officer whatſoever, levy, 'receive, take, or with-hold any thing hereby 'pardoned, they ſhall pay to the Party grieved 'treble Damages beſides Coſts, and pay to the 'King Twenty Pounds, and ſuch Writs or Proceſs ſhall be void.

1. 'Excepted out of this *Act* all Murthers 'not herein Pardoned, Pyracies, Buggers, Rapes, 'and Raviſhments of Women, and all Offence, made Felons by an *Act*, Intituled, *An 'Act to reſtrain Perſons from Marriage, till their 'former Wives or Husbands be dead:* And all 'Witchcrafts and Conjurations, as alſo all Accompts of Treaſurers, Receivers, Farmers, or 'Collectors (other than Sub-Collectors of *Pariſhes* or *Towns* for their Receipts before the '14th. of *June*, 1659.) who had received any 'Cuſtomes, Prize-Goods, Aſſeſsments, or any 'other Publick Monies or Rents of the Crown-'Lands, or Biſhops and Dean and Chapter-'Lands, which had been paid to them ſince

'January,

'*January* 1642. and of all Moneys grown due or 'contracted upon the Sale or diſpoſition of ſuch 'Lands, or the Lands of Popiſh Recuſants, Con-'vict or other Sequeſtred Lands.

1. 'The Heirs and Executors of any Accomp-'tants excepted, and deceaſed, not to be lyable, 'except for ſuch Moneys as are due upon Ac 'compts already ſtated.

2. Moneys received for Fees, and Salaries or 'Wages, or diſburſed for publick uſe, are not 'to be charged.

3. No Military Officer of the Armies, or 'Officers of the Navies, who before *March* 1652. 'received Moneys for his Pay, or the Pay of o-'thers, or for Contingencies of the Souldiers or 'Garriſons, to be called to accompt therefore.

4. 'Likewiſe none were to be called to Ac-'compt for any of the Matters of this *Exception*, 'after the 24th of *June* 1662.

5. 'All Briberies and Perjuries are Excepted 'out of this *Act*. And all Subornation of Perju-'ry, or Witneſſes and Forgery, and alſo all Of-'fences in detaining or imbezelling any Goods, 'Moneys, Chattels, or Jewels of the late King, 'Queen or Prince, or their Shipping and Am-'munition of War, and other ſuch Goods or 'Chattels, as have been ſold or diſpoſed to any 'Servants or Creditors of the late King for pay-'ment of their Debts or Wages; And all Ac-'compts of the Revenues of Churches in *Wales* 'and *Monmouthſhire*, and all Judgments of Diſ-'charge or *Quietus eſt* thereupon had.

This laſt Exception, as to the Churches in *Wales*, was inſerted by the *Parliament* in this *Act*, upon Information, that ſome Factious People had, in the time of the late Uſurpation, procured to themſelves an Authority to Sequeſter all thoſe Revenues, upon pretence to imploy them more equally to illiterate Preachers, for the better propagation of the Goſpel in thoſe parts, but kept the greateſt part to their own uſe, leaveing moſt of the Churches unſupplied.

3. All publick Duties levied by any Sheriff or 'other Officer for the uſe of the late King, or 'the late Powers, or the King in being, not ac-'compted for or diſcharged, are excepted.

4. 'As alſo all Offences done by any Jeſuit, Se-'minary or Popiſh Prieſt, contrary to the Statute 'of the 27th of *Elizabeth*. It is provided.

1. 'That a Writ of *Capias* may be made a-'gainſt perſons Outlawed, pardoned by this *Act*, 'to Compel the Defendant to anſwer to the 'Plaintiff, at whoſe Suit they were Outlawed, 'may have a *Scire facias* againſt the party before 'the Pardon ſhall be allowed.

2. 'This Pardon is not to extend to pardon 'Outlawries upon any *Writ* of *Capias ad Satis-'faciendum*, till the party Outlawed ſhall ſatisfie 'or agree with the party,

5. 'All Informations and Proceedings de-'pending about, High-Ways and Bridges ſince '*January*, 1648. are excepted, and alſo all Re-'cognizances, Bonds and Securities given or en-'tred into ſince the 25th of *March*, 1640. by any 'Receiver, Bayliff, Collector or other Accomp-'tant in the *Exchequer*.

6. 'And perſon within three years that ob-'jected againſt another, any words of reproach, 'tending to revive memory of the late differen-'ces, was to pay ten pounds, if a Gentleman, 'and forty ſhillings, if one of a more Inferiour 'degree. 1660.

7. 'The Act gives no benefit to any who had 'any hand in Plotting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, 'nor to any that have ſtoln any Goods or Mo-'neys ſince the 24th of *March*, 1649.

8. 'Nor extends to diſcharge any from making 'reſtitution of thoſe Rents, Moneys, Horſes, 'Cattle or other Goods, which ſince the 25th of '*July*, 1659. have been by any perſon wrongful-'ly received or taken away (which by a preten-'ded *Act*, Intituled, *An Act of Repeal of two Acts 'of Parliament for Sequeſtration are to be repealed.*)

9. 'All publick Moneys paid in to any pub-'lick Uſe are pardon'd, and Parties concern'd, 'ſo far as their acquittances extend into, are to 'be diſcharged for the ſame. Nevertheleſs, thoſe 'are not diſcharged that received any Money 'for the Tax of Decimation, or upon the Ac-'compt of any *Militia* ſince 1648. not paid 'over and diſcharged by any that had a Legal 'or pretended authority to diſcharge the Recei-'vers thereof.

10. 'The *Kings* menial Servants, or any that 'had directions from him, whom whilſt they 'pretended to act in his Service were treache-'rous thereunto, were exempted from the benefit 'of this *Act*, if they were Outlawed and Con-'victed within Two Years from the 25th of '*April*, 1660.

11. 'Exciſe for Goods whereof Entry had 'been made in the *Cuſtom-Houſe* ſince the 25th 'of *March*, 1658. not pardoned, nor Moneys 'due to the Farmors of Exciſe ſince the 25th of '*March*, 1658.

12. 'The *Act* gives no benefit to *Owen Rowe*, '*Auguſtine Garland*, *Edmund Harvey*, *Henry* '*Smith*, *Henry Martain*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *Ro-'bert Titchborne*, *George Fleetwood*, *James Tem-'ple*, *Thomas Wait*, *Simon Mein*, *William Have-'ningham*, *Iſaac Pennington*, *Peter Temple*, *Ro-'bert Lilborn*, *Gilbert Millington*, *Vincent Pot-'ter*, *Thomas Wogan*, *John Downs*, *Adrian Scroop*, 'John Liſle, *William Say*, *Valentine Walton*, *Tho-'mas Harriſon*, *Edward Whally*, *John Barkſtead*, 'Edmund Ludlow, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, *John Okey*, 'John Hewſon, *William Goffe*, *Cornelius Holland*, 'Thomas Challoner, *John Carew*, *John Jones*, 'Miles Corbet, *Gregory Clement*, *Thomas*, *Scott*, 'William Crawley, *Nicholas Love*, *John Dixwell*, 'Daniel Blagrave, *John Cook*, *Andrew Brough-'ton*, *Edward Dendy*, *William Hewlet*, *Hugh* 'Peters, *Francis Hacker*, *Daniel Axtell*, or any 'of them, nor to thoſe Two or either of them 'diſguiſed upon the Scaffold the Thirtieth of '*January*, 1648, erected before *White-Hall*. 'All which Perſons, for being Inſtrumental in 'the Murther of the late King, are wholly ex-'cluded.

But in regard the Nineteen firſt mentioned rendred themſelves, according to a *Declaration* of the 6th of *June*, 1660. and thereby pretended to ſome Favour, it is Enacted, *That if the ſaid* 'Owen Rowe, *and the reſt ſo firſt mentioned*

1660. *are Attained, their Execution ſhould be ſuſpended, until the King and Parliament ſhould order the ſame,* (Only *Adrian Scroop*, though he was one of thoſe that rendered themſelves according to the foremention'd *Declaration*, yet in regard at the time of preſenting himſelf to the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons* in purſuance thereunto, in a Diſcourſe with Sir *Richard Brown*, then Lord Major Elect of *London*, and a Member of that *Houſe*, he uttered ſome words tending to a Juſtification of the Murther of the King, wherewith *Brown* acquainted the *Parliament*, he was therefore put under the ſame Qualification as thoſe that had not ſo rendred themſelves, becauſe of his Impenitency.)

13. 'Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John 'Bradſhaw, and Thomas Pride, though dead) 'were excepted, and the Lands and Goods, 'Rights and Truſts of them, and of One and 'Twenty others deceaſed, (viz.) *Iſaac Ewer*, Sir 'John Danvers, Sir Thomas Maleverer, William 'Pureſoy, John Blackiſton, Sir William Conſtable, 'Richard Dean, Francis Allen, Peregrine Pelham, 'John Moor, John Aired, Humphrey Edwards, 'Sir Gregory Norton, John Ven, Thomas Andrews, 'Anthony Stapeley, Thomas Horton, John Fry, 'Thomas Hammond, Philip Skippon, and Sir John 'Bourchier, were made ſubject to ſuch Penalties 'and Forfeitures as by another *Act* to be paſſed 'ſhould be ordained.

14. 'Moreover, William Lord Mounſon, Sir 'Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harrington, and 'Robert Wallop, were reſerved to ſuch Pains, 'Penalties and Forfeitures, as by the ſaid Act 'to be paſſed ſhould be inflicted on them, not 'extending to life.

Theſe were of the number of the Kings Judges but in regard they did not Sign the Warrant for Summoning the pretended Court, nor the Warrant for the Execution of his Majeſty, their Lives were ſpared.

Phelps who was a Clark in that Court, was put into to the ſame Condition, as alſo Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*; who though he was not one of the Actors in that Tragedy, was as malicious an Enemy to the King, as any of the reſt.

15. 'Hutchinſon and Laſſels, two others of 'the Judges, were made uncapable to execute 'any place of Truſt, and Laſſels to pay to the 'King one Years value of his Eſtate. Which Favours were extended to them for reaſons before expreſſed.

16. 'Oliver S. John who had been Chief Ju'ſtice of the Common-Pleas to Oliver Cromwell, 'and Seventeen others named in the *Act*, active 'Inſtruments in the late Uſurpations, were to be 'excluded from any benefit by this *Act*, if they 'accepted or ſhould execute any Office Eccleſia'ſtical, Civil or Military, in *England*, *Wales*, or 'Berwick, from the Firſt of *September* in the Year '1660.

'And all that had given Sentence of Death in 'any of the late Illegal High-Courts of Juſtice, 'or Signed any Warrant for Execution of any 'perſon there condemned (except Colonel Ri'chard Ingoldsby, and Colonel Matthew Thom'linſon) were diſabled from being Members in 'any Parliament after the ſaid Firſt day of Sep'tember, or bear any Office in *England* or 'Wales.

17. 'All Truſtees in a pretended *Act* made in 'the Year 1649 concerning Tythes appropriate, 'Free-Farm Rents, and Firſt-Fruits, &c. and 'their Heirs, were to be accomptable for ſuch 'of the ſame as had not been imployed accord'ing to the ſaid Act; nevertheleſs, no Miniſter 'or School-Maſter, or other perſon for whoſe 'benefit the ſaid Act was made, were to be ac'comptable.

18. 'The *Act* Pardons not bonds taken in his 'late Majeſties Name before 1642 for ſecuring 'any proper debt of any Servant, or Receiver of 'the Kings Revenues, if they had not been paid 'to, or by order of ſome lawful or pretended 'authority: Nor no perſon, his Heirs, Execu'tors, &c. who had not paid their proportion 'of a Summ of 150000*l.* (agreed to be paid as 'a Compoſition from the Farmers of ſeveral 'Cuſtoms illegally taken) or ought to have been 'contributary thereunto; but that the Eſtates of 'the dead as well as of the living, of ſuch perſons 'who ought to have been Contributary, in 'whoſe poſſeſſion ſoever (Purchaſers *Bona fide* 'upon valuable conſiderations only excepted,) 'ſhall be chargeable with their Proportions, as 'if the Act had never been made.

'Likewiſe all Arrears of Exciſe of Beer, Ale, 'or other Inland or Native Commodities, ſince 'the 24th of *June*, 1659. are unpardoned, and 'all Monies due from any Officers or Souldiers 'for Free-Quarter, ſince the 20th of *July* in the 'ſame Year or Monies borrowed by Officers for 'preventing of Free-Quarter.

19. 'No Conveyance or Bargain or Sale, 'Eſtate, Intereſt, or Truſt, or Limitation of Uſe 'or Uſes of any manner of Lands, Tenements 'or Hereditaments not being Crown-Lands, or 'Church-Lands, nor Lands ſold or diſpoſed for 'pretended Delinquencies by pretence of any 'Act or *Ordinance* ſince the firſt of *January* '1641. nor any Statute, Judgment, or Recogni'zance had, made, acknowledged, or ſuffered to 'any perſon or perſons, Bodies Politick or Cor'porate, before the 29th of *September*, 1659. by 'any of the perſons in this *Act* by name expreſ'ſed or their Heirs, or by any claiming by, 'from, or under them, (other than the Wives, 'Children or heirs of ſuch perſons) or any of 'them for Monies *Bona fide* to them or any of 'them paid or lent, nor any Conveyance or E'ſtate made before the 25th of *April*, 1660. by 'any perſons to any ſuch perſon excepted by 'name as aforeſaid, in Truſt or for the benefit of 'any Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate (not 'excepted by name as aforeſaid) ſhall be de'feated, impeached, or made void.

20. 'Laſtly, no perſons were to be indempni'fied who had entred into any Lands, Tene'ments and Hereditaments, called *Fabrick-Lands*, 'or poſſeſſed themſelves of any Rents or Reve'nues given for the repair of any Cathedral or 'other Church, or whoſe ſacrilegiouſly enriched 'themſelves by the converting of the Plate, U'tenſils, and Materials of or belonging to ſuch 'Churches, to their private uſe, for or in reſpect 'of the ſaid Crimes only.

The ACT for Obſervation of a perpetual Anniverſary.

The Act for a perpetual Anniverſary does Enact, 'That in all ſucceeding Ages, the 29th of *May* be Celebrated in every Church and 'Chappel

for his Majesties Restauration.

'Chappel in *England*, and the Dominions thereof, by rendring thanks to God for the *King*'s peaceable Restauration to the actual possession and exercise of his Legal Authority over his Subjects. And all Ministers are to read the *Act* at Morning-Prayer the Lords Day next before that Day, to give notice for the observation thereof.

A time prefixt by his Majesty for the Adjournment of the present Parliament.

The King after the passing these *Acts*, gave the *Parliament* notice, that on the 13th of *September*, he would have them to Adjourn to the sixth of *November* following; whereupon they were very diligent to compleat some Bills under consideration. That which was of most importance for the Peace of the Kingdom, was a Bill for the speedy disbanding the Army and Garrisons, which they were very earnest in. The King intended to have made it a *Sessions* by Prorogation; but upon application made to him, to shew the inconvenience thereof at that time, because of many Bills and other matters of great Concernment depending, which would thereby be vacated, he consented to an Adjournment.

The *Parliament* having taken notice of the Kings Wants, intimated in his last Speech at the passing of the forementioned *Acts*, provided for his Supply: In the next place they likewise took care that the Army should be supplied with Pay till they were disbanded; which was another of the particulars of that Speech.

Twenty two Acts more; 14 private, & 8 publick, Sign'd by his Majesty.

And now all things being ready for an Adjournment, the King on the 13th of *September*, which was the day appointed, came to the *House of Lords*, and there gave his Royal Assent to 14 private, and 8 publick *Acts* of *Parliament*.

The Private were.

1. *An* Act *for the restoring of the Marquess of* Hertford *to the Dukedome of* Somerset.

2. *An* Act *for the necessary Maintenance of the Work of Draining the great Level of the* Fens.

3. *An* Act *to restore the Earl of* Inchequin *all his Honours and Lands in* Ireland.

4. *An* Act *for to restore to* William *Marquess of* Newcastle, *all his Estate whereof he was in possession the 20th of* May, 1642. *or at any time since.*

5. *An* Act *for settling the Priory of* Watton, *and other Lands in* Yorkshire, *belonging to the Earl of* Winchelsea, *in the hands of Trustees, to pay his Debts.*

6. *An* Act *for the restoring of Sir* George Lane *to the Mannours of* Rachline *and* Lisdruff, *and other Lands in* Ireland.

7. *An* Act *to restore* Charles *Lord* Gerrard, *Baron of* Brandon, *to all his Estate whereof he was in possession the 20th of* May, 1642. *or at any time since.*

8. *An* Act *for the restoring to the Lord* Culpeper, *Baron of* Thorsway, *all the Estate whereof his Father was possessed on the 20th of* May, 1642. *or at any time after, which have not been since sold or aliened by his said Father by Acts and Assurances to which himself was party and consenting.*

9. *An* Act *to inable* Augustine *and* William Skinner *to sell Lands for payment of Debts.*

10. *An* Act *for the incorporating the Master and Wardens of* Haberdashers, London, *to be Governours of the Free-School and Alms-House in* New-port *in* Shropshire, *of the Foundation of* William Adams, *and for setling Lands on them for the Maintenance thereof, and other Charitable Uses.* 1660.

11. *An* Act *for inabling Sir* George Booth, *Baronet, to make Leases and Sales of part of his Estate.*

12. *An* Act *for Regulating of the Trade of* Bay *making in the* Dutch Bay Hall *in* Colchester.

13. The other two private Bills, were one of them to Naturalize *Dorothea Helena* Countess of *Derby*, *Emelia* Countess of *Ossery*, *Margaret* Lady *Culpeper*, and a Son and a Daughter of *Katherine Stanhop* Countess of *Chesterfield*, by *John Kirkhoven* Lord of *Henslet* in *Holland.*

14. And the other for Naturalizing *Peter de la Pierre* alias *Peters*, and *John de la Pierre* alias *Peters.*

Of these *Acts*, we think it unnecessary to name more than the Titles, as being not of publick Concernment: and every of the Titles are not here exactly inserted, it being sufficient for publick use, to describe so much of them as may inform Posterity of their tendency, and that such Acts were then passed; whereby those that are concerned, may be directed to a more curious search.

The Publick *ACTS* were:

1. *An* Act *for the speedy Disbanding of the Army and Garrisons.*

The Title of this Act does so much expres the use of it, that we shall omit to mention more of it here; and the rather, because it was in a few Months fully executed.

2. *An* Act *for the supplying and explaining certain defects in an* Act *for the speedy provision of Money for Disbanding and Paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.*

We have already given you an abbreviation of that Act, whereof this last is Explanatory, (which was the *Pool-Bill* lately described) and to which this being only relating, in reference to the supply of some of its defects, we shall not need to enlarge thereon.

3. *An* Act *for raising Sevenscore thousand pounds for the compleat disbanding of the Army.*

The *Parliament* finding the Pool-Bill to rise much short of expectation, from the failure of a due and exact execution of it they passed this Act, which ordained the Money to be raised in two Months from the first of *November*, 1660. (viz. 70000 l. *per Mensem.*

4. *An* Act *for the speedy raising of* 70000 l. *for the present supply of his Majesty.*

This Money was to be paid in one Month from the 29th of *September* following.

5. *An* Act *to prevent Frauds and Concealments of his Majesties Customes and Subsidies.*

This Act was but to continue in force till the end of the first Session of the next *Parliament.*

6. *An* Act *for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers.*

This Act stopt the Clamours of many Ecclesiastical persons that had defective Titles to their Cures; and the goodness of the King was very much celebrated by his Consent to it. Where-

1660.

An Act for Confirming and Restoring of Ministers.

fore it will not be amiss to give a brief touch of the Heads thereof.

It Enacts, 'That every Ecclesiastical person 'or Minister Ordained by any Ecclesiastical persons before *December* the 25th last past, being '24 years of age, having not renounced his Ordination, who hath been since *January* the first, '1642. placed in, and in actual possession of any 'Ecclesiastical Benefice, with the Cure of Souls, 'in *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, 'which hath been void by death, or any other 'avoidance, since that time, and before the 25th 'of *December* last past, and was then in possession, and received the Profits being in the Kings 'gift, or of his Father, or of any Arch-Bishop, 'Bishop, Dean and Chapter, Prebend, Arch-'Deacon, Body Politique or Corporate, or other person, other than such hereby restored, 'is declared lawfull Incumbent.

'Every voluntary Resignation of a Benefit to 'the Patron, or any pretended Power since the 'said first day of *January*, to be good, as if 'made to the Competent Ordinary.

'No Presentation is to be construed to be an 'Usurpation in Law, to the prejudice of any 'that shall have right to Present.

'Every Ecclesiastical person formerly Sequestred or Ejected after lawful Presentation and 'perception of the profits, that hath not subscribed any Petition to bring the late King to Try-'al, or by any act endeavoured or justified the 'Murther of the said King, or declared his Judg-'ment against Infant-Baptism, by Preaching, 'Writing, Printing, or constant refusal to Baptize, shall be restored to the possession thereof, 'at or before the 25th day of *December* next ensuing; and every Ecclesiastical person to be removed, may enjoy the profits to that day.

There be many other Clauses and Provisions in this Bill, too long to be here inserted; and so much the less important, in regard by some subsequent Laws, the greatest part of the whole was in a manner repeal'd.

The substance of the Act for incouraging of *Navigation*.

7. 'An *Act* for incouraging *Shipping* and *Navigation*: Wherein it is Enacted, That from 'the first of *December*, 1660. No Commodities 'shall be imported or Exported out of any Lands, 'Islands, Plantations or Territories, belonging 'unto, or which may belong to his Majesty, his 'Heirs and Successors, in *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, in any other Vessel but such as belong unto 'the people of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, or *Berwick*, or are of them built, or do belong to them, 'as the right Owners, and whereof the Master 'and three fourths of the Mariners are *English*, 'under penalty of the loss of all the Goods imported or Exported in other Vessels, as also of 'the Vessels, with all its Guns, Furniture, Tackle, Ammunition and Apparel, one third to his 'Majesty, his Heirs and Successors; one third 'to the Governour of such Lands, Islands, Plantations or Territories, in case the Ship or Goods 'be there seized; and the other third part unto 'him that shall seize, inform, or sue for the same 'in any Court of Record, by Bill, Information, 'Plaint or Action, wherein no Essoin, Protection, 'or Wager of Law shall be allowed. And all 'Captains, and Commanders at Sea, by Commission from the King or his Successors, are required to bring in all Ships and Vessels so offending, and deliver them into the Court of Admiralty to be proceeded against; and in case of 'Condemnation, one Moiety is to be divided to 'the use of the Admiral and Commander, and 'their Companies, according to the Rules in case 'of Prize, and the other to the King and his Successors. With many other Clauses and Provisoes tending much to the advancement of the *English* Manufacture.

8. The Eighth Publick *Act* was, *An Act for inabling Souldiers of the Army to exercise Trades*. A very grateful Law to many of the Inferiour Officers and Souldiers, and a good preparatory to their Disbanding; for many of them had been Apprentices, and without some such Provision, might have been left without any way of subsistence, when Arms were out of their hands.

The King made a short Speech to both *Houses of Parliament* at the passing of these Bills, full of Sweetness, according to the affable temper of his Nature.

The Kings Speech to the *House* at the Passing of the said Bills.

He thanked them for their general Care of the Publick, and other particular respects to him, in that for his Satisfaction they had made provision to pay off the Army whilest they were Disbanding, thereby to prevent Free-Quarter: Adding, *That though he kindly accepted their Present of Money, he would not imploy any of it for the supply of his own occasions, till he should be assured the Publick had no need of it. He likewise took notice of the Bill concerning the Duke of* Somerset, *who, he said, had merited as much of the King his Father, and himself, as a Subject could do; and that he was none of those who think that Subjects by performing their Duties in any extraordinary manner, do not oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary manner: Nevertheless, he said, it seemed to be of an extraordinary nature*; and indeed we do not remember any President in Story of the like: But the King was pleased to add, *That he hoped no man would envy this Duke, because he had done what a good Master should do to such a Servant.*

After which, his Majesty referr'd to the Chancellour to speak of many other things which he had to recommend to them: For in this time of their Recess, the Army was to be Disbanding, whereof many discourses had been spread abroad by disaffected persons. Some said the King would keep them up; and others that they would not suffer themselves to be disbanded. And though he had passed an ACT to confirm Ministers, yet farther order was to be taken in reference to Church-Government; and particularly in respect to tender Consciences: as likewise about purchases and sales of Publick Lands, which had without any issue much taken up the time of both *Houses*; and therefore since the *Parliament* Adjourned before any thing in these Affairs was effected, it was expedient to satisfie the People with the Kings Intentions therein: Of which, and many other matters of great Concernment to the good and quiet of the Kingdom, the Chancellor in a most Excellent Speech expressed himself as followeth.

My Lord Chancellors Speech to the *Two Houses*.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE *King* tells you, He hath Commanded me to say many Particulars to You: and 'the truth is, he hath charg'd me with so many, 'that

'that I have great reason to fear, that I shall stand 'in much need of his Mercy, for omitting many 'things he hath given me in Command, at least, 'for delivering them in more disorder and con- 'fusion, than matters of such moment and impor- 'tance ought to be to such an Assembly, for which 'the King himself hath even a kind of Reverence, 'as well as an extraordinary Kindness.

'I am to mention some things, he hath done 'already, and many things he intends to do du- 'ring this Recess, that you may see how well 'content soever he is, that you should have 'Ease, and Pleasure, and Refreshment, he hath 'designed work enough for himself.

'The King hath thanked you for the provision 'you have made, that there may be no Free- 'quarter during the time the Army shall be dis- 'banding; and hath told you what he will do 'with that Money you have given him, if there 'should want werewith to disband it. And now 'I hope you will all believe that his Majesty will 'consent to the disbanding. He will do so; and 'yet he doth not take it unkindly at their hands, 'who have thought that his Majesty would not 'disband this Army. It was a sober and rational 'jealousie; no other Prince in *Europe* would be 'willing to disband such an Army; an Army to 'which Victory is intailed, and which, human- 'ly speaking, could hardly fail of Conquest 'wheresoever he should lead it: And if God had 'not restored his Majesty to that rare felicity, as 'to be without appprehension of danger at home, 'or from abroad, and without any ambition of 'taking from his Neighbors what they are pos- 'sessed of, Himself would never disband this Ar- 'my: An Army, whose order and discipline, 'whose sobriety and manners, whose courage 'and success, hath made it famous and terrible 'over the whole World: An Army of which 'the *King* and his Two Royal *Brothers* may say, 'as the Noble *Grecian* said of *Æneas*,

——— *Stetimus tela aspera contra*
Contulimusque manus; experto credite, quantus
In Clypeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam,

'They have all three, in several Counties, found 'themselves ingaged in the midst of these Troops 'in the heat and rage of Battle; and if any com- 'mon Souldiers (as no doubt many may) will 'demand the old *Romans* Priviledge for having 'encountred Princes single, upon my Conscience 'he will find both Favour and Preferment. They 'have all three observ'd the discipline, and felt, 'and admired, and loved the courage of this Ar- 'my, when they were the worse for it: And I 'have seen them in a season when there was lit- 'tle else of comfort in their view, refresh them- 'selves with joy that the *English* had done the 'great Work, the *English* had got the day; and 'then please themselves with the Imagination 'what Wonders they should perform in the 'Head of such an Army.

'And therefore when his Majesty, is so entirely 'possessed of the affection and obedience of this 'Army, and when it hath merited so much from 'him, can it be believ'd or imagined, that he can 'without some regret part with them? No, *My, 'Lords and Gentlemen*, he will never part with 'them, and the only way never to part with 'them, is to disband them: Should it be other- 'wise, they must be exposed to the daily importu- 'nity of his great Neighbours and Allies; and 'how could he refuse to lend them his Troops, 'of which he hath no need himself? His Majesty 'knows they are too good *Englishmen*, to wish 'that a standing Army should be kept up in the 'Bowels of their own Country, that they who 'did but in *Bello Pacis gerere Negotium*, and who 'whilst an Army liv'd like good Husband-men 'in the Country, and good Citizens in the City, 'will now become really such and take delight 'in the benefit of that Peace they have so honest- 'ly and so wonderfully brought to pass. The 'King will part with them as the most indul- 'gent Parents part with their Children for their 'Education, and for their Preferment; he will 'prefer them to disbanding, and prefer them by 'disbanding; and will always retain such a 'kindess for them, and such a memory of the 'service they have done him, that both Officers, 'and Souldiers, after they are disbanded, shall 'always find such countenance, favour, and re- 'ward from his Majesty, that he doubts not but 'if he should have occasion to use their service, 'they will again resort to him with the same a- 'lacrity, as if they had never been disbanded: 'And if there be any so ill amongst them (as 'there can be but very few, if any) who will 'forfeit the Favour and Protection they may 'have from him, by any withstanding his Maje- 'sties Commands, and the full and declared 'Sense of the Kingdom, his Majesty is confident 'they will be as odious to their Companions, as 'they can be to any other honest men. 1660.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am in the next 'place by the Kings Command, to put you in 'mind of the *Act of Indempnity*, not of any Grants 'or Concessions, or Releases he made to you in 'that *Act*; (I have nothing of that in Charge: 'No Prince hath so excellent a Memory to forget 'the Favours he doth;) but of what he hath 'done against you in that *Act*, how you may be 'undone by that *Act*, if you are not very careful 'to perform the Obligations he hath laid upon 'you in it: The Clause I am to put you in mind 'of is this; *And to the intent and purpose that all 'Names and Tearms of distinction may likewise be 'put into utter Oblivion; be it further Enacted by 'the Authority aforesaid, That if any person or per- 'sons within the space of three years next ensuing, 'shall presume maliciously to call, or alledge, or object, 'against any other persons, any Name or Names, or 'other words of reproach, any way leading to revive 'the memory of the late differences, or the occasion 'thereof, that then every such person so, as afore- 'said, offending, shall forfeit, &c.* It is no mat- 'ter for the Penalty, it is to cheap a one, the 'King wishes it had been greater, and therefore 'hath by his Just Prerogative (and 'tis well for 'us he hath such a Prerogative) added another 'Penalty more insupportable, even the high dis- 'pleasure against all who shall swerve from this 'Clause in the Act: Give me leave to tell you, 'That as any name or names, or other words of 'reproach, are expresly against the Letter, and 'punishable accordingly; so evil and envious 'looks, murmuring and discontented hearts, 'are as directly against the Equity of this Sta- 'tute, a direct breach of the *Acts of Indempnity* and

1660. 'and ought to be punished *too*, and I believe they 'may be so. You know *Kings* are in some sense 'called *Gods*, and so they may in some degree be 'able to look into mens hearts; and God hath gi-'ven us a King, who can look as far into mens 'hearts as any Prince alive; and he hath great 'skill in Physiognomy too; you would wonder 'what Calculations he hath made from thence: 'and no doubt if he be provoked by evil looks to 'make a further inquiry into mens hearts, and 'finds those corrupted with the passions of envy 'and uncharitableness, he will never chuse those 'hearts to trust and rely upon. He hath given us 'a Noble and Princely example, by opening and 'stretching his Arms to all who are worthy to 'be his Subjects, worthy to be thought *English-'men*, by extending his Heart with a Pious and 'grateful joy to find all his Subjects at once in 'his Arms, and himself in theirs; and shall we 'fold our Arms towards one another, and con-'tract our hearts with envy and malice to each 'other by any sharp memory of what hath been 'unneighbourly or unkindly done heretofore? 'What is this but to Rebel against the Person 'of the king, against the excellent Example and 'Virtue of the King, against the known Law of 'the Land, this blessed *Act of Oblivion*?

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The King is a 'Suitor to you, makes his Suit very heartily, 'that you will joyn with him in restoring the 'whole Nation to its Primitive temper and In-'tegrity, to its old good Manners, its old good 'Humor, and its old good Nature, Good Nature, 'a Virtue so peculiar to you, so appropriated by 'God Almighty to this Nation, that it can be 'translated into no other Language, hardly prac-'tis'd by any other People; and that you will by 'your Example, by the Candor of your Conver-'sation, by your Precepts, and by your Practice, 'and by all your Interest, teach your Neighbours 'and your Friends, how to pay a full obedience 'to this Clause of the Statute, how to learn this 'Excellent Art of Forgetfulness.

'Let them remember, and let us all remember 'how ungracious, how indecent, how ugly the 'insolence and fierceness, the bruitishness of 'their Enemies appeared to them, and we may 'piously and reasonably believe, that Gods In-'dignation against them, for their want of Bow-'els, for their not being *English-men*, (for they 'had the hearts of *Pagans* and *Infidels*) sent a 'Whirl-wind in a moment to blow them out of 'the World; that is, out of a capacity to do 'more mischief in the World; except we pra-'ctice their Vices, and do that our selves, which 'we pretend to detest them for.

'Let us not be too much ashamed; as if what 'hath been done amiss, proceeded from the Hu-'mour, and the Temper, and the Nature of our 'Nation. The *Astrologers* have made us a fair 'Excuse, and truly I hope a true one, *All the 'Motions of these last twenty years have been unna-'tural, and have proceeded from the evil influence 'of a Malignant Star*; And let us not too much 'despise the influence of the Stars. And the same '*Astrologers* assure us, that the Malignity of the 'Star is expired, the good *Genius* of this King-'dom is become Superiour, and hath mastered 'that Malignity; and our own good old Stars 'govern us again; and their influence is so strong, 'that with our help they will repair in a year, 'what hath been decaying in twenty: And they 'only shall have no excuse from the Star, who 'continue this Malignity, and own all the ill that 'is past to be their own by continuing it, and 'improving it for time to come.

'If any body here, or any-where else, be too 'much exalted with what he hath done, or what 'he hath suffered, and from thence thinks him-'self warranted to reproach others, let him re-'member the Story of *Nicephorus*; it is an ex-'cellent Story, and very applicable to such di-'stempers; he was a Pious and Religious man, 'and for his Piety and Religion was Condem-'ned to the Fire: When he was led to Executi-'on, and when an old Friend who had done him 'injury enough, fell at his feet, and asked his 'pardon, the Poor man was so Elated with the 'Triumph he was going unto, with the Glory 'of Martyrdom, that he refused to be reconci-'led unto him; upon which he was disappoint-'ed of his end; and for his uncharitableness, 'the Spirit of God immediately forsook him, 'and he Apostatized from the Faith.

'Let all those who are too proud of having 'been as they think, less faulty than other men, 'and so are unwilling to be reconciled to those 'who have offended them, take heed of the A-'postacy of *Nicephorus*, and that those fumes of 'Envy, and Uncharitableness, and Murmuring, 'do not so far transport and intoxicate them, 'that they fall into those very Crimes, they va-'lue themselves for having hitherto declined.

'But, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, whilest we con-'spire together to execute faithfully this part of 'the Bill, to put all old Names and Tearms of 'distinction into utter Oblivion, let us not find 'new Names and Tearms to keep up the same, 'or a worse distinction: If the old reproaches 'of *Cavalier*, and *Roundhead*, and *Malignant*, be 'committed to the Grave let us not find more 'significant and better words, to signifie worse 'things, let not Piety and Godliness grow into 'tearms of reproach, and distinguish between 'the Court, and the City, and the Country; and 'let not Piety and Godliness be measured by a 'morosity in manners.

'An affection of Gestures, a new mode and tone 'of speaking, at least, let not our Constitutions 'and Complexions make us be thought of a con-'trary party, and because we have not an affected 'austerity in our looks, that we have no Piety in 'our hearts; very merry men have been very god-'ly men, and if a good Conscience be a continual 'Feast, there is no reason but men may be merry 'at it.

'You, Mr. *Speaker*, have this day made a No-'ble Present to the *King*; do you think that if 'you and your worthy Companions had brought 'it up with folded Arms, down-cast looks, with 'sighs, and other instances of desperation, it 'would not have been a very Melancholick Pre-'sent? Have not your frank and dutiful expres-'sions, that chearfulness and vivacity in your 'looks, render'd it much more acceptable, much 'more valuable?

'No Prince in Christendom loves a chearful 'giver so well as God Almighty does, and he 'of all gifts a Chearful heart; and therefore I pray

'pray let not a cloudy or discontented face be 'the only or the best sign of Piety and Devotion 'in the heart.

'I must ask you pardon for misplacing much of 'this Discourse, which I should have mentioned 'when I came to speak of the Ministers *Bill*; 'They, I hope, will endeavour to remove those 'new marks of Distinction and Reproaches, and 'keep their Auditors from being imposed upon 'by such Characters and Descriptions. The *King* 'hath passed this *Act* very willingly, and done 'much to the end of this *Act* before, yet hath 'willingly admitted you to be sharers and Part-'ners with him in the Obligation: I may say 'confidently, his Majesty hath never denied his 'Confirmation to any man in possession who 'hath asked it; and they have all had the effect 'of it, except such who, upon examination and 'inquiry, appeared not worthy of it, and such 'who though they are Pardoned, cannot yet 'think themselves worthy to be preferr'd. His 'Majesty well knows that by this *Act* he hath 'gratified and obliged many worthy and Pious 'men, who have contributed much to his Restau-'ration, and who shall always receive fresh evi-'dences of his Majesties Favour and Kindness; but 'he is not sure that he may like likewise have 'gratified some who did neither contribute to his 'coming in, nor are yet glad he is in; how comes 'it else to pass, that he receives such frequent 'Information of Seditious Sermons in the City 'and in the Country, in which all Industry is used 'to alienate the affections of the People, and to in-'fuse Jealousies into them of the King and his 'Government? they talk of introducing Popery, 'of Evil Counsellours, and such other old Calum-'nies as are pardoned by this *Act of Indempnity*.

'His Majesty told you, when he was last 'here, That Rigour and Severity he will here-'after use, how contrary soever it is to his Na-'ture in these cases, and conjured you, *My 'Lords and Gentlemen*, to concur with him in 'this Just and Necessary Severity; which I am 'sure you will do with your utmost Vigilance; 'and that you will believe that too much ill 'cannot befal those who do the best they can to 'corrupt his Majesties Nature, and to extinguish 'his Mercy.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I told you I was to 'acquaint you with some things his Majesty in-'tends to do during this Recess, that you may see 'he will give no *intermission* to his own Thoughts 'for the Publick good, though for a time he 'dispenses with your assistance.

'He doth consider the infinite importance the 'improvement of Trade must be to this King-'dom, and therefore his Majesty intends to esta-'blish a *Council of Trade*, consisting of some Prin-'cipal Merchants of the several Companies, to 'which he will add some Gentlemen of Quality 'and Experience. And for their greater Honour 'and Encouragement, some of my Lords of his 'own *Privy Council*.

'In the next place, his Majesty hopes, that by 'a well-settled Peace and Gods great Blessing 'upon him and You, this Nation will in a short 'time flourish to that degree that the Land of 'Canan did, when *Esau* found it necessary to 'part from his Brother; For their Riches were 'more than that they might dwell together, and 'the Land wherein they were could not bear 'them, because of their Cattel. We have been our-'selves very near this Pinacle of Happiness; and 'the hope and contemplation that we may be so 'again, dispose the King to be very solicitous for 'the Improvement and Prosperity of his *Planta-'tions* abroad, where there is such large room for 'the Industry and Reception of such who shall 'desire to go thither. And therefore his Majesty 'intends likewise to Erect and Establish a *Council* 'for those *Plantations*, in which persons well-qua-'lified, shall be wholly intent upon the good and 'advancement of those Plantations. 1660.

'There are two other Particulars which I am 'commanded to mention, which were both men-'tioned and recommended to You by his Maje-'sty in his *Declaration* from *Breda*: The one, for 'the confirmation of Sales, or other recompence 'for Purchasers: The other for the Composing 'those differences and distempers in Religion 'which have too much disturbed the Peace of the 'Kingdom. Two very weighty Particulars, in 'which his Majesty knows you have spent much 'time, and concerning which he should have 'heard from you before this time, if you had 'not met with great difficulties in the disquisi-'tion of either.

'For the First, his Majesty hath not been 'without much thought upon the Argument, and 'hath done much towards the accommodation 'of many particular persons; and you shall not 'be at your Journey's end, before his Majesty 'will put that business concerning Sales into such 'a way of dispatch, that he doubts not, you will 'find a good progress made in it before your 'coming together again; and I believe the per-'sons concerned will be very much to blame if 'they receive not good satisfaction: and some of 'you, who stay in Town, shall be advised and 'consulted with, in that Settlement.

'The other of Religion, is a sad Argument 'indeed, it is a consideration that must make eve-'ry Religious heart to bleed, to see Religion, 'which should be the strongest Obligation & Ce-'ment of Affection, and Brotherly Kindness and 'Compassion, made now, by the perverse wrang-'lings of passionate & froward men, the ground 'of all Animosity, Hatred, Malice and Revenge. 'And this unruly and unmanly passion (which no 'Question the Divine Nature exceedingly abhors) 'sometimes, and I fear too frequently, transports 'those who are in the right, as well as those who 'are in the wrong, and leaves the latter more ex-'cusable than the former, when men, who find 'their Manners and dispositions very conform-'able in all the necessary obligations of humane 'Nature, avoid one anothers conversation, and 'grow first unsociable, and then uncharitable to 'each other, because one cannot think as the o-'ther doth: And from this separation We entitle 'God to the Patronage of, and concernment in, 'our fancies and distinction, and purely for his 'sake hate one another heartily.

'It was not so of old, when one of the most 'Ancient Fathers of the Church tells Us, That 'Love and Charity was so signal and eminent 'in the Primitive Christians, that it even drew 'admiration and envy from their adversaries.

Vide

1660. '(*Vide inquiunt*) *ut invicem se diligunt!* Their Adversaries, in that in which they moſt agreed in, 'their very proſecution of them, had their paſſions 'and animoſities amongſt themſelves; they were 'only Chriſtians that Loved, and Cheriſhed, and 'Comforted, and were ready to die for one ano-'ther. *Quid nunc illi dicerent Chriſtiani, ſi noſtra vi-'derent tempora?* ſays the incomporable *Grotius*? 'How would they look upon our ſharp and vi-'rulent Contentions in the Debates of Chriſtian 'Religion, and the bloody Wars that have pro-'ceeded from thoſe Contentions, whilſt every one 'pretended to all the marks which are to attend 'upon the true Church except only that which is 'inſeparable from it, *Charity to one another.*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, this Diſquiſition 'hath coſt the *King* many a Sigh, many a ſad 'hour, when he hath conſidered the almoſt irre-'parable reproach the Proteſtant Religion hath 'undergone from the Diviſions and Diſtractions 'which have been ſo notorious within this King-'dom; What pains he hath taken to compoſe 'them after ſeveral Diſcourſes with Learned and 'Pious men of different Perſwaſions, you will 'ſhortly ſee by a *Declaration* he will publiſh upon 'that occaſion; by which you will ſee his great 'indulgence, to thoſe who can have any Pro-'teſtion from Conſcience to differ with their 'Brethren. And I hope God will ſo bleſs the Can-'dor of his *Majeſty* in the Condeſcenſions he 'makes, that the *Church* as well as the *State* will 'return to that Unity and Unanimity, which will 'make both *King* and *People* as happy as they 'can hope to be in this World.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I ſhall conclude 'with the *King*'s hearty Thanks to you, not only 'for what you have done towards him, which 'hath been very Signal; but for what you have 'done towards each other, for the Excellent 'Correſpondence you have maintain'd for the 'very ſeaſonable deference and condeſcenſion 'you have had for each other, which will reſtore '*Parliaments* to the veneration they ought to 'have. And ſince his Majeſty knows that you all 'deſire to pleaſe him, you have given him ample 'evidence that you do ſo; He hath appointed me 'to give you a ſure receipt to attain that good 'end; it is a Receipt of his own preſcribing, and 'therefore it is not like to fail.

'Be but pleaſed your ſelves, and perſwade 'others to be ſo; contrive all the ways imagina-'ble for your own Happineſs, and you will 'make Him the beſt pleaſed and the moſt happy '*Prince* in the World.

After this Speech the King retired, and both *Houſes* of *Parliament* Adjourned themſelves to the ſixth of *November*.

In the *ACT* for the ſpeedy Disbanding of the Army and Garriſons, That Affair was committed two Twelve Commiſſioners, (Six whereof were *Lords* and Six *Commons*) or to any Three of them, whereof one of the Commiſſioners named by the *Lords*, and one named by the *Commons*, were to be Two: And that they might not go far about for the Money, The Treaſurers at War, and Treaſurer named in the *Act* for the ſpeedy Proviſion of Money for Disbanding the Army, were to Iſſue Moneys upon their Warrant.

All the Regiments and Garriſons were Diſbanded by Lot, except four Companies in *Hull*, four in *Berwick*, and four in *Carliſle*, which were reſerved to be laſt reduced: And the Regiments belonging to the Duke of *York* and *Glouceſter*, and the Lord General, were not to be Disbanded till after all the other Regiments and Garriſons except the Three before-mentioned. There were Disbanded in *England* and *Wales*, Eighteen Regiments of Foot, conſiſting of a Thouſand Souldiers in each Regiment, beſides Officers and thirteen Regiments of Horſe, having ſix hundred Souldiers in each Regiment beſides Officers, together with the General's Life Guard of Horſe, conſiſting of Two Hundred, and about Fifty Garriſons which had not in them leſs than 5000 Souldiers, beſides Officers. And in *Scotland* Three Regiments and Two Companies of Foot, and Two Regiments, except one Troop of Horſe, and about Thirteen Garriſons; but moſt of theſe Garriſons were not under particular Eſtabliſhment, as thoſe in *England*, but were mann'd by Companies out of the reſpective Regiments. The King, out of his own Bounty, gave a Weeks Pay over and above their full Arrears to all the Troops and Companies Disbanded; Which was very Thankfully accepted by them.

Moreover, he was ſo well ſatisfied with the Services of many of his Subjects in *Ireland*, who Joyned with the Duke of *Albemarle*, for his Reſtauration, that he Conferred Rewards and Honour upon many of them according to the report of their merit; amongſt theſe, Sir *Charles Coot* was made Earl of *Montrath*; *Roger* Lord *Broughhil* advanced to the Dignity of Earl of *Orrery*; Colonel *Richard Coot*, a Brother to the Earl of *Montrath*, was created Baron of *Collowney*: and Sir *John King*, Baron of *Kingſton*; and ſhortly after Sir *John Clotworthy* was made Viſcount *Maſſarine*.

The KING complemented by the Embaſſadours and Agents of Forain Princes.

Beſides the many Addreſſes that were made to the King by his own Subjects generally from all parts of his Dominions, there alſo came over Forrain Agents and Embaſſadours from ſeveral of the greateſt Princes and States of *Europe*, to Complement his Majeſty in the Name of their Maſters, touching his happy Reſtauration to his Royal Dignity and Government: from the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* came the Baron of *Pelnitz*, Maſter of the Horſe to his Highneſs. From *Frederick* Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, Cozen-German to his Majeſty of *England*, came *Chriſtopher Cloſs* of *Keiſembergh*, Captain of his Guards. From the King of *Denmark* came the Lord *Frederick Van Alefeld*, Deputy-Governour of the Dukedoms of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*. But never did any Embaſſadour arrive in *England* in a more Splendid and gallant Equipage than the Prince of *Ligne*, who being ſent Embaſſadour to our King from the King of *Spain*, ſeems to have come only upon a Gratulatory and Complemental *Addreſs*, in regard there needed no Negotiation about any Peace between *England* and *Spain*, foraſmuch as upon the coming in of his preſent Majeſty, there follow'd by conſequence a reviving of that Peaceful & Friendly Correſpondence which had formerly been between theſe Two Crowns

Peace renewed with *Spain.*

Crowns in the time of the late King. And to this purpose his Majesty set forth a *Proclamation*, Requiring, that (whereas the King of *Spain* had Commanded throughout his Dominions a Cessation from all Hostility towards this Crown, and had proposed, that the Publication thereof might be on both sides agreed on by a fixt day) all Acts of Hostility should likewise cease on our parts, towards the Subjects of that Crown; which Cessation was to be reckoned as taking beginning from the day of his Majesties Arrival in *England*, being the 25th of *May*, and that all Goods and Merchandizes which had been taken from that time should be restored.

As the occasion of the Prince *de Ligne*'s coming over was only Gratulatory and Complemental, so his stay here was but short; and after his Departure, there remained here as the King of *Spain*'s Lieger or Embassador in Ordinary, the Baron of *Battevill.* In the same manner, on the part of the *French* was the Count of *Soissons*, succeeded by Monsieur *d' Estrade*, who had not been long here, ere an Occasion hapned, which manifested, that the late concluded Peace between these two Kings had not any whit lessened the Jealousie of Honour between them and their old pretensions in point of Precedence: Many troublesome Contests there have formerly been between the Embassadors of these two Crowns in the Courts of Forrain *Princes* and *States*, when they have chanced to be Resident together at the same place; but none more remarkable than that upon *Tower-Hill*, at the Landing of an Embassador from *Sweden*, on the 30th of *September:* Which since it was so prepared and premeditated a Business on both sides, that his Majesty foreseeing it would come to a Quarrel, and out of his accustomed Civility willing to carry himself with an equal and impartial Indifference toward them both, and so far to gratifie their Intentions, as to permit them to put their Retinue into such a posture as they should think fittest, and most becoming their respective pretences: Yet in the mean time taking order for strict guards to be kept upon the place, for the preventing, as much as might be, of all, disturbances; and severely prohibiting any of his own Subjects to intermeddle in the difference, or to take part with either side; was pleased to Command, That the formerly mention'd Mr. *Evelyn* should, after diligent Enquiry made concerning the Carriage and Success of that whole Affair, render him a particular Accompt thereof by drawing up a full *Narrative* of every Circumstance of that Rencounter: Which being a matter of so rare a kind, and great Importance, We have here thought meet to insert from that *Gentleman's* more sedulous and ample Collection, as it was by him presented to his *Majesty* in this following relation:

The manner of the encounter between the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadors, at the Landing of the *Swedish* Embassador.

Upon *Monday* last, being the 30th of *September*, about ten in the Morning, the *Spanish* Embassadours Coach (in which were his Chaplain, with some of his Gentlemen attended by about Fourty more of his own Servants in Liveries) was sent down to the *Tower-Wharf*, and there placed it self near about the Point, where the Ranks or Ordnance determine towards the Gate leading into the Bulwark. Next after him came the *Dutch*, and (Twelve a Clock past) the *Swedish* Coach of Honour, disposing of themselves according to their places. About two hours after this (in company with his Majesties Coach Royal) appeared that of the *French* Ambassadors, wherein were *Le* Marques *de Strade*, Son to the *French* Ambassador, with several more of his Gentlemen, and as might be computed, near an Hundred and fifty in Train, whereof above Fourty were Horsemen well appointed with Pistols, and (some of them) with Carabines, Musquetoons or Fuzies: In this posture and Equipage stood they expecting upon the Wharf, and as near as might be, approaching to his Majesties Coach, which was opposite to the Stairs. About three in the Afternoon, the *Swedish* Ambassador being Landed, and received into his Majesties Coach, (which moved leisurely before the rest, and was followed by that of the *Swedes*) The *French* Ambassadors Coach endeavoured to go the next, driving as close as possibly they could, and advancing their party with their Swords drawn, to force the *Spaniards* from the Guard of their own Coach, which were also putting in for Precedency next the King. His Majesties Coach now past, the *Spaniards* (who held as yet their Rapiers undrawn in their hands) stepping nimbly on either side of the hind-most Wheels of their Masters Coach, drew their Weapons, and shouted, which caused the *French* Coach-horses to make a Pause: But, when they observed the advantage, which by this the *Spanish* Ambassadors Coach had gained, being now in file after the *Swedes*, they came up very near to the *Spaniards*, and at once, pouring in their shot upon them, together with their Foot (then got before their Coach) fell to it with their Swords; both which the *Spaniards* received, without removing one jot from their Stations.

During this *Demesle* (in which the *French* received some repulse, and were put to a second stand) a bold and dextrous Fellow, and (as most affirm) with a particular Instrument, as well as address, stooping under the bellies of the *French* Ambassadors Coach-Horses, cut the Ham-strings of two of them, and wounded a third; which immediately falling, the Coach for the present was disabled from advancing farther, the Coachman forced out of his Box, and the Postilion mortally wounded, who falling into the arms of an *English* Gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a *Spaniard* pierced through his Thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded, and some slain) caused those in the *French* to alight, and so enraged their Party, that it occasioned a second brisk Assault both of Horse and Foot; which being received with extraordinary Gallantry, many of their Horse retreated, and wheel'd off to St. *Katherines*.

It was in this Skirmish that some Brick-bats were thrown from the edg of the Wharf, which (by a mistake) are said to have been provided by the *Spanish* Ambassadors Order the day before. But that they were not cast by any of the *English*, is attested by the general consent of all the Spectators.

In this Interim then (which was near half an hour) the *Spanish* Coach went forward after his Majesties, with about Twenty of its Retinue following, who still kept their Countenances towards the *French*, as long as they abode on the

1660.

1660. Wharf, and that narrow paſſage of the Bullwark, (where the Conteſt was very fierce) without diſorder: So as the firſt which appear'd on *Toner-Hill* (where now they were entring) was His Majeſties Coach, followed by the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours, and next, by that of *Spain*, with about twenty four, or thirty of his Liveries, ſtill diſputing it with a leſs number of *French*, who came after them in the Rear.

And here, (beſides what were ſlain with Bullets on the Wharf, and near the Bulwark, whereof one was a *Valet de Chambre* of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours, and ſix more, amongſt which a poor *Engliſh* Plaiſterer, and near Forty wounded) fell one of the *French*, who was kill'd juſt before his Highneſſes Life-guard, no one perſon of the numerous Spectators intermedling, or ſo much as making the leaſt noiſe, or tumult, People or Soldiers, whereof there were three Companies of Foot which ſtood oppoſite on the Hill to the Guards of Horſe, 'twixt whom the Antagoniſts lightly skirmiſh'd, ſome freſh Parties of *French* coming out of ſeveral places, and protected by the *Engliſh*, amongſt whom they found ſhelter, till the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors Coach having gained and paſſed the Chain which leads into *Crochet-Friers*, they deſiſted, and gave them over.

What-ever diſadvantage the *French* came off with in this Rencounter, wherein, except one Man that ſought among the *Spaniards* with a Half-Pike, not any of the *Engliſh* were ſeen to act any thing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of one ſide more than another, till a few of the multitude which ſtood on that ſide of the Wharf, being inraged by the Wounds which they receiyed from the ſhot that came in amongſt them, and whereof, 'tis ſaid, ſome of them afterwards died, were forced to defend themſelves with what they found at hand: For ſo careful was Sir *Charles Berkley*, Captain of his Royal Highneſſes Life-guard, to put in execution what he had in ſtrict Charge from his Majeſty, that not a Man of the Spectators was ſuffered with impunity ſo much as with a Switch in his hand. The *French* King, from this occaſion, gained an advantage to the Prerogative he ſtood upon, greater than if this conteſt had not hapned; for whereas this buſineſs of Precedence had been hitherto in Controverſie between him and *Spain*, in ſo much that to prevent all inconveniences, an Accord had been lately made here between the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador and the Count of *Soiſſons*, that they ſhould aſſiſt at no Publick Ceremonies, but upon all ſuch caſual Encounters, paſs on their way as they fortuned to meet: The King of *France* countermanding this Agreement, and ſending poſitive charge to *de Strade*, not to abate any thing of thoſe Pretenſions formerly ſtood upon; and hearing what enſued upon his Ambaſſadours executing of his Injunctions, was ſo incenſed thereat, that the quarrel had proceeded to an abſolute breach of the late concluded Peace between the two Kingdoms, had not the King of *Spain* condeſcended to agree, that thence-forward Precedence ſhould be yielded to the *French* upon all ſuch like occaſions, without any diſpute.

The Princeſs Royal comes over into *England*.

On the 23d of this Month, the Princeſs-Royal of *Great Britain* having recommended the Intereſts of her Son the Prince of *Aurange* to the care of the *Lords States* of the *Netherlands*, (who now at length had agreed among themſelves to admit this young Prince to the ſame Dignity and Truſt which his Anceſtors formerly held in that *Commonwealth*, of which they had ſo highly merited) came over into *England*, invited by his Majeſty, and willing once again to ſee her Native Country from which ſhe had ſo many years been abſent: But her joy to ſee the King her Brother peaceably Inthroned, was very much allayed by her ſorrow for the loſs of her Third Brother, *Henry* of *Oatlands* Duke of *Glouceſter*, who in the 21 year of his age (to the great grief of the King his Brother, and all thoſe that knowing and admiring the Princely Vertues of his Youth, had promiſed Wonders to the World from the hopes of his Elder Age) departed this Life on the 13th of *September*, being the ſame day the *Parliament* adjourned, which was near the ſpace of Four Months after his Arrival in *England*; ſo that he ſurvived little longer than juſt to attend upon his Brother to his Throne. He was a Prince excellently accompliſh'd, Religious, Learned, Valiant, Wiſe above his Years, a dutiful and affectionate Brother, a wiſe Councellor, a good Maſter, and a true Friend. And as if Fate had ſo provided, that being himſelf, of *the moſt Noble*, he ſhould alſo in death be accompanied by the moſt Noble; there died much about the ſame time, two of the ſame *Order* with himſelf, and next him in Quality, *Eſme* Duke of *Lenox*, and *Richmond*, and *William* Marqueſs of *Hertford*, who was alſo not long before his death reſtored by his now Majeſty to the Ancient Dignity of his Anceſtors, being created Duke of *Somerſet*, and alſo to the Honour he had merited in the time of his late Majeſty of being Lord Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*: In which laſt Dignity he is ſucceeded by Sir *Edw. Hide*, Lord High Chancellour of *England*.

The death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

Of the Dukes of *Lenox* and *Somerſet*.

Commiſſioners having been appointed by the *Parliament* to pay off and disband the *Army* and *Navy*, a ſpeedy and effectual courſe having been by them taken, as hath been already mentioned, for the paying off and disbanding the ſeveral Regiments and Ships as faſt as Money came in by the *Act of Poll-money*, and the other *Acts of Aſſeſſements* made to that end by the *Parliament* before their Adjournment: In lieu of theſe diſbanded Forces, all the ſeveral Counties of the Nation under the Conduct of certain Noblemen, who were conſtituted the Kings Lieutenants over them, according to the Ancient Cuſtom, were armed with their own *Militia* or *Trained Bands*; not ſo much in any apprehenſion of diſquiet from the Soldiers, for they had ſo good Officers placed over them by the Lord General, that there was no fear of diſorder from them; but leaſt any ſeditious perſons might think themſelves capable of making diſturbance, if no armed Force ſhould be ready to prevent their miſchiefs.

Commiſſioners appointed to Disband the Army and Navy.

The *Militia* ſettled in the ſeveral Counties.

And by this means, the Country was both ſettled into ſuch a poſture of Military Defence, as to be able at a ſhort warning to appear in Arms, and alſo Freed from the continual charge of maintaining a ſtanding Army, whereof there would be no apearance, except in caſe of emergent danger.

As matters of Civil, ſo likewiſe thoſe of Eccleſiaſtical concernment were had in ſerious regard

regard by his Majesty, who judging the Form of Church-Government which had been establish'd in *England* from the time of the *Reformation*, till the late *Troubles*, to be the most Ancient and decent way of Worship and Discipline, and most tending to Uniformity in Religion, made it one of his first business to restore the late extruded *Episcopacy* to the Dignity and Authority they formerly exercised in the Church of *England*: To which end, he speedily proceeded to the nomination of such Persons as were approved to be of the most Eminent for Learning and Piety, for the supplying of those Bishops See's, which were become vacant since the first time of the Abrogation of their Power.

Episcopacy revived in *England*.

In the Month of *October*, *Owen Row*, *Augustine Garland*, and 27 more of the Regicides Murderers of the late King, excepted out of the *Act of Indempnity and Oblivion*, were Arraigned at the *Old-Baily* upon a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, directed to *Thomas Allen*, Knight and Baronet, Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Edward Hide*, Lord Chancellour of *England*.

The Earl of *Southampton*, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Lord *High Steward*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Berkshire*, Earl of *Sandwich*, Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *Finch*, *Denzel Hollis* Esquire, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Knight and Baronet, Sir *Charles Berkley* Knight, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, *Arthur Annesly* Esquire, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Justice *Foster*, Mr. Justice *Mallet*, Mr. Justice *Hide*, Mr. Baron *Atkins*, Mr. Justice *Twisden*, Mr. Justice *Terrell*, Mr. Baron *Turner*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Knight and Baronet, Sir *William Wilde*, Knight and Baronet, Recorder of *London*, Mr. Serjeant *Brown*, Mr. Serjeant *Hale*, *John Howell* Esquire.

The Prosecutors on behalf of his Majesty were Sir *Jeffery Palmer*, his Majesties Attorney-General, Sir *Heneage Finch* his Majesties Sollicitor General, Sir *Edward Turner*, Attorney to his Highness the Duke of *York*, and *Wadham Windham* Esquire, *Edward Shelton* Esquire, attended the Clerk of the Crown.

The Prisoners being called, they all pleaded *Not Guilty*, except Sir *Hardress Waller*, and Mr. *George Fleetwood*, who pleaded *Guilty*: But the Crimes were so odious, and the Proof so clear, that the Jurors scarce ever went from the Bar to deliberate, but found them all *Guilty*; And ten of them were Executed, *viz. Harrison*, *Carew*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Jones*, *Scroop*, *Cook*, and *Peters*, at *Charing-Cross*; and *Hacker* and *Axtell* at *Tyburn*: *William Hulet* (who was also found Guilty, being accused to be one of those that in a Frock and Vizard assisted in the horrid Execution of the King, and therefore accepted from Pardon, though not by name) in regard that the Evidence seemed not so clear to the Court, upon their report to the King he had his Reprieve; and all the rest were respited, till the King and *Parliament* should order their Execution according to the direction in the *Act of Indempnity* in that behalf.

The King summons a Parliament in *Scotland*.

The King thought it high time to settle the Peace of *Scotland*, as well as that of his other Dominions; and in order thereunto, he summon'd a *Parliament* to meet at *Edenburgh* the 12th day of *December*; and by his *Proclamation* in that Kingdom, signified to all that he relied so much on the Loyalty, Prodence, and Care of his *Parliament*, as absolutely to commit to them the Trying and Judging of the Carriage of his Subjects during the late Troubles, concerning which he would receive Addresses and Informations only from his *Parliament*, or *Committee of Estate*: To whom in the mean time he recommended the ordering and preparing of that affair, and to whom alone any of his People that were interessed, might freely and should only make their Applications, assuring them, that his own Honour once vindicated, and the Ancient Prerogatives of the Crown asserted, he would grant such a full and free Pardon, an *Act of Indempnity*, as might witness, that he desired nothing more than that his People should be settled with abundance of Happiness, Peace, and Plenty, under his Government. 1665.

New Officers Constituted in *Ireland*.

For the Government of *Ireland*, he made Sir *Maurice Eustace* Knight, Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, *Roger* Earl of *Orrery* Lord President of *Munster*, and *Charles* Earl of *Montraith*, Lord President of *Connought*, to be Justices; who governed Affairs there with great Candour and Moderation.

The Sitting again of the *Parliament* of *England* drew very near; in the Interim whereof, the King, to manifest his vigilance for the good of his Subjects, according to his Promise at their Adjournment the latter end of *October*, published his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs, filled with many gracious Concessions to allay the distempers in Religion of that time; which because it was but temporary, till the *Parliament* should offer something further to him in reference to those matters, we forbear to mention the particulars thereof. He likewise a few days after emitted a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to several Persons of great Honour and Integrity, to Treat with all Purchasers of Crown and Church-Lands, that none of his People might want any satisfaction which in reason could be allowed them.

The King sets forth a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs.

The *Two Houses of Parliament* met the sixth of *November*, and applied themselves to the making of several Laws for the augmentation of the Kings Revenue, and other matters of great Consideration, in which they were the more diligent and speedy, for that they received intimation from the King, that he intended to dissolve them on the 19th of *December*. In the mean time, they ordered, that the several Bodies of *Oliver Cromwel*, *John Bradshaw*, *Henry Ireton*, & *Thomas Pride*, should be taken out of their Graves, and drawn on a Hurdle to *Tyburn*, to be buried under the Gallows: And on *Christmas-Eve*, the King went to the *House of Lords*, and there gave his Royal Assent to two *Acts of Parliament*; *viz.* To an *Act* for a Grant of certain Impositions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the increase of his *Majesties* Revenue: and an *Act* for the taking away the Court of Wards, and Liveries, and Tenures *in Capite*, and, by Knights Service and Purveyance, and for settling a Revenue upon his *Majesty* in Lieu thereof.

The Parliament meets again.

The Bodies of *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, *Ireton*, and *Pride*, ordered to be buried under the Gallows.

The King passes the *Act* for settling of Excise, and taking away the Court of Wards.

The *Act* for a Grant of certain *Impositions*, &c. is by several Rates, as Excise upon *Beer*, *Ale*, *Sider*,

1660. *Sider*, *Perry*, *Metheglin*, *Strong-Water*, or *Aqua-Vita*, *Coffee*, *Chocolate*, *Sherbet*, and *Tea*; (*Viz.*) for *Beer*, *Ale*, and ſuch of theſe as are not Forreign Liquors, they are to be paid by the *Brewer*, or other perſon that ſhall ſell the ſame; And all Forreign Liquors, by the Merchant, or Importer, in ready Money upon Entry, made before the Landing thereof, and theſe Impoſitions are to continue by this Law during the Kings Life: But by another *Statute* made in the ſame Seſſion, for taking away the *Court of Wards* and *Liveries*, and *Tenures in Capite*, and by *Knights Service*, and *Purveyance*, and for ſettling a Revenue upon his Majeſty in lieu thereof; the ſaid Impoſitions and Rates are in recompence thereof to be paid to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever.

The Reaſons alledged in this Statute, for taking away the *Court of Wards*, in the Preamble thereof were, becauſe Tenures by Knights Service, either of the King or others, or by Knights Service *in Capite*, or by *Soccage in Capite* of the King, and the Conſequence upon the ſame had been much more burthenſome, grievous, and prejudicial to the Kingdom, than beneficial to the King: and ſince the intermiſſion of the ſaid Court from the 24th of *February*, 1645. many perſons had by Will and otherwiſe made diſpoſal of their Lands held by Knights Service, whereupon divers Queſtions might ariſe, unleſs ſome ſeaſonable Remedy ſhould be taken to prevent the ſame, by taking away from the ſaid 24th of *February*, 1645. the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Wardſhips, Liveries, *Primer Seiſins*, and all *Ouſter le mains*, Values, and Forfeitures of Marriages, by reaſon of any Tenure of the King, or of any other by Knight Service, and all mean Rates and Gifts, Grants or Charges, *&c.*

The Death of the Princes of *Aurange.*

Whilſt the King was paſſing theſe two *Acts*, his Siſter the Princeſs *Mary*, Princeſs of *Aurange*, died at *White-Hall*, a Lady of admirable Virtues, and all Princely Endowments; and five days after (*viz.*) on the 29th day of *December* in the Evening (which was the day of the diſſolution of the *Parliament*) was buried in King *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel at *Weſtminſter*.

The Parliament diſſolved, and 32 Acts more paſſed by the King.

Upon which day in the Morning, the King came to the *Houſe of Peers*, and gave the Royal Aſſent to twenty private, and twelve publick *Acts* of *Parliament*. The private were theſe following:

1 'An *Act* for the reſtoring of *Henry* Lord 'Arundel of *Warder*, to the poſſeſſion of his E'ſtate.

2 'An *Act* for Reſtitution of *Thomas* Earl of 'Arundel, *Surrey*, and *Norfolk*, to the Title of 'Duke of *Norfolk*.

3 'An *Act* to reſtore to *Wentworth*, Earl of 'Roſcomon in *Ireland*, all the Honours, Caſtles, 'Lordſhips, Lands and Tenements, whereof 'James Earl of *Roſcomon* his Great Grandfather, 'or *James* Earl of *Roſcomon* his Father, were poſ'ſeſſed.

4 'An *Act* for the reſtoring of Sir *George Ha'milton* to his Lands and Eſtate in *Ireland*.

5 'An *Act* for Maintenance of the Vicar, for 'the time being, of the Vicaridge of *Royſton*.

6 'An *Act* for inabling Sir *William Wray* to 'ſell Lands for payment of his Debts, and raiſing 'of Portions for his younger Children.

7 'An *Act* for Naturalizing of *Gerrard Van'hembuzen*, *Daniel Demetrius*, and others.

8 'An *Act* for the inabling of *John Newton* the 'Younger, and *William Oakley*, to make ſale of 'Lands for payment of Debts, and raiſing of 'Portions.

9 'An *Act* for impowering the Maſter of the 'Rolls to make Leaſes for years, in order to new 'building the old buildings belonging to the 'Rolls.

10 'An *Act* for the Naturalizing of *John* 'Boreel, Eſq; Eldeſt Son of Sir *William Boreel*, 'Knight and Baronet.

11 'An *Act* for the Naturalizing of *Abraham* 'Wachter.

12 'An *Act* for the reſtoring Sir *Thomas* 'Crimes, Baronet to his Eſtate.

13 'An *Act* for inabling *George Fawnt* of 'Foſton, in the County of *Leiceſter*, Eſq; to ſell 'and convey part of his Lands, for payment of 'ſeveral Debts and Legacies charged upon his 'Eſtate by Sir *William Fawnt*, Knight, deceaſed; 'and for the raiſing of Portions for his younger 'Children, and making his Wifes Joynture.

14 'An *Act* for Naturalizing *Francis Hide*, 'and others.

15 'An *Act* to inable *Joſeph Miklethwait* an 'Infant, and his Truſtees, to ſell his Lands for 'payment of his Fathers Debts.

16 'An *Act* for raiſing Portions, and making 'proviſion for maintenance of the younger Chil'dren of Sir *Edward Goſtwick*.

17 'An *Act* for confirming the ſale of the 'Manner of *Hiteham*, ſold to *Charles Doe* by 'Sir *John Clark*, Knight and Baronet, and for ſet'tling and diſpoſing other the Lands of the ſaid 'Sir *John Clark*, and Dame *Philadelpha* his Wife.

18 'An *Act* for the ſettling of ſome of the 'Mannours and Lands of the Earl of *Cleveland* 'in Truſtees, to be ſold for the ſatisfying of the 'Debts of the ſaid Earl, and of *Thomas* Lord 'Wentworth his Son.

19 'An *Act* for the diſappropriating of the 'Rectory appropriate of *Preſton*, and uniting 'and conſolidating of the ſaid Rectory, and of the 'Vicaridge of the Church of *Preſton*, and for the 'aſſuring of the Advowſon and Rights of Patro'nage of the ſame unto the Maſter, Fellows, and 'Schools of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*.

20 'An *Act* for the making the Precinct of *Co'vent-Garden* Parochial.

The publick *ACTS* were;

1 'An *Act* for the Attainder of ſeveral Per'ſons guilty of the horrid Murther of his late 'Sacred Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt.

2 'An *Act* for the Levying of certain Moneys 'due upon the Collection for the *Proteſtants* of 'Piedmont.

3 'An *Act* for Confirmation of Grants and 'Leaſes from Colledges and Hoſpitals.

4 'An *Act* for the Levying of the Arrears of 'the 12 Months Aſſeſſments, commencing the '24th of *June*, 1659. and the 6 Months Aſſeſ'ment, commencing the 25th of *Decemb.* 1659.

5 'An *Act* for granting to the Kings Majeſty '420000 l. by Aſſeſſment, of 70000 l. by the 'Month for ſix Months, for diſbanding of the 'Army, and paying off the Navy.

6 'An *Act* for the raiſing of 70000 l. for the 'further ſupply of his Majeſty.

7 'An

7 'An *Act* for Confirmation of Marriages.

8 'An *Act* for raiſing and eſtabliſhing a *Poſt-Office.*

9 'An *Act* for the further ſupplying and explaining certain defects in any *Act* for the ſpeedy proviſion of Money for diſbanding and paying off the Forces of this Kingdom, both by Land and Sea.

10 'An *Act* for the better ordering of the ſelling of Wine by Retail, and for preventing abuſes in the mingling, corrupting and vitiating of Wines; and for ſelling and limiting the Prizes of the ſame.

11 'An Act for prohibiting the planting, ſetting, or ſowing of *Tobacco* in *England* and *Ireland.*

12 'An *Act* for prohibiting the Exportation of *Wooll*, *Wooll-fells*, *Fullers-Earth*, or any kind of *Scouring Earth.*

the ſubſtance of the *Act* of *Attainder.*

'By the *Act* of *Attainder*; which was made to Attaint the Judges and other actors in the Murther of the late King, *Oliver Cromwell* deceaſed, *Henry Ireton* deceaſed, *John Bradſhaw* deceaſed, and *Thomas Pride* deceaſed, are Adjudged to be convicted and Attainted of High-Treaſon, to all intents and purpoſes, as if they and every of them reſpectively had been Attainted in their Life-time.

2 'And all the Perſons fled for Treaſon, that is to ſay, *John Liſle*, *William Say*, *Valentine Wauton*, *Edward Whalley*, *John Barkſtead*, *Edmond Ludlow*, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, *John Okey*, *John Hewſon*, *William Goffe*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Thomas Challoner*, *William Cawley*, *Miles Corbet*, *Nicholas Love*, *John Dixwell*, *Daniel Blagrave*, *Andrew Broughton*, *Edward Dendy*, and every of them, ſtand, and be Adjudged, Convicted, and Attainted of High-Treaſon.

3 'All the Mannours, Meſſuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Remainders, Poſſeſſions, Rights, Conditions, Intereſts, Offices, Fees, Annuities, and all other Hereditaments, Leaſes for years, Chattels Real, and all other things of that nature whatſoever they be, of them the ſaid *Oliver Cromwell*, *Henry Ireton*, *John Bradſhaw*, *Thomas Pride*, and of other perſons particularly named in the ſaid *Act*, amounting in all to the number of two and fifty perſons, which they or any of them, or any other perſon or perſons to their or any of their uſes, or in truſt for them or any of them, the 25th day of *March*, 1646. or at any time ſince, ſhall ſtand and be forfeited to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and ſhall be veſted and adjudged to be in the actual and real poſſeſſion of the King, without any Office or Inquiſition thereof hereafter to be taken or found.

4 'No Conveyance, Aſſurance, Grant, Bargain, Sale Charge, Leaſe, Aſſignment, Surrender by Copy, Eſtate, Intereſt, Truſt, Limitation of Uſes, or out of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, (not being the Lands of the late Kings, Queen, Prince, or any of the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters,) nor any Statute, Judgment or Recognizances had, made acknowledged or ſuffered to any perſon or perſons which before the 24th day of *September*, 1659. by any of the Offenders in the *Act* mentioned, or their Heirs, or any other perſons claiming by, from, or under them, other than the Wife or Wives, Child or Children, Heir or Heirs, of ſuch perſon or perſons to any of them for Money *bona fide* to them or any of them paid or Lent, nor any Conveyance, Grant, or Eſtate, made before the 25th day of *April*, 1660, by any perſon or perſons aforeſaid, in truſt and for the benefit of any other perſon or perſons not being of the Offenders aforeſaid, ſhall be impeached, defeated, made void or fruſtrated hereby, or by the Convictions or Attainders aforeſaid, but ſhall be enjoyned by the Purchaſers, Grantes, Leſſees, their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſſigns reſpectively, as if this Act had not been made; ſo as the ſaid Conveyances, Grants, Aſſurances, which are and ought to be held and enjoyed, as aforeſaid, before the firſt of *January*, 1662. be enter'd and enrolled of Record in the *Exchequer*, and not otherwiſe. 1660.

5 'All and ſingular the Mannours, Lands and Hereditaments, which heretofore were the Lands, *&c.* of *Henry* late Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, *Edward* now Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, and *Henry* Lord *Herbert*, Son to the ſaid *Edward* Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, whereof the ſaid *Oliver Cromwell*, or any other perſon in truſt for him or to his uſe, or any other the perſons attainted by this Act, or otherwiſe, or any other perſon in truſt for them, or any of them, had at any time before or ſince the deceaſe of the ſaid *Oliver Cromwell*, are veſted and ſeiſed in, and ſhall be held and enjoyed by the ſaid Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, and *Henry* Lord *Herbert*, in ſuch manner, and for ſuch Eſtates, or ſuch Powers and Priviledges, as they formerly had in the ſame, ſaving the Eſtates, Rights, Titles and Intereſts of Strangers, not derived by and from any of the ſaid Offenders ſince the 25th day of *March* 1646.

1. It is provided nevertheleſs, 'That thoſe who have received any of the Rents or Mean Profits of, in, or out of any the Lands, Chattels Real, or poſſeſſions of any of the Offenders in this act mentioned before the 11th of *February*, 1659. and have paid or accompted for the ſame before that day unto the ſaid Offender or Offenders, or their Aſſigns, or any other perſon claiming from or under them, ſhall be for ever acquitted and diſcharged of and from the ſame, againſt the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

2. And alſo, 'That *Richard Ingoldsby* may keep, ſell or diſpoſe of all the Goods and Chattels formerly belonging to Sir *Hardreſs Waller* in *Ireland*, until 2000 l. (for which the ſaid *Ingoldsby* in the year 1658. ſtood joyntly bounden with the ſaid Sir *Hardreſs Waller* unto *James Brooks* of the City of *York* Alderman, and was then Counter-ſecured by a Judgment upon his Lands, and ſince by a Deed of Bargain and Sale of the ſaid Goods and Chattels in *Ireland*,) be fully paid, together with the Intereſt thereof, the ſaid *Ingoldsby* paying the Over-plus to the King.

The Kings Favour to this Gentleman, grounded upon ſo notable a Foundation of Merit, as is before related, did oblige the *Parliament* in this and many other occaſions, to ſhew their reſpect to him

The

1660.

The *Act* for raiſing and eſtabliſhing a *Poſt-Office*, brought a Revenue of one and twenty thouſand pounds a year to the Crown; which was an Improvement firſt made in the time of *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation.

The *Act* for the better ordering of the ſelling of Wines by Retail, was to prohibit any from ſelling of Wines, but ſuch as ſhould be licens'd by the Kings Agents, and from retailing mingled, corrupted, or abuſed Wines: as alſo for limiting and bringing down the prices thereof.

The *Act* for the prohibiting the planting, ſetting or ſowing of Tobacco in *England* and *Ireland*, did under ſtrict penalties forbid the ſetting or planting any Tobacco in ſeed, plant, or otherwiſe, in *England*, *Wales*, the Iſland of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, and the Town of *Berwick*, except it be in any Phyſick-Garden of either of the Univerſities, or other private Garden for Phyſick or Surgery, ſo as the quantity ſo planted, exceed not one half of a Pole in any place or Garden.

The *Act* for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, Wool-fells, Fullers-Earth, or any kind of ſcouring Earth, was made to preſerve the Manufacture of Woolen-cloth in *England*, which was, one of the Staple-commodities of this Kingdom, and that which brought moſt Trade and advantage of any to it, till of late years that the *Hollander*, *French*, and others of our Neighbours, by Exportation of our Materials, had almoſt gain'd all the Trade thereof from us: And although theſe materials, as Wool, Wool-fells, and Fullers-Earth, had been by former Laws prohibited to be Exported to any Forreign parts, on pain of forfeiture, or other pecuniary Mulcts, thoſe Laws could not prevent the offences, for they were frequently by ſtealth or *connivance* exported. Wherefore this Statute was thought fit to be made, for the re-inforcing of thoſe *former* Laws, and preventing the like abuſes for the future.

The Effect of his Majeſties and the Lord Chancellors Speech, at the Diſſolving of his *Parliament*.

After the King had given the Royal Aſſent to the before-mentioned *Acts*, he made a Speech to both *Houſes*, full of gracious and pleaſing Expreſſions: and amongſt others, he ſaid, *This Parliament ſhould be called to all Poſterity*, The Healing and the Bleſſed Parliament, *And that it ſhould be a Rule to his Actions and Counſels to conſider, What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, or this Council?* Adding, *That he would Religiouſly himſelf obſerve the Act of Indempnity, and would exact the Obſervation of it from all others.*

And after he had ended, the Lord Chancellour (according to the Cuſtom, for none ever in his Place had greater Eloquence) excellently ſet forth *the Happineſs of the King and his People, which only ſtrove which ſhould expreſs more affection to each others, to the joy of all his good Subjects, and the terrour of Evil Doers.* And with this Speech he concluded the *Parliament*; for then it was diſſolved. And we may truely ſay, never did *King* and *Parliament* in this Kingdom better agree, never was there any *Parliament* aſſembled with greater Expectation, and ended with greater Satisfaction to all the People; of which we may not improperly inſert in this place a *Stanza*, out of that Excellent Ode upon the Kings Reſtauration and Return, made by the moſt Celebrated of our *Engliſh* Poets, Mr. *Abraham Cowly*, now living, a little before its Diſſolution; in the 18th Page whereof is ſung this paſſage,

And ill ſhould We deſerve this Happy Day,
If no acknowledgment we pay
To You Great Patriots *of the* Two
Moſt truly other Houſes now;
Who have redeem'd from Hatred *and from* Shame,
A Parliament's *once* Venerable Name;
And now the Title of a Houſe *reſtore*
To that which was but Slaughter-Houſe *before*;
If my advice, Ye Worthies, *might be tane*,
Within thoſe Reverend Places
Which now your Living Preſence *graces*,
Your Worthy Statues *always ſhould remain*,
To keep alive your Uſeful Memory,
And to your Succeſſors *th' Example be*
Of Truth, Religion, Reaſon, Loyalty.
For though a firmly ſettled Peace,
May ſhortly make your Publick Labours ceaſe,
The grateful Nation *will with joy conſent*,
That in this Sence, *you ſhould be ſaid*
(Though yet the Name *ſounds with ſome dread)*
To be the Long, the Endleſs Parliament.

The Inſurrection of *Venner*, and his *Fifth-Monarchy-men*.

Of all the manifold Sects and Separations that ſprung up from the licence of the late War, and the *Anarchy* that reign'd from that time, till the time of his Majeſties Reſtauration, there were ſcarce any that dreaded not the Name of *Monarchy*, as apprehending the conſequence thereof to be a tendency to Uniformity in *Church* and *State*; and therefore no marvel if they who heretofore were profeſs'd Enemies to the King and his Right Government, were after his coming in agitated with a Reſtleſs ſpirit of impatience and diſſatisfaction, which forbore not ſeveral times to manifeſt it ſelf in ſuch Attempts, as had not a timely ſtop been put unto them, by the prudent foreſight and vigilant care of his Majeſty and his Council, might very much have endanger'd the imbroiling of the Nation in a new Civil War. The firſt Alarm that was given, was by the *Fifth Monarchy-men*, (they at leaſt were the only hardy men that openly appear'd) a Generation of people however ſo call'd, the moſt inveterate Enemies to the Ancient ſettled *Monarchy* of the Nation, of all the whole *Hydra*; of theſe about 50 or 60 mad perſons, reſolving to venture Neck or nothing, broke forth into open Hoſtility and Rebellion, under the Conduct of one *Thomas Venner*, a Cooper, that had lived for ſome time in *New England*, and was of the principal of the *Fifth Monarchy*, and a Preacher to a Conventicle of thoſe of that Opinion, who uſually met in *Coleman ſtreet*. That which firſt gave him and his Partakers a pretence to their Treaſon, was the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, (which all good Subjects are oblig'd by the Law to take) exclaiming not only againſt them in particular, but againſt all Oaths in general: And when ſome amongſt them, more Ingenious than the reſt, adviſed their Companions not to diſpute what was commanded by their Superiours, ſince ſubjection was naturally due to thoſe Powers from whence they expected Protections; they were anſwered by the Seditious, *That they had no Protection in the exerciſe of their Religion, but were for the practice thereof expoſſed to all manner of Contempts and Miſeries.* As if a Juſt Reſtraint from Extravagancies in Divine Worſhip, were to be eſteem'd Oppreſſion.

The

The madneſs of theſe Men extended ſo far, as to believe they and the reſt of their Judgment were called by GOD to Reform the World, and make all the Earthly Powers (which they called *Babylon*) ſubſervient to the Kingdom of King *Jeſus*; and in order thereunto, never to ſheath their Sword till the Carnal Powers of the World became a hiſſing and a Curſe: And by a miſguided Zeal, they were ſo confident in their undertaking, that they were taught and believ'd one ſhould ſubdue a Thouſand, making account when they had led captive Captivity in *England*, to go into *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and other parts of the World, there to proſecute their holy deſign.

The place where they conſulted and continued their Conſpiracy, was the Meeting-place for their Devotion, and thither they had at ſeveral times conveyed Arms. On *Sunday* the Sixth of *January*, which was the day before their Excurſion, (his Majeſty at that time being gone to accompany his Royal Mother the Queen-Dowager of *Great-Britain*, and his Siſter the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, part of their Journey toward *France*,) they were very late at their Aſſembly, which made one *Martin*, the Landlord of the Houſe, but not of their Party, ſomewhat inquiſitive after their doings; and as he was going into the Chamber to them, he met *Venner*, who ſeeing him troubled, told him, *He perceiv'd he thought their ſtay too long, and that in half an hours ſpace, after they had ſought God in their Prayers, they would diſperſe*; *Martin's* jealouſie of their actions, made him conſult with a Friend about their unuſual manner of Aſſembling, and he was adviſed to Liſten at their Door, or peep through ſome Chink to hear or ſee what they were about, which he did, and found them Arming themſelves with Back, Breaſt and Head-Piece; and thereupon he immediately gave Notice thereof to ſome of the next Officers: But within half an hour of this, they came down, and being met by the Miſtreſs of the Houſe great with Child, who in amazement would have ſhut the Door upon them, they offer'd to ſhoot her with a Muſquet; upon which in great terror ſhe left them. The Rebels firſt march'd to St. *Thomas Apoſtles*, to call ſome of their party, and from thence to *Biſhops-Gate*, and after to *White-Croſs-Street*. Sir *Richard Brown* the Lord Major, having notice of their being abroad, got together ſome Files of the Trained Bands, but not ſufficient, as was ſuppoſed, to make any impreſſion upon them, they being imagin'd more numerous than they were, by which means they had opportunity to eſcape to *S. Johns Wood*, and from thence to *Cane-Wood*, betwixt *High-Gate* and *Hampſtead*.

By this time the Alarum being come to *White-Hall*, and the General's Regiment drawn up, the Duke of *York* and he, with the Earl of *Oxford*, and ſome others, and ſome of the Guards, march'd into *London*, where they were informed all the Rebels were diſperſed, except a party of them that were ſeen to go towards *Cane-wood*, whither Sir *Thomas Sandys* was ſent with ſome of the Guards, and a Company of Foot: But by the darkneſs of the Night they got away, and on *Wedneſday* morning came again into *London*, and divided themſelves into two Parties, one whereof about 5 and 6 in the morning appear'd about *Leaden-Hall*, and from thence march'd to *Little-Eaſtcheap*, where they fought obſtinately enough, but were diſperſed by the Train'd-Bands. *Venner* and another Party came to my Lord Major's Houſe, thinking to have taken him Priſoner; but miſſing him, they march'd into *Wood-ſtreet*, where they were met by Colonel *Corbet*, and about twenty Horſe. *Corbet* and nine of his party charged through the Rebels, and broke them, whereby the Train'd Band Foot that ſeconded them, had little more to do, than to purſue them. They fought with courage to admiration: and if they had not been hindred by the care of the Lord Major from increaſing their numbers, a Thouſand men ſo reſolv'd, might have cauſed ſuch a diſturbance in the City, as might have had an influence much further. *Venner* himſelf was very much wounded before he was taken, and about five or ſix kill'd that refuſed quarter, of which ſome of them were ſo obſcure, that their Names were not known. And about eight or ten days after, *Venner*, with about ſixteen or ſeventeen of the moſt notorious, were arraigned at *Juſtice-Hall* in the *Old-Baily*, found guilty, and executed in ſeveral parts of *London*. 1660.

Thus ended this deſperate Enterpriſe of a formidable Army of threeſcore men, who were inſenſated to that heighth of Enthuſiaſtick Valour, that they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to encounter the whole Armed force of one of the Greateſt and moſt Populous Cities in the World; the Princes Guards, the General's Troops, the City Train'd-Bands, were all ſwallow'd up in Conceit, by theſe Men of Mickle Might, and Little Wit; and I have heard ſay, they were ſo Infatuated with their golden Dreams, and ſo Cock-ſure of ſucceſs, that they had promis'd to themſelves the Partage of the whole Empire of the World among them; Thirty being deſign'd for the ſubduing of the *Eaſtern* Parts: and Thirty of the *Weſtern*: But we have ſeen what diſaſter they met with by the Way.

With the Suppreſſing of this Inſurrection, and the bringing the Authors thereof to exemplary puniſhment, together with the deceaſe of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* in the *Tower*, who is thought to have died with very Anguiſh of Mind, to ſee all his great deſigns in an inſtant brought to nothing, and himſelf at the Mercy of a Power o're which he had ſo long Triumph'd; We ſhall conclude this Year, as with the Solemn Coronation of his Majeſty; our preſent Hiſtory not thinking it enough to have ſeen him reſtor'd to his Throne and rightful Inheritance, without ſeeing him alſo inveſted with thoſe Enſigns, and Formalities of Regal Dignity, by which all his Predeceſſors were confirm'd and eſtabliſh'd Kings of *England*.

The Pomps and Proceedings whereof, in regard they may very well be conceiv'd to have exceeded the Magnificences of all former Coronations, as being perform'd for a PRINCE ſo miraculouſly reſtor'd to his People, We judge not impertinent to be here inſerted; following herein the *Obſervations* and *Collection* (according to the Original unmutilated Copy ſet forth by himſelf, and with his own Name prefix'd to the Title) of *Elias Aſhmole* Eſq; *Windſor* Herald at Arms; a moſt judicious and Curious Inquirer into all *Antiquities* of this Nature, and exactly vers'd

1661. vers'd in the publick Ceremonies of State, especially in the Rites and Customs of the most Noble and Illustrious Order of the Garter: The Names and order of the Companions whereof, as they were settled in their Stalls the 16th of *April*, 1661, were as followeth.

1. The *Soveraign.*

2. Duke of *York.*
3. Prince Elector of *Brandenburgh.*
4. Prince *Rupert.*
5. Earl of *Salisbury.*
6. Earl of *Northumberland.*
7. Duke of *Ormond.*
8. Earl of *Southampton.*
9. Earl of *Bristol.*
10. Count *Marsin.*
11. Earl of *Sandwich.*
12. Duke of *Richmond.*
13. Earl of *Manchester.*

1. Voyd.
2. The *Elector Palatine.*
3. Prince of *Aurange.*
4. Prince *Edward.*
5. Earl of *Berkshire.*
6. Duke of *Espernon.*
7. Duke of *Buckingham.*
8. Marquess of *Newcastle.*
9. Prince of *Tarante.*
10. Duke of *Albemarle.*
11. Earl of *Oxford.*
12. Earl of *Lindsey.*
13. Earl of *Strafford.*

Likewise, in order to their attendance upon this Grand Solemnity, there were created 68 *Knights* of the *Holy Trinity*, called *Knights of the Bath*, six Earls and as many Barons. The Names of the *Knights of the Bath*, (they being a Society of Knights never made but at a Coronation of a King or a Queen, or at a creation of a Prince of *Wales* or Duke of *York*,) were,

1. *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, afterwards Earl of *Lincoln.*
2. *John* Viscount *Brackley.*
3. Sir *Philip Herbert*, second Son to the Earl of *Pembroke.*
4. Sir *William Egerton*, second Son to the Earl of *Bridgewater.*
5. Sir *Vere Fane*, second Son to the Earl of *Westmerland.*
6. Sir *Charles Berkley*, eldest Son to the Lord *Berkley.*
7. Sir *Henry Bellasis*, eldest Son to the Lord *Bellasis.*
8. Sir *Henry Hide*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellor.
9. Sir *Rowland Bellasis*, Brother to the Viscount *Faulconbridg.*
10. Sir *Henry Capel*, Son of the late Lord *Capel.*
11. Sir *John Vaughan*, second Son to the Lord *Vaughan* Earl of *Carbury.*
12. Sir *Charles Stanley*, Grandchild to the Earl of *Derby.*
13. Sir *Francis Fane*, } Grandchild to the Earl of
14. Sir *Henry Fane*, } *Westmerland.*
15. Sir *William Portman*, Baronet.
16. Sir *Richard Temple*, Baronet.
17. Sir *William Ducy*, Baronet. *
18. Sir *Thomas Trevon*, Baronet.
19. Sir *John Scudamore*, Baronet.
20. Sir *William Gardiner*, Baronet.
21. Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, eldest Son to Sir *Frederick Cornwallis.*
22. Sir *John Nicholas*, Son to Sir *Edw. Nicholas* Principal Secretary of State.
23. Sir *John Monson.*
24. Sir *Bourchier Wray.*
25. Sir *John Coventry.*
26. Sir *Edward Hungerford.*
27. Sir *John Knevet.*
28. Sir *Philip Butler.*
29. Sir *Adrian Scroop.*
30. Sir *Richord Knightley.*
31. Sir *Henry Heron.*
32. Sir *John Lewkener.*
33. Sir *George Brown.*
34. Sir *William Terringham.*
35. Sir *Francis Godolphin.*
36. Sir *Edward Boynton.*
37. Sir *Grevill Verney.*
38. Sir *Edward Harley.*
39. Sir *Edward Walpole.*
40. Sir *Francis Popham.*
41. Sir *Edward Wise.*
42. Sir *Christopher Calthrop.*
43. Sir *Richard Edgcombe.*
44. Sir *William Bromley.*
45. Sir *Thomas Bridges.*
46. Sir *Thomas Fanshaw.*
47. Sir *John Denham.*
48. Sir *Nicholas Bacon.*
49. Sir *James Altham.*
50. Sir *Thomas Wendey.*
51. Sir *John Bramston.*
52. Sir *George Freeman.*
53. Sir *Nicholas Slanning.*
54. Sir *Richard Ingoldsby.*
55. Sir *John Bates.*
56. Sir *Edward Heath.*
57. Sir *William Morley.*
58. Sir *John Bennet.*
59. Sir *Hugh Smith.*
60. Sir *Simon Leech.*
61. Sir *Henry Chester.*
62. Sir *Robert Atkins.*
63. Sir *Robert Gayre.*
64. Sir *Richard Pawle.*
65. Sir *Hugh Ducy*, another Son of the foresaid Sir *Robert Ducy.*
66. Sir *Steven Hales.*
67. Sir *Ralph Bassh.*
68. Sir *Whitmore.*

* Son of that Sir *Robert Ducy*, who in the dangerous times of difficulty and tryal, chose rather to contract the Envy of his Brethren, than to recede from those Principles of Allegiance which inspir'd him to adjudge God and *Cæsar* their Due.

Which *Knights of the Bath*, were first dubbed Knights-Bachelors, were Knighted by the King with the *Sword of State*, and then every one of them was adorned with the *Red-Ribbond* of *Knight-hood* of the *Bath*, with a Medal adjoyning unto it of *Three Crowns*, with an Inscription about it of *Tria juncta in uno*; which words till King *James*'s Coronation, were *Tria numina juncta in uno*, from *The Holy Trinity*, but at that time the word *Numina* was left out, which is supposed to be, that from that time it might be lookt on to be an order of *Knigh-hood* in allusion unto the union of the Three Kingdoms of *England*

England, Scotland, and *Ireland,* as *Tria Regna juncta in uno.*

The Commiſſioners appointed for the calling together of theſe perſons to be Knighted, were the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Suffolk*, *Lindſey*, and *Manchester*.

The Twelve Perſons Advanc'd unto the Titles of Earls and Barons, were *Edward* Baron *Hide* of *Hindon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, created Earl of *Clarendon*. *Arthur* Baron *Capell*, created Earl of *Eſſex*. *Thomas* Baron *Brudenell*, Earl of *Cardigan*. *Arthur* Viſcount *Valentia*, Earl of *Angleſey*. Sir *John Greenvill* Knight, Gentleman of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber, Earl of *Bath*. *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Carliſle*. *Denzell Holles* Eſquire, Baron *Holles* of *Iſeld*. Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* Knight and Baronet, Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye* in *Suffolk*. Sir *George Booth* Baronet, Baron *de la Mere* of *Dunham Maſſey*. Sir *Horatio Townſend* Baronet, Baron *Townſend* of *Lyn-Regis*. Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper* Baronet, Baron *Aſhley* of *Winton St. Giles*. *John Crew* Eſq; Baron *Crew* of *Stene*. Who were ſo created Earls and Barons on *Saturday* in the Afternoon, the 20. of *April* 1661, in the *Banqueting-Room* in *Whitehall*, three days before the King's Coronation.

On *Monday* the 22d of *April*, his Majeſty, according to the Ancient Cuſtom, made his *Cavalcade* from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, in ſuch a glorious and ſplendid manner, that it ſeem'd to outvye whatever had been ſeen before of Gallantry and Riches, the gorgeouſneſs of Apparel, the ſparkling of Gems, the luſtre of Gold, in a continued Train ſo dazling the ſpectator's ſight, as if both the *Indies* had been ſummon'd over to attend at that Day's Triumph; in preparation to which Four very ſtately and magnificent *Triumphal Arches* had been Erected by the City, (according as their *Charter* obligeth them upon ſuch an occaſion) for his *Majeſty* to paſs through to his Coronation.

The firſt in *Leaden hall-ſtreet*, near *Lime-ſtreet* end, made after the *Dorick* Order, repreſenting his *Majeſty's* happy Arrival in *England*.

The ſecond, being a Naval Repreſentation, was near the *Exchange* in *Cornhill*.

The third, conſiſting of the *Corinthian* and Compoſite Order, and repreſenting the Temple of *Concord*, was plac'd in *Cheapſide*, near *Wood-ſtreet* end.

The fourth, conſiſting of the *Dorick* and *Ionick* Orders, and repreſenting the Garden of Plenty, ſtood in *Fleet-ſtreet*, near *White Fryars*.

All four of them being deſcrib'd at large in a *Treatiſe* particularly ſet forth to that purpoſe by Mr. *John Ogilby*.

The Proceeding of his Majeſty from the Tower *to* Weſtminſter, *was in the following Order.*

THE Duke of *York's Horſe Guard.*
Meſſengers of the Chamber.
Eſquires to the Knights of the *Bath*.
Knight *Harbinger*. Sergeant *Porter*.
Sewers of the Chamber.
Quarter-Waiters.
The Six Clerks of the *Chancery*.
Clerks { of the Signet, Privy Seal, Council, } { Parliament, Crown. }

Chaplains having Dignities, Ten in number. 1661.
The King's *Advocate* and Remembrancer.
The King's Learned Council at Law.
Maſters of the *Chancery*.
King's puiſne Serjeants.
King's Attorny and Sollicitor.
King's eldeſt Serjeants.
Secretaries of the *French* and *Latin* Tongues.
Gentleman Uſhers daily Waiters.
Sewers, Carvers, and Cup bearers in Ordinary.
Eſquires of the Body.
Maſters of ſtanding Offices, being no Councellors, *viz.* of the Tents, Revels, Ceremonies, Armory, Wardrobe, Ordnance.
Maſters of the Requeſts.
Chamberlains of the *Exchequer*.
Barons of the *Exchequer*, and Judges of the Law, according to their Dignities.
Lord Chief Baron;
And Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*.
Maſter of the Rolls.
Chief Juſtice.

Trumpets.

Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.
Knights of the *Bath*.
Knight-Marſhal.
Treaſurer of the Chamber.
Maſter of the Jewel-houſe.
Barons younger Sons.
Viſcounts younger Sons.
Knights of the Privy-Council.
Barons eldeſt Sons.
Earls youngeſt Sons.
Viſcounts eldeſt Sons.
The Trumpets and Serjeant-Trumpets.
Two Purſuivants at Arms.
Barons.
Marqueſſes younger Sons
Earls eldeſt Sons.
Viſcounts.
Dukes younger Sons.
Marqueſſes eldeſt Sons.

Two Heralds.

Earls. Earl Marſhal:
And Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.
Dukes eldeſt Sons.

Two Heralds.

Marqueſſes.
Dukes.

Serg. at Arms. { *Clarencieux* and *Norroy*. Lord Treaſurer. Lord Chancellor. Lord High-Steward. Two Perſons Repreſenting the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*. Gent. Uſher. *Garter*. L. *Maior*.

The Duke of *York* alone.
The Lord High-Conſtable of *England*.
The Lord Great-Chamberlain of *England*.
The Sword born by the Duke of *Richmond*.

The KING.

Equerries, and Footmen next his Majeſty.
Gentlemen, and Penſioners without them.
The Maſter of the Horſe leading a ſpare Horſe.
The Vice-Chamberlain to the King.
Captain of the Penſioners.
Captain of the Guard.
The Guard.
The King's Horſe-Guard.
The General's Horſe-Guard.

1661. *The Proceedings on the day of His* MAJESTIES *Coronation, were as followeth.*

UPon *Tuesday* the 23d of *April*, being St. *George's* Day, about half an hour after seven in the Morning, the *King* enter'd into his Rich *Barge*, took Water from the *Privy-Stairs* at *Whitehall*, and Landed at the *Parliament-Stairs*: From whence he proceeded up to the Room behind the *Lords House*, called the *Princes Lodgings*, where after he had repoſed himſelf for a while, he was array'd in his Royal Robes of Crimſon-Velvet, furr'd with Ermine: by which time the *Nobility* being aſſembled, robed themſelves in the *Lords House* and *Painted Chamber*.

The *Judges* alſo, with thoſe of the *Long Robe*, the *Knights* of the *Bath*, and *Gentlemen* of the *Privy-Chamber*, met in the Court of *Requeſts*.

After ſome ſpace, the *King's Heralds*, and *Purſuivants*, began to ſet the *Proceedings* in order, each of them taking his ſhare aſſigned in Chapter, (held at the *Heralds-Office* the Evening before) and thence directed all the before-mentioned *Degrees* (except the *Nobility*) down into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the reſt of the *Proceeding* attended, and from whence the *March* began.

About half an hour after Nine, the *Nobility* (having been firſt called over in the *Painted Chamber*) proceeded each according to his Rank and Dignity, in their Robes and Coronets, before the *King*, through the Court of *Requeſts*, into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, aſcended up to the *State*, which was raiſed at the Weſt-end, and placed themſelves upon each ſide thereof.

His Majeſty being ſet in his Chair, under a rich Cloth of State; Firſt, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the *Maſter* of the *Jewel-Houſe*, preſented the *Sword* of *State*, as alſo the *Sword* called *Curtana*, and two other Swords, to the Lord High-Conſtable, who took and delivered them to the Lord High-Chamberlain, and he (having drawn the laſt) laid them upon the Table before the King.

Then the ſaid *Maſter* of the *Jewel-Houſe* delivered likewiſe the *Spurs* to the Lord High-Conſtable; and he again the ſame to the Lord High-Chamberlain, who alſo placed them upon the Table.

Immediately after the *Dean* and *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter*, (by whom the *Regalia* had been brought in proceſſion from the *Abbey-Church* into *Weſtminſter-Hall*) being veſted in rich Copes, proceeded from the lower end thereof, in manner following:

The *Serjeant* of the *Veſtry* in a Scarlet Mantle.
The *Children* of the *King's Chapel*, being Twelve in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The *Quire* of *Weſtminſter* in Surplices.
The *Gentlemen* of the *King's Chapel*, being Thirty three in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The *Purſuivants*, *Heralds*, and *Provincial Kings*.
The *Dean*, carrying St. *Edward's* Crown.
Doctor *Heylyn*, the *Scepter* with the *Croſs*.
Doctor *Heywood*, the *Scepter* with the *Dove*.
Doctor *Nicholas*, the *Orb* with the *Croſs*.
Doctor *Killegrew*, King *Edward's Staff*.
Doctor *Jones*, the *Chalice* and *Patena*.
Doctor *Dowty*, the *Spoon*.
Doctor *Busby*, the *Ampulla*.

All ſtanding towards the lower end of the *Hall*, ready to proceed, they made their firſt Reverence together; then coming to the middle of the ſaid *Hall*, they made there a ſecond; and thence going a little further, both the *Quires* fell off, and ſtood on either ſide, through which Lane the *Purſuivants*, *Heraulds*, and *Kings* paſſing, fell likewiſe off on either ſide, the Seniors ſtill placing themſelves uppermoſt towards the Throne: after whom the *Dean* and *Prebends* proceeded, and arriv'd at the foot of the Stone-ſteps aſcending to the *Throne*, where they made another Reverence.

This being done, the *Dean* and *Prebends*, with *Garter Principal King of Arms* before them, (he having waited their coming thither) aſcended the Steps, and approaching near to the Table before the King, made their laſt Reverence.

The *Dean* firſt preſented the *Crown*, which was by the Lord High Conſtable, and Lord Great Chamberlain ſet upon the Table; who afterwards took from each of the *Prebends* that part of the *Regalia* which they carried, and laid them alſo by the *Crown*: which done, they retired.

Then the *Lord Great Chamberlain* preſenting the *Regalia* ſeverally to the *King*, His *Majeſty* thereupon diſpoſed of them unto the *Noblemen* hereafter named, to be carried by them in the *Proceeding* to the *Abbey-Church*, viz.

St. *Edward's Staff* to the Earl of *Sandwich*.
The *Spurs* to the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*.
The *Scepter* with the *Croſs* to the Earl of *Bedford*.
The *Pointed Sword* (born on the left hand of *Curtana*) to the Earl of *Derby*.
The *Pointed Sword* (born on the right hand thereof) to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.
The *Sword* called *Curtana* to the Earl of *Oxford*.
The *Sword* of *State* to the Earl of *Manchester*.
The *Scepter* with the *Dove* to the Duke of *Albemarle*.
The *Orb* with the *Croſs* to the Duke of *Buckingham*.
St. *Edward's Crown* to the Duke of *Ormond*.
The *Patena* to the Biſhop of *Exeter*. And laſtly,
The *Chalice* to the Biſhop of *London*.

And becauſe the *Spoon* and *Ampulla* were not to be born in the *Proceeding*, and therefore ought not to have been brought thither, but placed upon the *High Altar* in the *Abbey Church*, there to lye in readineſs; they were not preſented to the *King*, but commanded to be ſent back thither, and laid thereon.

All things being thus prepared, and it being about ten a clock, the *Proceeding* began from out the ſaid *Hall* into the *Palace-Yard*, through the *Gate-Houſe*, and the end of *King-ſtreet*, thence along the *Great Sanctuary*, and ſo to the *Weſt-end* of the *Abbey-Church*, all upon blew Cloth, which was ſpread upon the Ground, from the *Throne* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to the great Steps in the *Abbey-Church*, by Sir *George Carteret* Knight, *Vice-Chamberlain*, appointed by the *King* to be his *Almoner* for this Day.

The

The Proceeding *to the* Coronation, *was in this following* Order.

THe *Drums* four.
The *Trumpets* fixteen, in four *Claſſis*.
The *Six Clerks* of the *Chancery*.
Ten of the Kings Chaplains, having Dignity.
The *Aldermen* of *London*.
The *King's* Learned Councel at Law.
The *King's Solicitour*.
The *King's Attorney*.
The *King's* Eldeſt *Serjeant at Law*.
The *Eſquires* of the *Body*.
The *Maſters* of *Requeſt*.
The *Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber*.
The *Knights* of the *Bath*.
The *Barons* of the *Exchequer*, and *Juſtices* of both *Benches*, two and two, in order, according to their Seniority of the Coif.
The Lord Chief Baron.
The Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*.
The Maſter of the *Rolls*.
The Lord chief Juſtice of the *Kings-Bench*.
The Serjeant-Porter.
The Serjeant of the *Veſtry*.
The Children of the King's Chappel.
The Gentlemen of the King's Chappel.
The *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter*.
The Maſter of the Jewel-Houſe, who now had Precedency of the *Judges*, in regard he brought the Sword and Spurs into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the *Ring* to the Church.
The Knights of the Privy Council.
Port-cullis, Purſuivant at Arms.
The *Barons* in their Robes, two and two, carrying their Caps of Crimſon-Velvet, turn'd up with Miniver, in their hands.
The *Biſhops*, two and two, according to their Dignities, and Conſecration.
Rouge-Croix, *Blew-mantle*, Purſuivants.
The *Viſcounts*, two and two, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their hands.
Somerſet, *Cheſter*, Heralds.
The *Earls*, two and two, in their Robes, holding their Coronets in their hands.
Richmond, *Windſor*, Heralds.
The Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their hands. 1661.
Lancaſter, *York*, Heralds.
Norrey, *Clarenceux*, Provincial Kings, carrying their Crowns in their hands.
The *Lord High-Treaſurer*.
The *Lord High-Chancellour*.
St. Edward's Staff, born by the Earl of *Sandwich*.
The *Spurs*, born by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery*.
St. Edward's Scepter, born by the Earl of *Bedford*.
The third *Sword*, drawn and born by the Earl of *Derby*.
The *Sword* called *Curtana*, drawn and born by the Earl of *Oxford*.
The *Pointed Sword*, drawn and born by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.
The Lord Mayor of *London*.
Garter, Principal King of Arms.
The Gentleman-Uſher of the *Black-Rod*.
The Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*.

Arms.
- The Earl of *Suffolk*, Earl-Marſhal for this preſent occaſion.
- The *Sword* of *State* in the Scabbard, born by the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.
- The Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord High-Conſtable of *England* for this preſent occaſion.

His Highneſs the *Duke* of *York*.

Serjeants at
- The *Scepter* with the *Dove*, born by the Duke of *Albemarle*.
- St. *Edward's Crown*, born by the Duke of *Ormond*, High-Steward for this preſent occaſion.
- The *Orb*, born by the Duke of *Buckingham*.
- The *Patena*, born by the Biſhop of *Exeter*, in his Cope.
- The *Regale* or *Chalice*, born by the Biſhop of *London* in his Cope.

The KING.
ſupported by the Biſhops of
Bath and *Wells*, and *Dureſme*

His Train born by the Lords

Mandevill, *Cavendiſh*, *Oſſory*, and *Percy*; and aſſiſted by the Lord *Mouſfield*, Maſter of the *Robes*.

The Lord *Lauderdale*,

One of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, to be near to the King.

M. *Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Seamour*.

both Grooms of the Bed-Chamber

Captain of the Guard: Captain of the Penſioners.

The Yeomen of the Guard.

The Penſioners with their Pole-Axes. *Barons of the Cinque-Ports, carrying the Canopy.*

Barons of the Cinque-Ports, carrying the Canopy. *The Penſioners with their Pole-Axes.*

When the *Proceeding* had entred the Abbey-Church, all paſſed through the *Quire*, and thence went up the *ſtairs* towards the great *Stage*, and as they arrived at the top thereof, were

1661. disposed by the Heralds into two Galleries, built on either side the upper end of the Quire.

That on the *North* side received the Aldermen of *London*, the Judges, and Gentlemen of the *Long-Robe*, the Quire of *Westminster*, the Gentlemen and Children of the *Kings* Chappel, (excepting twelve Gentlemen, four Children, and one Organist, who went into a Gallery raised on the *South*-side of the upper Quire, peculiarly appointed for them:) and in the Gallery on the *South*-side, were seated the Knights of the *Bath*, and Gentlemen of the *Privy-Chamber*.

The *King* being entred the *West*-Door of the Abbey-Church, was received with an *Anthem*, begun by the *Quire* of *Westminster*; who with the *Dean*, and *Prebends*, had before fallen off from the *Proceeding*, a little on the left hand of the middle Isle, and stayed there to attend his coming, where also a *Fald-stool*, and *Cushions* were laid ready for his Majesty to kneel at.

The *Anthem* sung, was the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth *Verses* of the 122 *Psalm*:

I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord, &c.

The *King* arriving at the *Fald stool*, kneeled down, and used some private Ejaculations, which being finished, he thence proceeded into, and through the *Quire*, up to the great *Theatre* (erected close to the four high *Pillars*, standing between the *Quire* and the *Altar*) upon which the *Throne of Estate* was placed, (being a Square raised on five Degrees) at the Entrance whereof were set a *Chair*, *Foot stool*, and *Cushion*, covered with Cloth of Gold, whereon he reposed himself.

Immediately after the Bishop of *London* (who was appointed to Officiate, in part, that day; for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, whose Age and Weakness rendred him uncapable of performing his whole Duty at the *Coronation*) having the *Lord High-Constable*, the *Earl-Marshal*, the *Lord Great Chamberlain*, the *Lord High-Chancellour* and *Lord Chamberlain* of the *Houshold* before him, went first to the *South*, next to the *West*, and lastly, to the *North side* of the *Theatre*; and at every of the said three sides, acquainted the People, that he presented to them *King* CHARLES, the Rightful Inheritour of the *Crown* of this *Realm*; and asked them, if they were willing to do their *Homage*, *Service*, and *Bounden Duty* to Him.

As this was doing, the *King* rose up, and stood by the aforesaid *Chair*, turning his Face still to that side of the *Stage* where the said Bishop stood, when he spake to the *People*; who signified their willingness, by loud Shouts and Acclamations.

The same Question was likewise put by the said *Bishop* to all the *Nobility* present.

Immediately after, this following *Anthem* was sung by the *Gentlemen* of the *Kings Chappel*:

Let thy Hand be strengthened, and thy right Hand be exalted. Let Justice and Judgment be the Preparation of thy Seat, and Mercy and Truth go before thy Face.

In which time, a large *Carpet* was spread by a *Groom* and *Page* of the removing *Wardrope*, from the *Altar*, down below the *half-Paces* thereof, and over that a *Silk-Carpet*, and *Cushion* laid by the *Gentleman-Usher* of the *Black Rod*, and Mr. *Kinnersley*: Whereupon the *Bishop* of *London* went down from the *Stage* towards the *Altar*; and having made his Reverence, placed himself at the *North*-side thereof.

Then the *King* descended from his *Throne*, and proceeded towards the *Altar*, being supported by the *Bishops* of *Duresme*, and *Bath*, and *Wells*, with the *four Swords*, the *grand Officers*, the *Noble-men* and *Bishops*, that carried the *Regalia* before him, the *Dean* of *Westminster* also attending. Being arrived at the steps of the *Altar*, he kneeled down upon the Cushion, there laid ready for him, having first offered the *Pall*, (which was of Cloth of Gold, and born by the Earl of *Sandwich*) as also a Wedge of Gold, of a pound weight (presented unto his hands by the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treasurer of his *Household*) both which were received from the *King* by the *Bishop* of *London*, who laid them reverently upon the *Altar*. Immediately after, his Majesty retired to a *Chair* of *State*, set on the *South* side of the *Altar*, a little below the Traverse of Crimson Taffety.

After this, the *Bishops* and *Noble-men* that carried the *Regalia*, drew near to the *Altar*, and presented every particular to the said *Bishop* of *London*, who placed them also upon the *Altar*; and having so done, they retired to their Seats. Whereupon the *King* kneeled at a *Fald-stool* (set on the right side of his Chair of State) whilest the *Bishop* of *London* said this Prayer.

O God, which doth visit those that are humble, and dost comfort us by thy Holy Spirit, *send down thy Grace upon this thy* Servant CHARLES, *that by Him we may feel thy Presence among us, through* Jesus Christ, *Amen.*

This *Prayer* ended the *Bishop* of *Worcester* went up into the *Pulpit*, placed on the *North*-side of the *Altar*, opposite to the *King*, and begun his SERMON, the Text being taken out of the 28th Chapter of the *Proverbs*, and the second Ver.

From the beginning of the aforesaid *Offering* to this time, the KING was bare; but now he put on his Cap, made of Crimson Velvet, turn'd up with Ermines; with which he sate covered all the *Sermon*-time.

On the Kings right hand stood the *Bishop* of *Duresme*, and beyond him the *Noble-men*, that carried the *Swords*, who held them naked, and erect. The Duke of *York* sate a little behind him on his left hand; next to whom stood the *Bishop* of *Bath* and *Wells*, together with the Lord Great Chamberlain.

The Lord High Chancellour, and Lord High Treasurer, sate on a Form behind the Duke of *York*; and behind them, in a Gallery, sate the Dutchess of *York*.

In the same Gallery also were placed.

Baron *Batville*, Ordinary Ambassadour from *Spain*.

Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, Extraordinary Ambassadour from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

Monsieur Weyman, the Electors Chancellour, who was joyned in Commission with him.

The *Count Coningsmark*, Envoy from *Sweden*.

Monsieur Friesendorf, Resident of *Sweden*.

Monsieur

Monſieur Petcum, Reſident of *Denmark*.
Monſieur Pleſſis Bellievre, Envoy from *Monſieur* the Duke of *Orleans*.
Signieur Giavarina, Reſident of *Venice*.
Signieur Bernarde, Reſident of *Genoa*.
Monſieur La Motte, and *Monſieur Frays*, Envoys from the *Peince Elector*.
Monſieur Gormers, Deputy-Extraordinary from *Hamburgh*.
An Envoy from the *Cardinal* of *Heſs*.
The Marqueſs *de Montbrun*, with ſeveral other *Gentlemen-ſtrangers*.

But *Don Franciſco de Mello*, the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, was placed in the Lord Chamberlains Box.

On the *North*-ſide of the *Altar* ſate the *Biſhop* of *London*, directly oppoſite to the *King* in the Arch-Biſhops Chair, covered with Purple-Velvet; the reſt of the Biſhops were placed on Forms behind him.

And higher, towards St. *Edward*'s Chappel, ſtood *Grater*, Principal King of Arms, with the Officers of the ſtanding and moving *Ward-robe*, *viz.* Mr. *Rumbal*, and Mr. *Townesend*, and Mr. *Kinnerſley*, in Scarlet-Gowns, having a Crown; embroidered with Gold on their left ſleeves, the *Groom* and *Page* of the Ward-rope having Scarlet-Gowns alſo, but not the badg of the Crown; the *Serjant* of the *Veſtry* whith his gilt Verge, and other Vergers: With them alſo ſtood Mr. *Aſhburnham*, M. *Seymour*, Mr. *Elliot*, Mr. *Progers*, and Mr. *Chiffinch*, with ſome other of the *Kings* Servants, who attended to do Service.

Oppoſite to them, on the *South*-ſide of the Altar, ſtood the *Dean* and *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter*.

St. *Edward*'s Ancient Chair, (covered all over with Cloth of Gold) was placed upon the *North*-ſide of the Altar, a little lower than that belonging to the Arch-Biſhop, but ſomething nearer the middle of the Iſle, and between the Kings Chair of State and the Pulpit.

Near the Pulpit ſtood the *Maſter* of the *Jewel Houſe*, and the Lord Mayor of *London*.

The *Nobility*, not formerly named, (who were ſeated upon Forms round about the in-ſide of the Stage) when *Sermon* begun, drew near to that ſide thereof which faced the High Altar, and ſtood there.

On the Corners of the Stage, near the High Altar, adjoyning to the two uppermoſt Pillars, were places railed in for the *Provincial Kings*, *Heralds*, and *Perſuivants*.

The *Serjeants at Arms*, being ſixteen in number, ſtood with their Maces on their Shoulders within the Rails, on either ſide the Entrance of the Stage from the *Quire*.

Over the Door, and at the *Weſt*-end of the *Quire*, ſtood the Drums and Trumpets.

Sermon being ended, the King uncovered his Head, and immediately the Biſhop of *London* aroſe from his Seat, and drew near to the Kings Chair of *State*, and asked him his willingneſs to take the uſual *Oath* to confirm the *Laws* to the *People*, and namely the *Franchiſes* granted to the *Clergy* by St. *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, to maintain the *Goſpel* eſtabliſhed in the *Kingdom*, to keep *Peace*, execute *Juſtice*, and grant the *Commons* the rightful *Cuſtoms*, unto every of which Queſtions his Majeſty made particular Anſwers That *He would*.

Then the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* read the *Biſhop*'s *Petition* to the King; the *Prayer* whereof was, That he would preſerve unto them, and the *Churches* committed to their Charge, all *Canonical Privuledges*, due *Law*, and *Juſtice*, and protect and defend *them*, and the *Churches* under their Government: Which his *Majeſty* moſt graciouſly by a large Anſwer (which repeated the words of the *Petition*) granted, and promiſed to perform. 1661.

Afterwards the King, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, was led from his *Chair* up to the *Altar* (the *Sword* of *State* being born before him, and the Lord Great Chamberlain attending) where he took an *Oath* to perform, and keep what he had promiſed.

Which *Oath* taken, the King was led in like manner back to his *Chair* of *State*, and immediately the Biſhop of *London* begun the *Hymn*, *Come Holy Ghoſt*, *Eternal God*, &c. the *Quires* ſinging the reſt of it.

And a little before the ending thereof, the *Fald-ſtool* was ſet again at the Kings right hand, whereat (as ſoon as the *Hymn* was finiſhed) he kneeled, the Biſhop of *London* ſtanding before him, and ſaying the following *Prayer*:

We beſeech thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlaſting God, for this thy Servant Charles *&c.*

The *Prayer* ended, the Biſhop of *London* went to the *North* ſide of the Altar, the King ſtill kneeling and forthwith the Biſhops of *Peterborough*, and *Glouceſter*, went and kneeled on the upper hault-place of the Altar, where they began the *Letany*, the *Quire* ſinging the *Reſponſes*; the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* kneeling all the while at the Kings left hand.

After the *Letany*, followed three *Prayers*, ſaid by the Biſhop of *London* at the *North*-ſide of the *Altar*: and a little before the laſt of them was ended, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* came out at the *North* door of St. *Edward*'s Chappel, veſted in a rich ancient Cope.

At the ending of the third *Prayer*, the ſaid Arch Biſhop ſtanding before the *Altar*, began the *Verſicle*:

Lift up your Hearts.
Reſp.
We lift them up to the Lord.
Arch-Biſhop.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.
Reſp.
It is meet and right ſo to do.
Arch-Biſhop.
It is very meet, and right, and our bounden duty, that we ſhould at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, &c.

This Preface being finiſhed, the *King* aroſe from before the *Fald ſtool*, and went to the *Altar* ſupported by the aforeſaid Biſhops of *Dureſme*, and *Bath* and *Wells*; where he was diſrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain of his *Royal Robes*, which were immediately carried thence into the Traverſe erected in St. *Edward*'s Chappel.

Whilſt this was in doing, the *Chair* that was before placed at the entrance of the *Stage*, was

1661. was removed, and ſet on the *North*-ſide of the *Altar*, betwixt it and St. *Edward*'s *Chair*, whereunto the *King* came, ſate down, and was *anointed* by the ſaid Arch-Biſhop, (while the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* held the *Ampulla*, and poured the Oyl out into a *Spoon*) firſt in the Palms of both his hands in manner of a Croſs, the Arch-Biſhop as he anointed him, pronouncing theſe words:

Let theſe Hands be anointed with Holy Oyl, as Kings and Prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel *did anoint* David *to be King, that Thou mayeſt be bleſſed, and eſtabliſhed* KING *in this Kingdom, and this People, whom the Lord thy God hath given Thee to rule over: which he vouchſafe to grant; who, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, Three in Perſon, and One in Unity, be bleſſed, and praiſed, now, and for evermore.* Amen.

After which the *Quire* ſung this *Anthem*,

Sadoc the *Prieſt*, *and* Nathan *the Prophet anointed* Solomon *King, and all the People rejoyced and ſaid, God ſave the* KING.

At the end of which *Anthem*, the Arch-Biſhop ſaid this *Prayer*:

Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable Countenance upon this Glorious KING, *&c.*

And then proceeded with his anointing the *Kings* Breaſt, between his Shoulders, on both his Shoulders, the two bowings of his Arms, and on the Crown of his Head, in manner aforeſaid.

Which being done, the *Anointing* was dried up with fine Linnen, and the Loops of his Shirt cloſed up by the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*, and then the Arch-Biſhop ſaid theſe two *Prayers*,

God, the Son of God, Chriſt Jeſus *our Lord, who is anointed of his Father with the Oyl of Gladneſs above his fellows*, &c. *God which art the Glory of the Righteous, and the Mercy of Sinners*, &c.

During the time of *Unction*, a rich *Pall* of Cloth of Gold, (brought from the great *Wardrobe* by Mr. *Rumball*) was held over the *Kings* Head by the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Albemarle*, the Earls of *Berks* and *Sandwich*, as *Knights* of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*.

After theſe Prayers, the Lord Great Chamberlain delivered the *Coif* to the Arch-Biſhop, who put it on the *Kings* Head, and immediately after the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* put the *Coif*, with the *Colobium Sindonis*, or *Surplice*, upon the *King*: Whereupon the Arch-Biſhop ſaid this ſhort *Prayer*;

O God, the King of Kings, and Lords of Lords, by whom Kings do Reign, and Law-givers do make good Laws, vouchſafe, we beſeech thee, in thy favour, to bleſs this Kingly Ornament, and grant that thy Servant Charles, *our* King, *who ſhall wear it, may ſhine in thy ſight with the Ornament of a good Life and holy Actions; and after this life ended, He may for ever enjoy that Life and Glory which hath no end, through* Chriſt *our Lord.* Amen.

This ſaid, the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* having likewiſe fetched the *Tiſſue-Hoſe* and *Sandals* from the *Altar*, he arrayed the *King* therewith, as alſo with the *Super-tunica*, or *cloſe Paul* of Cloth of Gold, and girded the ſame about him.

But the *Taffety red Shirt* was not made uſe of at all.

After all this, the ſaid *Dean* took the *Spurs* from off the *Altar*, and delivered them to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who touched the *Kings* Heels therewith and forthwith ſent them back to the *Altar*.

Then the Arch-Biſhop received the *Sword* of *State* in the Scabbard from the Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and laid it upon the *Altar*, ſaying this *Prayer*.

Hear our Prayers, we beſeech thee, O Lord, and vouchſafe by thy right hand of Majeſty, to bleſs and ſanctifie this Sword, *wherewith thy Servant* Charles *deſireth to be girt, that it may be a Defence and Protection of Churches, Widows and Orphans, and all the Servants of God, againſt the ſavage cruelty of Pagans, and Infidels; and that it may be a Fear and Terrour to all thoſe that lie in wait to do miſchief, through* Chriſt *our Lord.* Amen.

This *Prayer* finiſhed, the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops aſſiſting, delivered the *Sword* back to the *King*, ſaying, *Accipe gladium per manus Epiſcoporum.* Whereupon the Lord Great Chamberlain girt it about the *King*, and the Arch-Biſhop ſaid,

Receive this Kingly Sword, which is hallowed for the defence of the Holy Church, and delivered unto Thee by the hands of the Biſhops, though unworthy, yet Conſecrated by the Authority of the Holy Apoſtles, &c.

After this, the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* took the * *Armil*, made of Cloth of Tiſſue, (brought thither by Mr. *Rumbal*, on the behalf of the Earl of *Sandwich*, Maſter of the great *Ward-robe*) and put it about the *Kings* Neck; and tyed it to the bowings of his Arms, the Arch-Biſhop ſtanding before the *King*, with the Biſhop of *London* on his right hand, and ſaying,

* Armillæ *ſunt in modum ſtolæ, & ab utraque ſcapula uſque ad Compages Brachiorum erunt dependentes, in ipſis Compagibus laqueis ſe-* vicis *connexæ.*

Receive the Armil of Sincerity and Wiſdom, as a Token of Gods imbracing, whereby all thy works may be defended againſt thine Enemies, both Bodily and Ghoſtly, through Chriſt *our Lord.*

Next the *Mantle* or open *Pall*, being made of Cloth of Gold, and lined with red Taffety, was put upon him by the ſaid Dean; the *Arch-Biſhop* likewiſe uſing the words of ſignification, *viz.* *Receive this Pall, which is formed with four Corners, to let thee underſtand, that the four Corners of the World are ſubject to the Power of God; and that no man can happily reign upon the Earth who hath not received his authority from Heaven.*

In the next place, the *Arch-Biſhop* took Saint *Edward*'s *Crown*, and bleſſed it, ſaying, *God, the Crown of the Faithful*, &c. *bleſs and ſanctifie this Crown, that as the ſame is adorned with divers precious Stones, ſo this thy Servant that weareth it may be filled with thy manifold Graces of all precious Vertues, through the King Eternal, thy Son our Lord.* Amen.

In

In the mean time St. *Edward*'s Chair was removed into the middle of the *Isle*, and set right over-against the *Altar*, whither the King went and sate down in it, and then the *Arch-Bishop* brought St. *Edward*'s *Crown* from the *Altar*, and put it upon his Head.

Whereupon all the *People*, with loud and repeated shouts, cryed, *God save the* KING; and by a signal then given, the great *Ordnance* from the *Tower* were also shot off.

At the ceasing of these Acclamations, the Archbishop went on, saying,

God crown thee with a Crown of Glory and Righteousness, with the honour and work of Fortitude, that thou, by thy Ministry, having a right Faith, and manifold Fruit of Good Works, mayest obtain the Crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the Gift of him whose Kingdom endureth for ever. Amen.

Adding thereunto this Prayer:

O God of Eternity, &c. *Bless this thy Servant, who* * *boweth his Head unto thy Majesty*, &c.

* At which words the *King* bowed his Head.

After the *Prayer*, the *Archbishop* read the *Confortare.*

Be strong, and of a good courage, and observe the Commandments of the Lord, to walk in his ways, &c.

In the mean while the *Quires* sung this *Anthem.*

The King shall rejoice in thy Strength, O Lord. Exceeding glad shall he be of thy Salvation, &c.

Upon this, the Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Viscounts put on their *Coronets*, the Barons their *Caps*; and divers of them came and stood about the KING, who still sate in St. *Edward*'s Chair.

Mr. *Garter* and the *Provincial Kings* put on their *Crowns* also.

Then the *Master* of the *Jewel-House* delivered to the Archbishop the *Ring*, who Consecrated it after this manner, saying,

Bless, O Lord, and sanctifie this Ring, that thy Servant, wearing it, may be sealed with the Ring of Faith, and by the Power of the Highest be preserved from Sin, and let all the Blessings, which are found in Holy Scripture, plentifully descend upon him, that whatsoever he shall sanctifie, may be holy; and whatsoever he blesseth, may be blessed. Amen.

After which, he put it upon the Fourth Finger of the King's right Hand, and said,

Receive this Ring of Kingly Dignity, and by it the Seal of Catholick Faith, that as this day thou art adorned the Head and Prince of this Kingdom and People, so thou mayest preserve as the Author and Establisher of Christianity, *and the* Christian Faith; *that, being rich in Faith, and happy in Works, Thou mayest Reign with Him that is King of Kings; to whom be Honour and Glory, for ever and ever.* Amen.

And then began this Prayer: 1661.

O God, to whom belongeth all Power and Dignity, give unto thy Servant Charles *the Fruit of his Dignity, wherein grant He may long continue and fear Thee always, and always labour to please Thee, through* Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

When this Prayer was finished, the *Linnen Gloves* were delivered to the KING by the Lord Great Chamberlain; who, going to the *Altar*, ungirt his *Sword*, and offered it at the *Altar* in the Scabbard; which being redeemed by the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, was drawn out of the Scabbard, and carried naked by him all the following part of the Solemnity.

Then the Archbishop took the Scepter, with the Cross, from off the *Altar*, and delivered it into the King's right Hand, saying,

Receive this Scepter, the Sign of Kingly Power, the Rod of Kingdoms, the Rod of Virtue, that thou govern thy Self aright, and defend the Holy Church, a Christian *People, committed by God unto thy Charge, punish the Wicked, and protect the Just, and lead them in the ways of Righteousness, and that from this Temporal Kingdom thou mayest be advanced to an Eternal Kingdom by his Goodness whose Kingdom is Everlasting.* Amen.

Whilst this was pronounced by the Archbishop, Mr. *Henry Howard* delivered to the King a rich *Glove*, which he put on his right Hand, and then received the *Scepter*; and after that, the Archbishop said this Prayer:

O Lord, the Fountain of all good things, &c. *Grant, We beseech Thee, to this thy Servant* Charles, *that He may order aright the Dignity which he hath obtained*, &c.

During which time, the said Mr. *Howard* perform'd the service of supporting the Kings right *Arm*, according as it was adjudged to him by the Court of *Claims*, by vertue of holding the *Manor* of *Worksop* in the County of *Nottingham*

Next of all, the Archbishop took the *Scepter* with the *Dove*, and gave it into the King's Hand also, saying,

Receive the Rod of Virtue, and Equity, learn to make much of the Godly, and to terrifie the Wicked, shew the way to those that go astray, offer thy Hand to those that fall, repress the proud, lift up the lowly, that Our Lord Jesus Christ *may open to Thee the Door, who saith of himself,* 'I am the Door, by me if any man 'enter, he shall be safe. *And let Him be Thy help, who is the Key of* David, *and the Scepter of the House of* Israel, 'who openeth, and no 'man shutteth, who shutteth, and no man, 'openeth; who bringeth the Captive out of 'Prison where he sate in darkness, and in the 'shadow of death. *That in all things thou mayest follow him of whom the Prophet* David *saith,* 'The 'Scepter of thy Kingdom is a right Scepter, 'thou hast loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity; wherefore God, even thy God, hath 'anointed thee with the Oyl of gladness above 'thy fellows, *even* Jesus Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

After

1661. After which the KING kneeled, holding both the Scepters in his Hands, whilſt the Archbiſhop thus bleſſed him:

The Lord bleſs thee, and keep thee; and as he hath made thee King *over his People, ſo be ſtill proſper thee in this World, and make thee partaker of this Eternal Felicity in the World to come.* Amen.

Then the KING aroſe, and ſet himſelf again in St. *Edward's* Chair, whilſt the Archbiſhop and Biſhops preſent, one after another, kneeled before him, and were kiſſed by him.

In the mean time, the *King's* Chair of State, wherein he was anointed, was ſet above the upper Steps, at the entrance upon the Theatre, whither the KING went, as ſoon as he had performed the Ceremony of kiſſing the Biſhops, having now four Swords born naked before him, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and great Officers attending: at his arrival there the Archbiſhop ſaid this Prayer, the King kneeling,

Grant, O Lord, that the Clergy and People gathered together by thine Ordinance, for this ſervice of the KING, *may by the moſt gracious aſſiſtance of thy goodneſs, and the vigilant care of thy Servant Our* KING, *be continually governed, and preſerved in all Happineſs.*

Then the King aroſe, and repoſed himſelf in the ſaid Chair, whilſt both *Quires* ſung *Te Deum.*

When *Te Deum* was ended, the King aſcended his Throne placed in the middle of the Theatre, the Swords, and Great Officers, ſtanding on either ſide; as alſo the Biſhops, ſome in Copes, others in Rochets, the Archbiſhop then ſaying, *Stand, and hold faſt from henceforth that Place, whereof hitherto You have been Heir, by the Succeſſion of your Forefathers,* &c.

After this, the *Biſhops* and *Nobility* did their Homage to the King in manner following.

And firſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* kneeled down before the King's Knees, and ſaid,

I William *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *ſhall be Faithful and True, and Faith and Truth bear unto You, our Sovereign* Lord, *and Your Heirs, Kings of* England, *and ſhall do, and truly acknowledg the Service of the Land, which I claim to hold of You, in the right of the Church.* So help Me God.

Which ſaid, he kiſſed the *King's* left Cheek.

The like did all the other *Biſhops*, that were preſent.

Then came up the Duke of *York*, with *Garter* principal *King* of *Arms*, before him and his Train born by two Gentlemen, who, being arrived at the Throne, kneeled down before the *King*, put off his Coronet, and did his *Homage*; at which the Drums beat, Trumpets ſounded, and all the People ſhouted.

The like did the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Albemarle*, for themſelves, and the reſt of the Dukes.

So alſo did the Marqueſſes of *Worceſter*, and *Dorcheſter.*

Next the Earl of *Oxford* did homage after the ſame manner for himſelf, and all the reſt of the *Earls*, who attended upon him to ſignifie their Conſents.

After him Viſcount *Hereford* did the like for himſelf and the reſt of the *Viſcounts*; and then the Drums beat, and Trumpets ſounded again, and the People ſhouted.

Laſtly, Baron *Audley* in like manner did homage for himſelf and all the *Baronage*, who alſo accompanied him to the Throne, in teſtification of their Conſents; which being finiſh'd, Drums, Trumpets, and Shouts follow'd.

Note, That the words of *Homage* were ſaid by every one of the *Nobility* that kneeled down, *viz.*

I, N. N. *do become your* Liege-man *of Life, and Limb, and of Earthly Worſhip; and Faith and Truth I ſhall bear unto you, to live, and dye, againſt all manner of Folks:* So help Me God.

Afterwards the Duke of *York*, and all the *Nobility* ſingly aſcended the Throne, and touched the *King's Crown*, promiſing by that Ceremony to be ever ready to ſupport it with all their power.

During the performing of this ſolemn Ceremony, the Lord High Chancellor went to the South-weſt and North ſides of the Stage, and proclaimed to the People the *King's General Pardon*, being attended by Mr. *Garter* to the South ſide, and by a *Gentleman Uſher* and two *Heralds* to the other two ſides.

And at theſe three ſides, at the ſame time, did the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold, fling abroad the Medals, both of Gold and Silver, prepared for the Coronation, as a Princely Donation, or Largeſs, amongſt the People.

The *King* being thus enthronized, the *Gentlemen* of his *Chapel* began this following *Anthem*, *Behold, O Lord, our Defender, and look upon the Face of Thine Anointed.*

The Violins, and other Inſtrumental Muſick, (who were robed in Scarlet Mantles, and plac'd in a Gallery erected over againſt them, on the North ſide of the Altar) anſwering alternately: at the ending of which *Anthem*, the Trumpets ſounded, and Drums beat again. In which time the *King* took off his Crown, and deliver'd it to the Lord High Chamberlain to hold; the Scepter with the Croſs to Mr. *Henry Howard*, and that with the Dove to the Duke of *Albemarle.*

The *Epiſtle* (taken out of the Firſt Epiſtle of St. *Peter*, the ſecond *Chapter*, and beginning at the eleventh *Verſe*) was read by the Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*

The *Goſpel* (being part of the twenty ſecond *Chapter* of St. *Matthew*, beginning at the 15th *Verſe*) by the Biſhop of *Ely.*

After

After which the *Nicene Creed* was begun by the Biſhop of *London*, and ſung by the *Gentlemen* of the Chapel, with *Verſe*, and *Chorus*, (that and the reſt of the ſpecial *Muſick*, for the Solemnity, being ſet by Captain *Cook*, Maſter of the Children of His Majeſty's ſaid Chapel.) The *Violins*, and other *Inſtrumental Muſick* placed in the Gallery over-againſt them, alternately playing.

All which time the King ſtood by his *Throne*.

But towards the end of the *Creed* he took again his *Crown* from the Lord Great Chamberlain, and put it on his Head; as alſo the *Scepter* with the *Croſs*, from Mr. *Howard*, and that with the *Dove* from the Duke of *Albemarle*, and prepared for his deſcent from his *Throne* towards the *Altar*, to receive the Communion.

And, as ſoon as the ſinging of the *Creed* was fully ended, the *King* deſcended with the *Crown* on his Head, and *Scepters* in both Hands (the Biſhops of *Dureſm*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, ſupporting him) with the four *Swords* naked before, and all the great Officers attending.

In the time of this *Proceeding* the *Quire* ſung,

Let my Prayer come up into thy preſence as the Incenſe, and the lifting up of my Hands be as an Evening Sacrifice.

Here the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* retir'd from the Ceremonies into St. *Edward's* Chapel, and thence went home, leaving the remainder of his Duty to be perform'd by the Biſhop of *London*.

At the *King's* approach to the *Altar*, the Biſhop of *Ely* delivered unto him Bread and Wine, which he there offer'd, and then return'd to the *Faldſtool*, on the ſouth ſide of the *Altar*, near his Chair of State, before which he kneeled down, and laid his *Crown* upon the *Cuſhion* before him, towards his right Hand; and the *Scepter* with the *Dove* on his left; and gave again to Mr. *Howard* the *Scepter* with the *Croſs*, who held it, kneeling on the Kings right Hand: the Grand Officers, and the *Noblemen*, with the four Swords naked, and erect, ſtanding about him.

Then the Biſhop of *London* ſaid this *Prayer*,

Bleſs, O Lord, we beſeech thee, theſe thy Gifts, and ſanctifie them unto this holy Uſe, &c.

At the end of which the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, preſented the *King* with another *Wedge of Gold*, which goeth under the name of the *Mark of Gold*. This the *King* offer'd into the *Baſon*, kneeling ſtill at his *Faldſtool*, whilſt the Biſhop of *London* ſaid the following *Prayer*.

Almighty God give Thee the dew of Heaven, and the fatneſs of the Earth, and abundance of Corn and Wine, &c.

And next pronounced this Bleſſing:

Bleſs, O Lord, the virtuous carriage of this King, and accept the Work of his Hands: repleniſh the Realm with the Bleſſings of Heaven, of the Dew, of the Water, and of the Deeps.

Then the Biſhop proceeded to the Conſecration of the Sacrament; which being finiſh'd, he firſt Received; next, the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*; then the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; and laſtly, the Biſhop of *Dureſm*. 1661.

Theſe four *Prelates* having communicated, Preparation was made for the *King's* Receiving, who kneeled all this while before his *Faldſtool*.

The *Towel* was brought thither by Mr. *Rumbal*, on the behalf of the *Maſter* of the *Wardrobe*, and preſented to the Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Carliſle*, who held it before the *King* while he Received.

The *Biſhop* of *London* gave the *King* the *Bread*, and the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* the *Cup*.

As ſoon as the *King* had Received, this *Anthem* was begun by the upper *Quire*,

O hearken unto the voice of my calling, my King and my God, &c.

In the mean while, the *King* returned to his Throne upon the Theatre, with the Crown on his Head, and bearing the Scepters in his Hands.

When he came thither, he put off his Crown, and deliver'd it to the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Scepter with the Croſs to Mr. *Howard*, and that other with the Dove to the Duke of *Albemarle*.

And then the Biſhop of *London* went on with the Communion, which being finiſh'd, the *King* (attended as before) deſcended from his Throne Crowned, with both the Scepters in his Hands.

The reſt of the *Regalia* (which lay all this while on the *Altar*) being delivered to the *Noblemen* that brought them in the Proceeding to the Church, were carried before him, and thence the *King* proceeded into St. *Edward's* Chapel, the *Organs* playing all the while.

Where being arriv'd, he took off St. *Edward's* Crown, and deliver'd it to the Biſhop of *London*, who immediately laid it upon St. *Edward's Altar*; all the reſt of the *Regalia* were given into the hands of the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*, and laid there alſo.

Afterwards the King entred into the Traverſe erected in the middle of the Wall, on the backſide of the *High Altar*, and there retir'd, whilſt he was diſrobed of St. *Edward's* Robes by Mr. *Seymer* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Grooms of the *Bedchamber*, on the behalf of the Lord High Chamberlain, Mr. *Eliot*, Mr. *Progers*, Colonel *Philips*, and Mr. *Chiffinch* aſſiſting.

Theſe Robes were laid on St. *Edward's Altar* by the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, and afterwards deliver'd to the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*, to lay up with the *Regalia*.

After this, the *King* was array'd in his purple Robes, and then came near to St. *Edward's Altar*, where the Biſhop of *London* ſtood ready with the *Imperial* Crown in his Hands, and ſet that upon the *King's* Head; thereupon the *King* took the Scepter with the Croſs in his right Hand, with the Globe in his left, and immediately the proceeding (order'd alſo by the *Heralds*) began thence into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the ſame way that he came, and attended after the ſame manner, ſaving that the *Noblemen*, and *Biſhops*, which brought the *Regalia* to the *Abbey-church*, went not now immediately before the *King*, as they did then, but were ranked in places according to their Degrees and Conſe-

1661. crations; all the *Noblemen*, with their Coronets and Caps on their Heads. The *Kings* of *Arms* marched likewise with their Crowns on.

The *Proceeding* being enter'd into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the *Nobility*, and others who had Tables aſſigned them, went, and placed themſelves thereat; but the *King* (attended with the great Officers) withdrew into the *Inner Court* of *Wards*, for halt an hour.

In the mean time, all the *Tables* in the *Hall* were ſerved (*viz.*) before the *King's Service* came up, and were placed in this manner:

On the right hand of the King's *Throne* below in the *Hall* were ſet two Tables, one beneath the other: at the upper end of the firſt next the *State* (which had two *Side-Tables* to ſerve it) ſate the *Biſhops*, and below them the *Judges*, with the reſt of the *Long-Robe*.

At the ſecond *Table* (which had two *Side-board Tables* likewiſe to ſerve it) ſate the *Maſters* of the *Chancery*, and the *Six Clerks*.

And here, at this Table, were the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports* neceſſitated to ſit, although the upper end of the firſt *Table* was appointed for them.

The Occaſion this: No ſooner had the aforeſaid *Barons* brought up the *King* to the foot of the Stairs in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, aſcending to his *Throne*, and turned on the left hand (towards their own *Table*) out of the way, but the King's *Footmen* moſt inſolently and violently ſeized upon the Canopy, which the *Barons* endeavouring to keep and defend, were by their number and ſtrength dragged down to the lower end of the *Hall*, nevertheleſs ſtill keeping their hold; and had not Mr. *Owen* YORK-*Herald* been accidentally near the *Hall* Door, and ſeeing the Conteſt, cauſed the ſame to be ſhut, the *Footmen* had certainly carried it away by force. But in the interim alſo (ſpeedy notice hereof having been given the *King*) one of the *Quarries* were ſent from him, with command to impriſon the *Footmen*, and diſmiſs them out of his ſervice, which put an end to the preſent Diſturbance.

Theſe *Footmen* were alſo commanded to make their ſubmiſſion to the *Court* of *Claims*, (which was accordingly done by them the 30th of *April* following, and the Canopy then deliver'd back to the ſaid *Barons*.)

Whilſt this Diſturbance happen'd, the upper end of the aforeſaid *Table* was taken up by the *Biſhops*, *Judges*, *&c.* and hereupon it came to paſs, that the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports* loſt their Places, and were neceſſitated to ſit down at the ſaid ſecond *Table*, with the *Maſters* of the *Chancery*, *&c.* where there was room left by ſome of the *Long Robe*, that ſate at the upper *Table*.

Upon the left hand of the King's *Throne*, below, on the other ſide of the *Hall*, was placed likewiſe a long *Table*, which reached down near to the *Common-Pleas* Court, whereat the *Nobility* dined; and this *Table* had four *Side-Board Tables* to ſerve it.

And behind this, cloſe to the Wall, at a ſhorter Table, ſate the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and twelve chief Citizens of *London*, who had alſo two Side-Tables to ſerve them.

Laſtly, within the Court of *Common-Pleas* was a Table with one Side-Table to ſerve it, ſet for the Officers of *Arms*, whereat they alſo dined. Each Table was furniſh'd with three Courſes, anſwerable to that of the King's, beſides the *Banquet*.

A little before the King returned to Dinner two *Eſquires* of the *Body*, viz. *Ferdinando Marſham* and *Henry Norwood*, took their Seats upon two little Foot-ſtools, on either ſide of the foot of the King's Chair, (placed in the middle of the Table) and there ſate until the King came in to Dinner; when riſing, and performing their Duty, in placing the *King's Robes* for his better conveniency of ſitting, they ſate down again at the King's Feet a good part of Dinner-time, and until the King gave them leave to riſe; he accepting that time of Seſſion in full performance of their ſervice.

On the right ſide of the *Throne* was erected a Gallery for the *Kings* of *Arms*, *Heraldi*, and *Purſuivants*; and oppoſite to that, on the other ſide another for the *Muſick*; and below, on the old Scaffolds, next the Court of *Common-Pleas*, ſtood the King's *Trumpeters*.

The

1661.

The Proceeding at Carrying up of the First Course *to the* KING's Table.

SIR *George Barker*, Sir *William Boreman*,

Clerks Comptrollers:

Mr. *Stephen Fox*. Sir *Henry Wood*.

Clerks of the Green-Cloth:

All four in black Velvet Gowns, trimm'd with black Silk, and Gold Lace, with Velvet Caps raised in the Head.

William Ashburnham Esquire, Cofferer.

Six *Serjeants at Arms*, two and two.

The *Earl-Marshal* on the left Hand. The *Lord High-Steward*. The *Lord High Constable* on the right Hand.

All three mounted on Horseback in their Robes, and with their Coronets on their Heads: having their Horses richly trapped.

Six *Serjeants at Arms*, two and two.

Comptroller of the Houshold, *Treasurer of the Houshold*,

With their White Staves.

Earl of *Dorset*, Sewer.
Earl of *Chesterfield*, his Assistant.
The *Knights* of the *Bath*.

Who carried up the Service, two and two to a Dish, which was set upon the Table by the Earl of *Lincoln* Carver, assisted by the Earl-sewers.

In the Rear came up three Clerks of the Kitchin, (*viz.*) Mr. *Leonard Pinkney*, Mr. *John Clements*, and Mr. *Henry Firebrass*, all suited in black Fugar'd Satin Gowns, and Velvet Caps, in fashion like those worn by the Clerks Comptrollers.

Dinner being set on the Table, the *King* came forth from the *Inner Court* of *Wards*, in his *Royal Robes*, with the Crown on his Head, and Scepter in his Hand, having the three Swords born naked before him, and went directly to his Chair at the Table, wherein he sate down to Dinner, the Bishop of *London* saying Grace. The Bason and Ewer were brought up, and presented by the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, assisted by the Lord *Paget*, and the *Serjeant of the Ewery*.

On the *King*'s right hand, the Noblemen that carried the three Swords stood, holding them naked, and erected, all the Dinner while; at his left hand stood the Lord High Chamberlain, to whom the King had given the Scepter to hold; and at the Tables end, on the King's left hand, sate the Duke of *York* in his Robes and Coronet.

Soon after Dinner was begun, the Lord *Allington* carried to the King his first Draught of Drink in a silver gilt Cup, being assisted by the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Viscount *Montague*, and the Lord *Paget*, his Assistants.

The Office of Cup-bearer, as also the Fee, having been by the Court of Claims adjudged to him, as being seized of the *Manner* of *Wymmondley* in the County of *Hertford*; and when the *King* had drank, the said Lord *Allington* received the Cup for his Fee.

Next, *Thomas Leigh* Esquire was brought up to the Table with a Mess of Pottage, called *Dillegrout*, this Service being adjudged unto him by the aforesaid Court of Claims in right of the *Manner* of *Addington*, in the County of *Surrey*; whereupon the Lord High Chamberlain presented him to the *King*, who accepted the Service, but did not eat thereof.

Afterwards, a little before the second Course was ready, Sir *Edward Dymock* (to whom the Court of Claims had adjudged the Office of the *King's* Champion, as being seized of the *Manner* of *Scrivelsby*, in the County of *Lincoln*) entred the Hall on a goodly white Courser, and armed at all points in rich Armour, having a Plume of blew Feathers in his Helm; he there made a stand for some time, and then advanced in manner following, way being made for him by the *Knight-Marshal*.

First, two *Trumpets*.
The *Serjeant-Trumpeter*.
The *Serjeants at Arms*.
An *Esquire* carrying a *Target*, having the Champion's own *Arms* depicted thereon.
An *Esquire*, carrying the Champion's *Lance* upright.
Mr. *Owen York*-Herald.
The *Earl-Marshal* on his left Hand.
The Champion.
The Lord *High Constable* on his right Hand.
Both likewise on Horseback.

1661. At the lower end of the *Hall*, YORK-*Herald* proclaimed the *Challenge*, in these words following:

The Form of the *Challenge*, however omitted in Mr. *Ashmoles* Original, being in all the rest more Compleat and Correct, we have supplyed out of the other *Narrative* which was since done, and extracted out of his.

IF *any Person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny, or gain-say Our* Sovereign *Lord* King CHARLES the Second, *King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *Son and next Heir to our* Sovereign *Lord* CHARLES the First, *the last King deceased, to be Right Heir to the Imperial Crown of this Realm of* England, *or that he ought not to enjoy the same; here is his* Champion, *who saith, that he lieth, and is a false* Traytor, *being ready in Person to Combat with him, and in this* Quarrel *will adventure his Life against him, on what day soever he shall be appointed.*

Thereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gantlet*, which lying some small time, and no body taking it up, it was delivered unto him again by *York* Herald. Then all advanced forward, until the *Champion* came to the middle of the *Hall*, where *York* Herald made the like Proclamation, and the *Gantlet* was thrown down, taken up, and returned to the *Champion*; who advanced to the foot of the ascending steps to the *State*, and at the top of the said steps, the said *Herald* proclaimed the said *Challenge* the third time; whereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gantlet* again, which no body taking up, it was delivered unto him.

This being done, the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, (assisted, as before) presented on the Knee to the *King* a Gilt Cup with a Cover, full of Wine, who drank to his *Champion*, and by the said Earl sent him the Cup; and he, after three Reverences, drank it all off, went a little backward, and so departed out of the *Hall*, taking the said Cup for his *Fee*, according as had been adjudged him by the said Court of Claims.

When this Solemnity was Finished, the *Kings Heralds* and *Pursuivants* descended from their Gallery, and went into the *Hall*, to the lower end of the *Noble mens* Table, and there all together made their Reverence. Thence they proceeded a little further, and there made a second Reverence; and the like Reverence at the steps ascending to the *State*: Where all standing still *Garter* Principal *King of Arms*, cried *Largess* thrice, and proclaimed the *King's Style in Latin, French* and *English*, making Reverence betwixt every *Style*. At the finishing of which, they all retired backward into the midst of the *Hall*, and there, after crying *Largess* again thrice, he proclaimed the *Kings Style*, as before. Lastly, they went yet backwards to the end of the said *Noble-mens* Table, and did the same again; and from thence into the *Common-Pleas-Court*, to Dinner.

Immediately after this, the second Course was brought up by the *Gentlemen-Pensioners*, with the former Solemnity.

And the last Dish being carryed by *Erasmus Smith* Esquire, he having delivered the same to the Table, presented the *King* with three *Maple-Cups*, on the behalf of *Robert Bernham* Esquire, who was seized of the *Mannour* of *Nether-Bilsington* in the County of *Kent*.

Lastly, The Lord Mayor of *London* presented the *King* with Wine in a Golden Cup, having a Cover; of which the *King* having drank, the said Lord Mayor received it for his *Fee*.

By this time the day being far spent, the *King* (having Water brought him by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Assistants) washed, and rose from Dinner before the third Course was brought in; and retiring into the *Inner-Court of Wards*, he there disrobed himself; and from thence he went privately to his *Barge*, which waited for him at the *Parliament-Stairs*, and so to the *Privy Stairs* at *White-Hall*, where he landed.

It is a thing very memorable, that towards the end of *Dinner*-time, (although all the former part of the day, and also the preceding day, in which the King made his *Cavalcade* through *London*, were the only fair days that we enjoyed of many, both before, and after) it began to *Thunder* and *Lighten* very smartly; which, however some sort of People were apt to interpret as *ominous*, and *ill-boding*, yet it will be no difficult matter to evidence from Antiquity, that Accidents of this nature, tho happily they might astonish and amaze the common Drove of Men, were by the most Prudent and Sagacious looked upon as a *prosperous* and *happy presage*. And of this, *Virgil* gives us a very pertinent example (in the Eighth Book of his *Æneids*) where *Evander*, having addressed himself in a Speech to *Æneas* for aid against the *Hetrurians*, and he being sollicitous how to answer his request, mark what Sign was immediately sent from Heaven.

Namque improviso vibratus ab Æthere fulgor
Cum sonitu venit, &c.

For suddenly from Heaven a brandished Flash with Thunder came, *&c.*

And presently after the *Poet* adds,

Obstupuere animis alti, sed Troius *Heros*
Agnovit sonitum, & Divæ promissa Parentis.

While others stood amaz'd, the *Hero* knew
His Mothers Promise by the Sound that flew.

The same *Author*, in another place * mentions the same thing, as a testimony of *Prayers* heard, and answered; as when Old *Anchises* seeing the *Lambent flame* upon his Grand-child *Julus* his head, lifted up his hands to Heaven, and prayed to *Jove* for help and direction, he was thus answered, * *lib.* 2.

Vix ea fatus erat Senior, subitoque fragore
Intonuit lævum, &c.

Scarce had the grave Sire spoken, when suddenly it thundered prosperous, *&c.*

For so *Intonuit lævum* is interpreted by *Servius*, according to the Maxim of the Ancient *Augurs*, who interpret *Thunder* from the *North*, that is, (as they, contrary to the common *Astronomers*, accounted it) the left part of Heaven, for a prosperous *Omen*.

But,

But, in reference to our present purpose, we may proceed to a larger Interpretation, and conclude, that the Heavens, with the Volleys of Thunder, and nimble Flashes of Lightning, seemed to give a *Plaudite* and Acclamation to this grand and sacred *Solemnity*, in like manner as we Mortals use to close our greater Triumphs with Fire-works, Bonfires, and the loud Report of our great Ordnance; this Terrestrial Thunder being but the Imitator and Counterfeit of the Heavenly Artillery.

And so I observe it expounded by *Claudian* in these * Verses,

* *Claud. de Cons.* Probini & Olybrii *vers.* 205.

Ut sceptrum gessere manu, membrisque rigentes
Aptavere togas, Signum dat summus bivlca
Nube Pater, gratamque facem per inane rotantes
Prospera vibrati sonuerunt Omnia Nimbi.

As soon as Rob'd and Scepter'd, *Jove* aloud
His signal Favour thunders from a Cloud,
Successful Lightning through Heav'ns Arches shines;
Both at his Coronation happy Signs.

Thus having travell'd through a *HISTORY* fraught with Troubles and Confusions, an Unnatural and Intestine War, succeeded by a long time of Usurpation and Mis-rule; and now having at length arriv'd to such a point of settlement, and Right restor'd, as promises a long continued Calm and Peaceful Government, we, glad to have found such a convenient Haven, shall here chuse to cast our Anchor; and tho' several things have hapned from the *Coronation* to this present time (as the *King*'s Marriage with the Daughter of *Portugal*, the Transactions of the present *Parliament*, with other matters sufficiently memorable) yet in regard we cannot close at a more happy period, we shall reserve as well something of what is past, as what is yet to come, for a farther Continuation; as likewise the observation of that Method which our *Historian* ever observes at the end of every King's Reign, that time only admitting of the said Method. And if the last Part of our HISTORY somewhat exceed in bulk what may be thought proportionable to the rest, it will, no doubt, be in a great measure excus'd by the consideration of what manner of Times we have had to set forth an Interval of such Wonders, such strange and capricious Revolutions as are scarce to be parallel'd by any Age or Kingdom, hoping that the Intricate Turns and Labyrinths of Fortune being now at length run out, the course and stream of the *History* will run more smooth and clear through all the subsequent Years (which God grant may be many and prosperous) of his present *Majesty*'s Reign; than whom never was any Prince likely to prove a more glorious President to those that after him shall sit at the Helm of State, both in respect of his innumerable other Vertues and Regal Endowments, and particularly of his admirable skill and understanding in that which is the Bulwark of the Nation; the improvement whereof so mainly imports his own Glory and Renown above all other Princes of the World, and the Reputation and Enrichment of his Subjects; a thing wherein he hath ever shew'd himself to be most zealously concern'd. 1661.

Soon after the Coronation, began the *first Parliament* called by the King's Writ; an Essential Wanting to the *last Parliament*, by reason of the Difficulties and Exigencies which then lay upon the Nation, (as the words of the Statute are) and therefore the Acts made by *that*, were confirmed by *this*. The Parliament met according to the Returns of the Writs, on the 8th of *May* 1661. The *King*'s Speech to the Lords and Commons contained, 'That he was very glad to meet them on this 'appointed Day, which, without Superstition, 'may be loved and prefer'd before another, in 'memory of that great Affection the whole 'Kingdom shew'd him this day twelve month; 'That he is sure they will concur with Him, 'and he with Them, in all things which may 'advance the *Peace*, *Plenty*, and *Prosperity* of the 'Nation: That he had caused to be prepared 'two Bills for confirmation of all that was 'enacted at the last meeting: That he is reso-'lute against the Infringing the *Happy Act* of '*Indempnity* and *Oblivion*; and concludes with 'acquainting them with his intended *Marriage*, 'News that he thinks very acceptable to them, 'presuming they do not desire to see him an 'Old *Batchellor*; and that he had fix'd his Choice 'on the Daughter of *Portugal*, with the Advice 'of his *Privy Council*. After this, the Lord Chancellor proceeded more at large, declaring, 'That they are now called by the *King's Writ*, 'the only, good, and lawful way to the Meet-'ing of a Parliament; That after so many 'Prodigies in *Church* and *State*, we have lived 'to see the *King* at the Opening of the *Parlia-'ment*; That we have lived to see our *King* 'Anointed and Crowned by the Hands of an 'Archbishop, as his Predecessors have been; 'That it is a great part of the Business of 'this *Parliament* to celebrate the Memory of 'the *last*, by confirming or re-enacting all 'that was done by that *Parliament*, which tho' 'it was not called by the *King's Writ*, may be 'reasonably thought to have been called by 'GOD himself, as the only means to restore 'the Nation to its self: That tho' the *last Par-'liament* did great and wonderful things, yet 'they have left very great things for *this* to 'do, in relation to the *Revenue* which they in-'tended to raise for the *King*, and in relation 'to the *Publick Debts* for the discharge of the 'Army and Navy. He recommended to them a Regard to Tender Consciences: 'If the *pre-'sent Oaths* have any Terms or Expressions in 'them that a Tender Conscience honestly makes 'scruple of submitting to, in God's Name (said 'he) let other *Oaths* be formed in their places, 'as comprehensive of all those Obligations 'which the *Policy* of *Government* must exact: And recommended to their Vigilance and ut-most Severity those *Seditious Preachers*, who teaching the very Doctrine they set on foot in the year 41, sufficiently declare, that they have no mind that Twenty years should put an end to the Miseries we have undergone. And lastly, he sets forth at large the Negotia-

Stat. 13 *Car.* 2 C. 7.

The King was then Pro-claim'd.

tions

1661. tions about the *Portugal* Match; and that the *Privy Council*, to whom the *King* had communicated this Affair, had adviſed and beſought him unanimouſly to conclude it, notwithſtanding it had been earneſtly oppoſed by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador.

Soon after this the Commons choſe Sir *Edward Turner* their Speaker. And on *Monday* the 13th of *May* both Houſes attended his Majeſty at *Whitehall*, with a joynt Vote expreſſing their humble Acknowledgments and Thanks for his free and gracious communication of his Reſolution to marry with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*; That they receive it with great Joy and Satisfaction, and with all earneſtneſs beg a Bleſſing upon, and a ſpeedy accompliſhment of it; and that they will upon all occaſions be ready to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the purſuance of thoſe his Intentions againſt all Oppoſitions whatſoever.

By order of this Parliament, the ſolemn *League* and *Covenant* was publickly burnt at *London* and *Weſtminſter*, by the common Hangman, on the 22th of *May*, and afterwards all *England* over; alſo the ignominious Writing call'd, *The Act for the Tryal of his late Majeſty King* Charles *the Firſt*, was by the like Order of Parliament burnt in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, on the 28th of the ſame Month.

The King deſigning this Summer to make a progreſs into ſome parts of his Kingdom, and to begin the ſame, in devotion to the City of *Worceſter*, to pay his Thanks to God for his Deliverance there, haſten'd the *Parliament* to diſpatch the Buſineſs before them, which they accordingly did; ſo that they were on the thirtieth of *July* adjourn'd to the twentieth of *November* following, the *King* having firſt paſs'd fifteen publick Acts, among which, *An Act for Safety and Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government* [whereby it was declar'd what ſhall be adjudg'd Treaſon during the *King*'s Life: That to publiſh and affirm, during the *King's Life*, that he is an *Heretick* or *Papiſt*, or endeavours to introduce *Popery*, renders the Offender diſabl'd to enjoy any *Place* or *Office* in *Church* or *State*; That the ſolemn League and Covenant was in its ſelf an unlawful Oath, and impoſed upon the Subjects of this Realm againſt the Fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, and that none ſhall be indicted, arraign'd, or condemn'd for the Treaſons and Offences aforeſaid, unleſs by the Oaths of two lawful and credible Witneſſes, or by the *Party's* own voluntary Confeſſion.] *An Act declaring the ſole Right of the Militia to be in the King. An Act for confirming Publick Acts*; [whereby all the Acts of the *laſt Parliament* are ratified and confirmed, and enacted and declar'd to have the full force and ſtrength of Acts of *Parliament*] *An Act declaring the Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures impoſed upon the Eſtates and Perſons of certain notorious Offenders excepted out of the Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion.*

While theſe things were tranſacting in *England*, ſome Reparation was made in *Scotland* to the Memory of the moſt noble Marquiſs of *Montroſs*, that Great and Glorious Example of Loyalty, who not very many years before had been ſhamefully executed at *Edinborough*, and his Body unworthily expoſed: But on the 11th of *May* this year his Body was taken up, and interr'd with great ſtate. The like Funeral Solemnities were on the 7th of *June* given to the Bodies of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle*, formerly ſhot to death, or rather murder'd in cold Blood, for ſerving their King, at *Colcheſter*.

On the 20th of *November* the Parliament met again; ſoon after which, both Houſes addreſs'd to the King, that he would pleaſe to iſſue out a *Proclamation* for diſarming the diſbanded and caſhier'd Officers and Soldiers, and to command them to depart from, and not to approach within twenty miles of the City of *London*, for ſuch time as his Majeſty ſhall think fit. And a *Proclamation* was accordingly publiſh'd. This was occaſion'd by the diſcovery of a Deſign that had been, and then was, ſecretly carrying on by ſome of the diſbanded Army, for new Diſturbances of a high and dangerous nature; ſome of which Conſpirators were apprehended, try'd, condemn'd, and executed the year following.

In this Seſſion of Parliament the Biſhops were reſtor'd to their Rights, and re-inſtated in the Houſe of Lords. About the ſame time Epiſcopacy was reſtor'd in *Scotland*, and that moſt faithful Subject, and conſtant attender on the King his Maſter in all his Troubles, the Duke of *Ormond*, was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which moſt honourable Office he enjoy'd a great part of this Reign. And this Winter (conformable to the ancient uſage of the Church of *England*) his Majeſty ſet forth a *Proclamation* for Reſtraint of killing, dreſſing, and eating of Fleſh in *Lent*, or on *Fiſh-days* appointed by the Law to be obſerved.

Among other welcome Gueſts that repair'd into *England*, at and after the Reſtauration, one was *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*, our King's Aunt, and only Daughter living to King *James* the Firſt; a Princeſs who had endured many Storms of Fortune, but ſo happy at laſt as to live to ſee her Nephew glorioufly and no leſs wonderfully ſeated in his Father's Throne, after a twelve years Expulſion. She arriv'd here on the 17th of *May* this Year, and not long after, (on the 13th of *February*) departed this life, at *Leiceſter-Houſe*, in the 66th year of her Age, and was privately buried in the ſame Vault with Prince *Henry* her eldeſt Brother, under K. *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel.

And now comes on the Conſummation of the Royal Nuptials (formerly intimated to the *Parliament*). The Match was already concluded with the moſt virtuous Princeſs *Donna Catharina*, Infanta of *Portugal*, born on the 14th of *Nov.* 1638, Daughter of Don *Juan* the 4th of that Name King of *Portugal*, the only Siſter of Don *Alphonſo* the ſixth, and Don *Pedro*, ſucceſſively Kings of *Portugal*. The Marriage was ſolemniz'd at *Lubon* by his Excellency the Earl of *Sandwich*. She embark'd for *England* on the 23d of *April* 1662, and was ſafely conducted to this Kingdom by a Squadron of the Royal Navy. At the *Iſle of Wight* ſhe was met, and ſaluted with Naval Solemnities, by the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral. At *Portſmouth* ſhe was receiv'd by the King, to whom in perſon

ſhe

She was, on the 21*st.* of *May*, *Married*, by Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* then Biſhop of *London*. From *Portſmouth*, the Royal Couple removed to *Hampton-Court*; and from thence to *White Hall*, with great Pomp and Magnificence, being received and attended, at *Chelſey*, by the Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London*. The *Portion* which the *Queen* brought with her, was two Millions of *Cruſado's*, which is about three hundred thouſand Pound *Sterling*, together with that Important Place of *Tangier* upon the *Coaſt* of *Africa*; and the *Iſle* of *Bombaim* in the *Eaſt Indies*, and a *Privilege* that any Subjects of the *King* of *England*, may Trade freely in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indian Plantations*, belonging to *Portugal*. Her Joynture by the *Articles* of *Marriage* was 30000 *l. per Ann.*

In the mean time the King, on the 19*th.* of *May*, *Prorogued* the *Parliament* to the 18*th.* of *February*, then next following, paſſing ſeveral *Public Bills*: In particular, *An* Act *for Preventing Miſchiefs, and Dangers, that may Ariſe by Certain Perſons called Quakers, and others Refuſing to take* Lawful Oaths. *An* Act *for the Releif of Poor and Maimed Souldiers, who have faithfully Served his Majeſty, and his Royal Father, in the Late Wars. An* Act *for Eſtabliſhing an Additional Revenue upon his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, for the better Support of his and their* Crown *and* Dignity. [By this *Act* an *Annual Revenue* of 2 *s.* from every *Fire Hearth* in the Nation (ſome few excepted) was given to the Crown for ever, from *Michaelmas* 1662.] *An* Act *for Reverſing of the Earl of* Strafford's *Attainder. An* Act *for the Uniformity of* Public Prayers, *and* Adminiſtration *of* Sacraments, *and other Rites and Ceremonies*: *And for Eſtabliſhing the Forms of Making, Ordaining and Conſecrating* Biſhops, Prieſts, *and* Deacons, *in the* Church *of* England. [In relation to this *Act*, it is to be obſerved, That ſince the *Reſtauration*, the King had been much Solicited that the *Common-Prayer* Book might be review'd, for which Purpoſe he appointed Certain Commiſſioners, who conſidering the Objections of the Diſſenting Party, made ſome Alterations (tho' not many, nor very conſiderable) hereupon the New Liturgy was firmly Eſtabliſht by this *Act*, and no *Clergy-man* allowed to hold any Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, after the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* 1662. unleſs he read, and publicly declared his unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent, to all and every thing contained and preſcribed in and by the ſaid Book. Alſo all the (then) Preſent Incumbents, School-maſters, *&c.* Were before the ſaid Day, to Subſcribe a Declaration, That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; that they do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſioned by him; and that they do hold, there lies no obligation upon them, or any other perſon, from the Oath commonly called the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government in *Church* or *State*, and that the ſame was in it ſelf an unlawful Oath: But rather than do this, many of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent Clergy*, choſe to depart from the Livings which they then poſſeſs'd, and were afterwards called *Nonconformiſts*, and ſome of them continued to Preach in Conventicles.] Beſides theſe, many other Public *Acts* were paſt at the ſame time, in all 33. 1662.

The Regicides, or ſuch who were more immediately concerned in the *Impious Murder* of King *Charles* I. having been already Tryed, Condemned, and ſome of them juſtly Executed (tho the Lives of others were through his preſent Majeſties extraordinary Mercy remitted) the Houſe of *Commons* did earneſtly Addreſs the *King*, for bringing Sr. *Henry Vane*, and *John* (commonly called Major-General) *Lambert*, to their Tryal alſo. And accordingly they were both arraigned upon ſeveral Indictments, for compaſſing the Death of the King, and endeavouring to Subvert, and alter the Laws of this Realm. And this was ſaid to be in the 11*th.* year of this King, while he was beyond Sea; and being both found Guilty of *High Treaſon*, Sir *Henry* urged for himſelf, That the King being at that time, King *de jure* only, and not *de facto*, he could not be Indicted of *Treaſon* then committed againſt him. But the *Court* of *Kings Bench* over-ruled this Exception, as utterly falſe: And they both received Sentence of Death. Sir *Henry Vane* was beheaded on *Tower-hill* the 14*th.* of *June*, but *Lambert*'s Execution was reſpited, and he lived near 30 years after, a Priſoner during life.

Before the Concluſion of this Year, ſome things of Remark from *Africa* are to be remembred; An honourable Peace, and Commerce was concluded with *Tunis*, and *Tripoly*. The King by his *Proclamation* of *November* 16. was pleaſed to ſettle a free Port at *Tangier*. Alſo, to the honour of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, of this Kingdom, let it never be forgot, that a great Sum of Mony was Collected among themſelves, and ſent by two of their Body, a *Prebendary* of *Canterbury*, and the *Archdeacon* of *Bath*, to *Algiers*; with which they redeemed 152 Chriſtian-Slaves, *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, *and Iriſh*, from their grievous Captivity there, and in the Parts adjoyning.

On the 18. of *February*, The *Parliament* met at *Weſtminſter*, according to their Prorogation. The King propoſed in his Speech at the beginning of the Seſſions, That ſome *Act* might be thought of for eaſe of Tender Conſciences, *&c.* In Anſwer to which the Houſe of Commons, on the 28. of *February*, preſented an Addreſs, and Reaſons, wherein they humbly offer to his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, That it is 'in no ſort adviſable, that there be any Indulgence to ſuch Perſons who preſume to Diſſent 'from the Act of Uniformity, and Religion 'Eſtabliſht; for theſe Reaſons: It will Eſtabliſh 'Schiſm by a Law, and make the whole 'Government of the Church Precarious: 'It will no way become the Gravity and Wiſdom of a Parliament to paſs a Law at one 'Seſſions for Uniformity, and at the next (the 'Reaſon for Uniformity continuing ſtill the 'ſame) to paſs an other to fruſtrate or weaken 'the Execution of it: It will be a Cauſe of increaſing Sects and Sectaries, whoſe numbers 'will weaken the true Proteſtant Profeſſion,

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'so far that it will, at least, become difficult 'for it to defend it self against them; and this 'may, at length, arrive to a General Toleration, and in time some prevalent Sect will at 'last contend for an Establishment, which, for 'ought can be foreseen, may end in *Popery*. 'Lastly, it is humbly conceiv'd that the Indulgence propos'd will be so far from tending to 'the Peace of the Kingdom, that it is rather 'like to occasion great Disturbance; and on 'the contrary, that the asserting of the Laws, 'and the Religion establish'd according to the 'Act of Uniformity, is the most probable means 'to produce a settl'd Peace, &c.

1663. Not long after another Address was made to the King by both *Houses of Parliament*, for the issuing out his Proclamation, commanding all *Jesuits* and *Popish Priests* to depart the Kingdom, except such foreign Priests as by contract of Marriage are to attend the Persons of the two Queens, and by the Law of Nations to attend foreign Ambassadors. To which Address his Majesty return'd his Answer in Writing, dated *April* 1. 1663. 'That he would issue out a Proclamation as is desir'd; at the same time declaring, 'That his Lenity and Condescen'tions towards many of the Popish Perswasion, 'were but natural Effects of his Generosity and 'Good Nature, after having liv'd so many 'years in the Dominions of *Roman-Catholick* 'Princes, and out of a just Memory of what 'many of them had done and suffer'd in the 'Service of his Royal Father of blessed Me'mory, and of some eminent Services per'form'd by others of them towards his Ma'jesty himself, in the time of his greatest 'Affliction. In this Sessions several publick Acts were pass'd; among others, *An Act for Repairing the Highways within the Counties of* Hertford, Cambridge, *and* Huntingdon. [For the Repair of this Road (commonly call'd the *York*-Road) a Toll was establish'd at *Wades-mill*, *Caxton*, and *Stilton*, to continue for the space of eleven years, and no longer.] *An Act for the Regulating of select Vestries.* *An Act for setling the Profits of the Post-Office, and power of granting Wine-Licenses on his Royal Highness the Duke of* York, *and Heirs-males of his Body.* After the passing of these and other Acts, his Majesty was pleased, on the 27th of *July*, to cause the Parliament to be prorogued to the 16th of *March* following.

After the Parliament was risen, the King and Queen, attended by their Court, made a progress to the *Bath*, and in their return, to *Oxford*; in which places they were receiv'd with great Magnificence, and the unexpressible Joy of the People. But during this time of Quiet and Pleasure in the Southern Parts of *England*, a Devilish Plot and Conspiracy was carrying on in the North, to raise a new Rebellion; the Insurrection was design'd to be about the beginning of *October*, but by the Vigilancy of the Government it was prevented, and several of the Conspirators apprehended. In *January* they were try'd at *York* before special Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; their Treason consisted in divers Heads: Among the rest, they designed to seize on several principal Towns, in particular *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, for a Port to receive Succours and Ammunition from *Holland*. The first of the *Criminals* that was try'd was one Captain *Oates*; another *Oates* there was, who at the Tryals gave Evidence for the King, being, it seems, privy to most of the Proceedings. One and twenty were Condemn'd, upon clear proof, of High-Treason; of which number 16 were executed at *York*, on the 16th of *January*, and afterwards 3 at *Leeds*.

On the 16th of *March* the Parliament met according to their Prorogation. The Injuries that we had for some time past sustain'd from the *Dutch*, and the great and continual Complaints of the same, were now consider'd by this great Council of the Nation. Both Houses waited upon the King in *April*, with an Address, pursuant to a Vote, setting forth, that the Wrongs, Dishonours, and Indignities done to his Majesty by the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, by invading of his Right in *India*, *Africa*, and elsewhere; and the Damages, Affronts, and Injuries done by them to our Merchants, are the greatest obstruction of our Foreign Trade, and humbly pray his Majesty to take some speedy and effectual course for the redress thereof, and prevention of the like in the future; in prosecution whereof they promise, with their Lives and Fortunes to assist His Majesty against all Opposition whatsoever. To this the King return'd in answer, That he is very well pleas'd with the great Zeal they have express'd for the advancement of the Trade of this Kingdom, and removing all Obstructions that may hinder the same, being throughly convinc'd, it is that which will contribute most to the Honour and Glory of this Nation; and, That he will examine the particular Complaints which have been presented to his Parliament, and thereupon appoint his Minister at the *Hague* to demand speedy Justice and Reparation.

On the 17th of *May* the Parliament was prorogued to the 20th of *August*, and from thence to the 24th of *November* next. During this Session, the King pass'd several Acts; among others, *An Act for the Assembling and Holding of Parliaments once in three years at the least*, &c. *An Act to prevent and suppress seditious Conventicles.* *An Act against deceitful, disorderly, and excessive Gaming*; [whereby it is enacted, That for any person, by Fraud, Cousinage, Deceit, or unlawful Device, to win or obtain any Money at any Game, he forfeits treble as much, to be recover'd in any of the King's Courts at *Westminster*; and that no person shall play upon Tick for more than 100 *l.* at one time, &c.]

In order to redress the Injuries complain'd of by the Parliament, the King, during their Recess, order'd his Ambassador at the *Hague* to deliver to the *States* a Memorial of the English Merchants Damages sustain'd by the *Hollanders*; but no satisfactory Answer being return'd, His Majesty was very industrious in viewing and preparing his Royal Fleet to be in a condition to right his Subjects. In the beginning of *June* he issued out his Proclamation for recalling Seamen from serving any foreign Prince

Prince or State; and on the 5th of *November* another, for encouraging Seamen and Mariners employ'd in the present Service; in which last he granted them several Advantages. And for the carrying on this publick and National Concern, the City of *London* advanc'd the King a Loan of Two hundred thousand pounds, for which they afterwards receiv'd the Thanks of the whole Parliament.

On the 24th of *November* the Parliament met. The King in his Speech to both Houses declar'd the present state of his Royal Preparations and Affairs, in relation to the *United Provinces*; and the very next day the House of Commons voted His Majesty a Supply of Two millions Five hundred thousand pounds, to be rais'd in three years: which being proportion'd and fitted to the several Counties of *England*, was drawn into an Act, and pass'd by the King on the 9th of *February*. Several other publick and private Bills were pass'd this Session, after which, on the 2d of *March*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 21. of *June* next following.

On the 4th of *March* the King's Declaration of *War against the Dutch* was solemnly proclaim'd at *London*; the Declaration bears date the 22. of *February*, and imports, That after several Injuries and Affronts done by the *East* and *West-India Companies*, and other the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, to His Majesty's Subjects, and Complaints made, and Reparation and Satisfaction demanded, instead of which *de Ruyter* had been order'd to do all sorts of Violence and Hostility against His Majesty's People in *Africa*; His Majesty therefore, by and with the Advice of his Privy Council, declares the said States the Aggressors, and denounces open War against them. This was follow'd with a Proclamation for a General Fast throughout all *England*, with a Form of publick Prayers, on the 5th of *April*, to implore the Blessing of Almighty God upon His Majesty's Forces employ'd in this present Expedition against the *Dutch*.

To pass over lesser Actions at the beginning of this War, as the taking of Prizes, and loss of Ships on both sides; on the 3d of *June*, our Fleet, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, came to an Engagement with that of *Holland* commanded by *Opdam*. Both sides fought with great Resolution, till *Opdam* happening to engage with our Admiral, he was in the Conflict blown up, and his Ship sunk. After this, follow'd a glorious Victory on our side, the *Dutch* losing near 30 of their best Ships, burnt, sunk, or taken; and about 8000 of their Men kill'd and made Prisoners. And this with the loss only of one Ship of ours (formerly taken from them) and not o'er one man, for ten of theirs. The Principal of the *English* were, the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muskerry*, and Mr. *Boyl*, all three kill'd with one Cannon-Shot; the Earls of *Portland* and *Marlborough*, Captain *Sanson*, Rear-Admiral to Prince *Rupert*, slain in the Fight; and Sir *John Lawson*, who dy'd of his Wounds not long after.

For this Signal Victory, a day of publick Thanksgiving was appointed, and joyfully observed, in *London* and *Westminster*, on the 20th of the same Month, and throughout all *England* and *Wales* on the 4th of *July*.

In *May* this year began at *London* a great and terrible *Plague* (the greatest ever known in that City) for in One Year's time dy'd there 97306 persons, whereof of the *Plague* only 68596. Which *Pestilence* some thought to be occasion'd (or at least foretold) by two or three Comets that appear'd in and about the *Christmas* before; but others more probably believ'd the Contagion to proceed from certain infected Goods imported from foreign places. In *June* the Queen-Mother thought it expedient to remove from *Somerset-house* into her native Air of *France*, being accompanied by her Sons the King and Duke of *York* to the *Bury in the Nore*. The King and his Court remov'd first to *Salisbury*, and then to *Oxford*, (but the Duke of *Albemarle* and Earl of *Craven* remain'd at *London*). The *Parliament* continued under several Prorogations till they met at *Oxford* in *October* following; to which City also *Michaelmas-Term* was adjourn'd, and the several Courts began to sit in the Schools there, on the 18th of *November*. During this mournful Season, a General Fast, with a proper Form of *Publick Prayers*, was appointed, on the 5th of *July*, and the *First Wednesday* in every Month for the future, till it shall please God to assuage the Judgment. Also, by Order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, dated the 2d day of *September*, constant Fires were continued in the Streets and Lanes at *London*, for three Days and Nights, to purifie the Air. 1665.

On the 10th of *October* the *Parliament* met at *Oxford*, (where the Schools were fitted for their reception) and both Houses attended the King at *Christ-Church*, where His Majesty made a gracious Speech to them proper to the Emergency. And the Lord Chancellour in another gave a large and particular account of the state of our Affairs ever since the Restauration, more especially as they relate to this War. After which the House of Commons voted, That their humble and hearty Thanks be returned to His Majesty for his Care and Conduct in the preservation of his People, and the Honour of this Nation, and that this House will assist his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes, against the *Dutch*, or any other that shall assist them in opposition to his Majesty. This Session of Parliament continued to the 29th day of the same Month, when the King pass'd Nine publick Bills, among which, an *Act for granting the Sum of 1250000 l. to the King's Majesty, for his present further Supply*. An *Act for restraining Nonconformists from inhabiting in Corporations*. [Whereby it is enacted, That all such Nonconformist Ministers who refuse to Subscribe the Declaration mention'd in the *Stat.* 14 *Car.* 2. *ch.* 4. and also refuse to take and subscribe an Oath, *That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, &c. and, That they will not at any time endeavour any Alteration of Government, either in Church or State*; shall not come (unless passing upon the Road, or *Subpena'd* to appear) within five miles of any City, or Burrough Town, or of the Town where they have preach'd contra- 1665

ry to Law: Penalty 40 *l.* Nor ſhall they, or any other refuſing the ſaid Oath, teach any publick or private School, under the like *Penalty.*] After the paſſing of theſe Acts, the *Parliament* was prorogued, to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 20th of the following *February*; but they did not then ſit, continuing under ſeveral Prorogations till the 18th of *September* 1666.

And now, to make the War more conſiderable, *France* joyns with the *Dutch*; and that Crown having recall'd her Ambaſſador here, and committed ſeveral Inſults on our Merchant-men in the *Mediterranean*, and elſewhere, on the 27th of *Jan.* N. S. open War againſt *England* was formally proclaim'd at *Paris*.

On the 1ſt of *February* the King and Duke of *York* return'd to *Whitehall*, (the *Peſtilence* at *London* being almoſt determin'd, though continuing in many other parts of *England*) and were welcom'd with exceeding Joy. And on the 10th of *February* War was proclaim'd at *London* with the uſual Ceremonies, againſt *France*; the King however promiſing Safety both to the *Perſons* and *Eſtates* of ſuch *French* and *Dutch* as remain in this Kingdom, and ſhall demean themſelves dutifully, and not correſpond with his Majeſty's Enemies; and protection to all ſuch *French* and *Low-Country Subjects*, eſpecially thoſe of the Reformed Religion, as out of Affection to his Majeſty's Government, or becauſe of the Oppreſſion they meet with at home, ſhall come hither. For which *Protection* and *Indulgence* the *French Church* in the *Savoy* attended his Majeſty with their humble Thanks.

1666. Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, being appointed his Majeſty's Generals at Sea, in this Summer's Expedition, it happen'd, that part of the Fleet under Command of the Prince were ſeparated from the reſt, on the 1ſt of *June*, when thoſe under the Command of the Duke fell in with the whole *Dutch* Fleet, on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, where for two or three days together he maintain'd a ſharp Fight againſt double his number, and had been hardly put to it, had not the *Prince* happily come in to his aſſiſtance; after which, they both ply'd the *Dutch* in ſuch manner, that they obtain'd a ſignal Victory, the Enemy flying before them with very great Loſs both in Ships and Men. Our greateſt Loſs was the *Royal Prince*, ſtranded unfortunately on the *Galloper Sand*, and then burnt by the *Dutch*, and her Commander, Sir *George Aſcough*, made Priſoner.

After our Fleet had refitted at the *Buoy in the Nore*, (thoſe Ships which were concern'd in the beginning of the Engagement, under the Duke of *Albemarle*, being much damnified in their *Rigging*); and after the *Hollanders* had repair'd their greater Loſſes at home, both Fleets put out again to Sea, and came to a ſecond Fight on the 25th of *July*, off of *Okſordneſs*. The Red and White Squadrons put two of the *Dutch* Squadrons to flight in a little time, but the Blew had a more obſtinate Engagement with that of *Zealand*, in which the *Reſolution* was burnt, being the only Ship we loſt. But at length the Blew alſo prevail'd againſt their Enemy, and there follow'd not only a moſt apparent Victory, but a ſhameful and confuſed Flight of the *Dutch*, our Fleet purſuing, burning, and taking their Ships to their own Shoars. In this *Fight* ſeveral of their Admirals, and many of their beſt Captains were kill'd, and in all 4000 Men. From the time of this Glorious Victory our Fleet continued on the Coaſt of *Holland*, before the *Maeſe*, and before the *Texel*, alarming the Country with continual apprehenſions of landing; till on the 7th of *Auguſt* Sir *Robert Holmes* was order'd by our two Generals, the *Prince* and *Duke*, to land on the Iſland of *Schelling* in the *Vlie*; which accordingly he did, and burnt the chief Town there, call'd *Bandaris*, conſiſting of about a Thouſand Houſes, and at the ſame time burning and deſtroying more than a Hundred and Fifty Ships that lay at Anchor in *Vlie* Road, among which, two Men of War that endeavour'd to defend the reſt.

Theſe Victories and Succeſſes caus'd great and publick *Rejoicings* and *Thankſgivings* in *England*, and no leſs Troubles and Diſtractions in *Holland*; *De Ruyter* and *Tromp*, two of their greateſt Admirals left alive, became the Heads of two different Factions; the laſt of theſe was accus'd of *Miſcarriage*, and by the *States* caſhier'd of his Employments; and diverſe of their *Sea Captains* try'd for Capital Crimes in the neglect of their Duty.

On the ſecond of *September* this year (which ſome conceited people, from the Number 666, predicted to be the Year appointed for the Downfal of the *Pope*, commonly call'd *Antichriſt*) began that ſad and dreadful Fire at *London*, of which I can't give a truer Account than from the words of that Latin Inſcription on the Monument, afterwards erected near the place where the Conflagration broke out.

It began about Midnight, and being driven by a high Wind, conſumed not only the adjacent parts but places far remote, and with incredible Noiſe and Fury deſtroy'd 89 *Churches* (among which the Cathedral of St. Paul's), *City-Gates*, Guild-hall, *many publick Structures, Hoſpitals, Schools, Libraries, a vaſt number of ſtately Edifices*, 13200 *Dwelling-houſes*, 400 *Streets*; *of* 26 *Wards it utterly ruin'd* 15, *and left* 8 *others ſhatter'd, and half-burnt. The Ruins of the City were* 436 *Acres, extending from the* Tower *along the* Thames-ſide, *to the* Temple-Church, *and from the North-Eaſt Gate along the City Wall to* Holborn-Bridge (*or* Fleet-Ditch). *To the Eſtates and Fortunes of the Citizens it was merciful, but to their Lives and Limbs ſo favourable, that it might in all things reſemble the laſt and great Conflagration of the World. The Deſtruction was ſudden; for, in a ſmall ſpace of time the ſame City was ſeen in a moſt flouriſhing condition, and reduced to nothing. After three days, when this fatal Fire had in appearance overcome all means of Reſiſtance and Human Councils, by the Will of Heaven it ſtop'd, and was extinguiſh'd.*

To this I may add, That it *began* in the Houſe of a Baker in *Pudding-Lane*, behind *Fiſh-ſtreet-hill*, in the dead time of the *Night*, between One and Two of the Clock; in the dead time of the *Week*, *Saturday Night*, when Traders were retir'd to their Country-Houſes, and none but Servants left at home; in the dead

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time of the *Year*, the Long Vacation; in a long-continued Drought, which had been moſt of the preceding Summer; in a high Eaſterly Wind: All which Circumſtances did aſſiſt the raging Flames to encreaſe to that degree, that the Damage by this terrible Fire was hardly to be computed or credited.

Some thought that this Fire was begun and carried on by a *Conſpiracy of Papiſts*; but others were of opinion, that there was only the *Hand of GOD* in this terrible Judgment. One Man, and but one, was ſoon after try'd at the *Old-Baily*, convicted by his own Confeſſion, and hang'd for it at *Tyburn*; his Name *Robert Hubert* a *French Hugonot*, of *Rohan* in *Normandy*; but he is ſaid to be *non Compos mentis*, and that he had the *Dead Palſie* on one ſide. Certain it is, that in *April* (about ſix Months before) one *John Rathbone*, *William Saunders*, and ſix others, formerly Officers, or Soldiers in the late Rebellion, were indicted, tryed, found guilty, and executed, for conſpiring the Death of His Majeſty, and Overthrow of the Government, in order to which, the City was deſign'd by them to be fir'd on the 3d of *September* then next following, as being found by *Lilly*'s Almanack, and a Scheme erected for that purpoſe, to be a lucky day, a Planet then ruling which prognoſticated the Downfall of *Monarchy*. This being notorious, and printed in the *Gazette* of *April* 30. 1666, (Numb. 48.) was, after the Fire, which happen'd at the time predicted, call'd to remembrance by many People, not without admiration.

From the Ruins occaſion'd by this Fire did ariſe the glorious and magnificent Structures which we now ſee, *Beauty* from *Aſhes*. The Means and Methods of the City's Reſtauration is briefly expreſs'd in another Latin Inſcription on the aforeſaid *Monument*, which tells Poſterity, *That the King commiſerating the deplorable ſtate of Things, while the Ruins were yet ſmoaking, provided for the Comfort of his Citizens and Ornament of his City; remitted their Taxes, and referr'd the Petitions of the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants to the Parliament, who immediately paſſed an Act, That the Publick Works ſhould be reſtor'd to greater Beauty with Publick Money, to be raiſed by an Impoſition on* Coals; *the Churches and Cathedral of St.* Paul's *to be rebuilt from their Foundation with all Magnificence; That the Bridges, Gates, and Priſons be new made, the Shores (or Sewers) cleanſed, the Streets made ſtreight and regular, more level, and thoſe too narrow, wider; Markets and Shambles remov'd to ſeparate places. They alſo enacted, That every Houſe ſhould be built with Party Walls, and all in Front raiſed of equal height, and all their Walls of ſquared Stone or Brick; and that no Man ſhould delay building beyond the ſpace of Seven years. Care was alſo taken by Law to prevent all Suits about their Bounds; Anniverſary Prayers were enjoin'd; and to perpetuate the Memory hereof to Poſterity, they caus'd this Column to be erected. The Work was carried on with Diligence,* London *is reſtor'd, but uncertain whether with greater Speed or Beauty; Three Years finiſh'd what was ſuppos'd the Buſineſs of an Age.*

The Column here mention'd ſtands in *New Fiſh-ſtreet*, not far from the place where the Fire began: It is of the *Dorick* Order, 202 foot in height from the Ground, and 15 foot in diameter, all of *Portland* Stone, with a fair Stair-Caſe in the middle, of black Marble: The Pedeſtal of this Pillar is 21 foot ſquare, and 40 foot high. The whole not unlike thoſe famous Pillars at *Rome*, erected to the honour of *Trajan* and *Antonimus*. 1666.

Notwithſtanding the grievous *Diſadvantages* which we ſuſtain'd at this time, as well by this Fire as the Plague, (which was not yet quite ceaſed at *London*, and was very high in ſome other parts of *England*, as *Norwich*, &c.) yet our Courage was ſo great, and our Affairs ſo ſucceſsful in relation to the War, the *Parliament* giving the *King* 1800000 *l.* that the Fleet took and brought into *Port* this year Eighty and odd *Prizes*, beſides what was taken by *Privateers*. This made our Enemies deſirous of *Peace*, to which Motion our King conſenting, *Breda* was appointed the place of Treaty. In the mean time no Ceſſation of Arms. But before ſuch *Peace* was effected, many things of note happen'd in this Kingdom.

On the 10th of *November*, the King, upon the *Parliament*'s Addreſs, iſſued out a *Proclamation* for Baniſhing all *Popiſh Prieſts* and *Jeſuites*, except ſuch (not being natural born Subjects) as attend upon the perſons of the Queen-Conſort and Queen-Mother; and for putting the Laws in ſpeedy execution againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*.

In *Scotland* a Riot began at *Dumfrieze*, and encreaſed in rowling about to above 1500, moſt arm'd with Scythes made ſtreight, and faſten'd to long Staves, headed by the Laird *Barſcot*, and animated by ſome Kirk-Miniſters. Thus they grew to a formal Body of Rebels, but were at laſt, on the 27th of *November*, ſuppreſs'd by the *King*'s Forces, not without an obſtinate Fight, in which 500 of them were kill'd, and about 100 Priſoners.

On the 18th of *January* the King paſs'd five publick Bills, among which, *An Act for raiſing Money by a Poll, and otherwiſe, towards the maintenance of the preſent War. An Act for burying in Woollen*; [Whereby it was enacted, That no perſon ſhould be buried in any *Shirt*, *Shift*, or *Sheet*, other than what ſhall be made of Wool only, under the Penalty of 5 *l.* except ſuch as dye of the *Plague*.] On the 8th of *February* following he paſs'd ſeveral other publick Bills, among others, *An Act for Granting the Sum of* 1256347 *l.* 13 *s.* *to His Majeſty, towards the maintenance of the preſent War. An Act for erecting a Judicature for determination of Differences touching Houſes burnt or demoliſh'd by reaſon of the late Fire in* London. *An Act for rebuilding the City of* London; [By which Act ſeveral Rules and Directions are laid down to be obſerv'd in the Building; the 2d of *September* appointed a Day of Humiliation in the City yearly for ever; a *Pillar* or *Column*, with an Inſcription thereon appointed to be erected near the place where the Fire began; and an Impoſition laid upon *Coals*, for the defraying of publick Charges.] *An Act for redreſs of Inconveniencies by want of Proof of the Deceaſes of Perſons beyond the Seas, and abſenting themſelves, upon whoſe Lives Eſtates depend*; [Whereby it is enacted, That if ſuch

Persons absent themselves for the space of Seven Years, and no sufficient and evident Proof be made of their Lives, they shall be accounted as naturally dead.] After which the Parliament was Prorogued to the 10*th.* of *October* following.

Our King having on the 19. of *October* last, declared War against *Denmark* for diverse Reasons in his *Declaration* mentioned, the *King* of *Denmark* did in return, this *February*, Confiscate and seize upon the several Debts owing in his Kingdom to any *English* Merchants, particularly his own Obligations to the *English* Company at *Hamburgh*.

1667. In *April*, 1667. The Ambassadors of the several Princes and States hitherto in War, (and the *Swede*, as Mediator) began to Assemble at *Breda*, our King had appointed the Right honourable *Denzil* Lord *Hollis*, and the Honourable *Henry Coventry* Esq; his Ambassadors Extraordinary for the Treaty there: Who on the 29. of *April*, began their Journey thither; and Landing on the *Coast* of *Holland*, were received with Honour and Ceremony. On the 21. of *May*, they made their Publick Entry into *Breda*, in an extraordinary and splendid Manner. On the 8. of *June*, the Ambassadors of *England*, *France*, and *Sweden*, with the Envoys Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiaries of *Denmark*, and the Plenipotentiaries of the *States-General* entred into their several Apartments in the Castle at *Breda*, the Place appointed to Treat in, and began their Conferences.

But while this Treaty was mannaging at *Breda*, a Misfortune befel us in *England*. It had been, at the beginning of the Breach between *England* and *Holland*, proposed to the King by several knowing Persons, and especially by Sir *John Lawson* (that approved Seaman,) that since the whole Life of the *Dutch* consisted in Trade, a Pyratical War was much the cheaper, and would far sooner undoe them; and though his Majesty was not at first satisfied with this advice, yet now at last after so many Victories, it appearing that certainly the Enemy would conclude a Peace, he judged it prudence to equip only a Light *Fleet*, which dividing it self into every Quarter, must assuredly make Spoil of their Merchants, and so by continual Losses that way necessitate them to a more speedy Peace. The Great Ships therefore were lay'd up in *Chatham-River*, unrigged, but secured (as was thought, sufficiently) with an Iron-Chain cross the *Medway*, and some Works on the Shoar. The *Hollanders* finding we did not set out our Main Fleet, made ready theirs with all the hast they could; after a vast expence, they set Sail for *England*, and while our Guard-Ships were remote at Sea, they arrived at the mouth of the River *Medway*, and having made themselves Masters of the Platform at *Sheerness* on the 10. of *June*, on the 11*th.* advanced up the River, broke the Chain, and with their Fire-Ships burnt the *Matthias*, *Unity*, and *Charles* the *Fifth*, Three *Dutch* Ships that had been formerly taken from them; greatly damnifyed three others, and carryed off with them the *Jonathan* a small *Dutch* Prize, and the Hull of the *Royal Charles*, which was twice fired by our Men, and as often quencht by the Enemy. This Enterprize cost the *Hollanders* (besides the great Charge) an infinite number of Men, (destroyed by the Forts and Batteries, especially that from *Upner-Castle*) and Ten Ships according to our Estimate, tho' they seem not to acknowledge so many.

At this time the *Parliament* stood Prorogued to the 10. of *October*, but his Majesty finding his Kingdom invaded during a Treaty of Peace, and esteeming himself ever most safe in the Advice and Affection of his People in Parliament, thought fit, for these and diverse urgent Causes, to issue out his *Proclamation* on the 16. of *June*, straightly charing and commanding all and every the Members of both Houses to Re-assemble on the 25. day of *July* next: At which Day they met, but a general Peace being then concluding, they were again Prorogued to the first appointed 10*th.* of *October*.

In the mean time the Treaty at *Breda* went on with such success, that on *Sunday* the 9. of *July*, *S. N.* the Peace was concluded. And on *Sunday August* 2. *S. N.* was Signed by all the Plenipotentiaries. And on the 24. of *August*, with great Solemnity proclaim'd at *London*.

About this time the Duke of *Monmouth*, upon the Resignation of the Lord *Gerard*, was made Captain of his Majesties Life-guard of Horse.

On the 31. of *August* his Majesty having thought fit to take the *Great-Seal* from the Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord *Chancellour*, was pleased to give it to the Keeping of the Honourable Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, then Lord Chief Justice of the Common *Pleas*. Which Earl having unhappily fallen under the displeasure of the Parliament, they expresst it so vehemently against him, that when they met on the 10*th.* of *October*, and both Houses returned their Thanks to the King, for his Gracious Speech at the opening of that Session, they Thank'd his Majesty in a more especial Manner, for having displaced the late Lord *Chancellour*, and removed him from the Exercise of Public Trust and Employment in Affairs of State. After this the House of Commons drew up, and prefer'd an Impeachment against him, but the *Earl* thinking fit privately to withdraw himself into *France* (where he dyed at *Roan*, 19. of *December*, 1674.) both Houses of Parliament past a Bill, Entituled, *An Act for Banishing and disabling the Earl of Clarendon*; which with several other *Acts* past the Royal Assent, by Commission on the 19. of *December*, and then the two Houses adjorn'd themselves to the 6. of *February* following.

On the 7. of *February*, the King issued out his *Proclamation*, for the Freedom and Security of Navigation, on these heads. 1. That an inviolable Truce and Cessation be observed in all his Majesties Ports, and Havens, &c. between all Parties and Persons whatsoever, the Ships and Goods of the Aggressors and Offenders, to be *ipso facto confiscate*. 2. That all his Majesties Officers, and Subjects by Sea and Land do as much as in them lyes, prohibit the roving and hovering of Men of War near the Entry of any of his Majesties Har-

bours

bours and Coasts. 3. That if a Man of War of one Party, come into any of his Majesty's Ports, where shall be one or more Merchant-Men of the other party, the Merchant Ships shall, if desired, depart two Tydes before the Man of War; with other Articles relating to a Neutrality, as that none of his Majesties Subjects, shall contract or deal with any foreign Man of War, or others not being known Merchants, for any Wares, Merchandize, Victuals, Ammunition, Tackle; and that no Officer or Mariner being his Majesties Subject, shall put himself into the Martial Service of any foreign *Prince*, or *State*, without leave from his Majesty or *Royal Highness*, Lord High *Admiral* of *England*, &c. The same year the *King* concluded a Peace with *Spain*, *France*, and *Denmark*.

The Parliament being now sitting, the King acquainted them in a Speech on the 10. of *February*, That since their last meeting he had made a League defensive with the *States* of the United Provinces, and likewise a League for an Efficacious Mediation of Peace between the two Crowns, and desired an Aid of Mony for the building more Great-Ships, and compleating the fortifying of some of our Ports, which the present Juncture requires; and in time recommended to their serious thoughts some Course to beget a better Union and Composure in the Minds of his Protestant Subjects, in Matters of Religion. On the 10. of *March*, his Majesty, upon Consideration of the humble Petition of his Loyal Subjects the *Commons* in *Parliament* Assembled, that a *Proclamation* might be issued out, for inforcing the Laws against *Conventicles*, and unlawful Assemblies of *Papists* and *Nonconformists*; issued out his *Proclamation* accordingly.

1668. To begin the Year 1668. Several Idle and Licentious Persons making an ill use of the Liberty of *Easter-Holidays*, did on the 25. of *March* Assemble in a Tumultuous and Riotous Manner, breaking open several Prisons and Pulling down Houses about the *Suburbs* of *London*; but upon coming of the Guards, they were dispersed, and several of them taken, of whom eight were afterwards Indicted at the *Old Bayly*, of High-Treason and Rebellion, found Guilty, and Condemned: And four of those Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarterd at *Tyburn*.

On the 9. of *May*, the King past seven Public Bills in *Parliament*, among which, *An Act for raising* 310000 *l. By an Imposition on Wine and other Liquors.* After which the two Houses adjorn'd till the 11. of *August* next ensuing. At which time they were further adjorn'd to the 10*th.* of *November*. And then further adjorn'd to the *1st.* of *March* following. On the 18*th.* of *December*, his Majesty issued out his *Proclamation* for Proroguing the *Parliament* from the said *1st.* of *March*, to the 19*th.* of *October* following.

The *Roads* being about this time extreamly infested with many Notorious *Highway-men*, his Majesty issued out his *Proclamation* on the 23. of *December*, for the Prevention of *Robberies*, *Murders*, and *Burglaries*, and for the apprehension of *Madox*, *Duval*, *Swissinix*, and twenty others therein named, all Famous Robbers; promising a Reward of 10 *l.* for every one of the said Persons so Apprehended, and Convicted, to be paid by the Sheriff of the County, and by him set off in his Accounts in the *Exchequer*. Which Reward by another *Proclamation* dated the 30*th.* of the said *December*, was doubled and made 20 *l.* a Man, to be paid in like manner.

1669. In the Spring of the Year 1669. the *Prince* of *Tuscany* (now Great Duke of *Florence*) arrived in *England*, having undertaken a Visit to all the *Courts* of *Europe*. He was here received with extraordinary Kindness and Magnificence by the King. And accordingly at both *Universities*, especially *Oxford*. In the Summer arrived also another Noble Travellour, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, who has since been happily grafted into the Royal Stock of this Kingdom.

But this Year was still more Memorable, for the Loss of the Queen-Mother, and General *Monk*. The Queen Mother, *Henrietta-Maria* was the youngest Daughter of the Great (King *Henry* the IV. of *France*; Born the 26*th.* of *November* 1609. *N. S.* Marryed to King *Charles* I. in the year 1625. And after she had been deprived of her Royal Husband, by the most impious Rebellion and Murder that *England* ever knew, God was pleased at last to comfort her mournful Condition with the Sight of her Son's wonderful Restoration to his Fathers *Crown* and *Kingdoms*. Upon which she came to *London* after 19 Years Banishment. And having settled he Revenue here, returned with her youngest Daughter the Lady *Henrietta*, into *France*, and there bestowed her in Marriage, to the then Duke of *Anjou* now of *Orleans* (the Kings only Brother.) In *July* 1662. she came again to *London*, and setled her *Court* at *Somerset-House*, which she repaired and extreamly beautified; Here she resided till *June* 1665. and then crossed the Seas again to her Native Country, which after 4 years more became the Place of her Death. She departed this Life in her House at *Colombe*, four Leagues from *Paris*, on the 10. of *August*, *N. S.* about four of the Clock in the Morning, after a long Indisposion and decay of Health: Her Body was exposed on a Bed of State in her Chamber, the same day, and the next Embalmed. Her Heart was in a Vessel of Silver, inscribed with her Name and Title, carryed on the 10*th.* of *September*, *N. S.* with Ceremony, to the *Monastery* of *Chaliot*; and on the 12*th.* her Body was conveyed to St. *Denys*, Accompanyed by *Madamoiselle*, and Madam *de Guise*, with a great Train of Flambeaux, carryed by a hundred Pages, and the *Queens* Guards, where some *Funeral Devotions* were solemnly perform'd. But the Great Solemnity of the *Interment* was not till the 20*th.* of *November*, *N. S.* at which time the same Form and Magnificence was used as has been at the *Funeral* of the Queen-Mother of *France*; The Gates as well as the Body of the Church of St. *Denys* were hung in Black, with two Breadths of Black-Velvet, and the *Quire* with three, and a great number of Escutcheons: In the midst of the *Quire* was erected a stately *Hearse*, supported by eight Marble Columns,

Columns, adorn'd with extraordinary Art; that and the whole Quire fill'd with Tapers; upon the Hearſe was placed the Queens Body, cover'd with a Paol of Cloth of Gold, with a large Croſs of Silver border'd round with Ermins, with large embroider'd Eſcutcheons. At this *Solemnity* aſſiſted the ſeveral Courts of *Parliament* at *Paris*, the Body of the Univerſity, &c. alſo the Ambaſſadors of *Venice* and *Savoy*. The Maſter of the Ceremonies, with the King at Arms, and four Heralds, attended with the *Princeſſes* in deep Mourning, and after them *Monſieur* and the *Princes of the Blood*. Here were preſent alſo two Kings (but *incognito*) *viz.* his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and King *Caſimir* of *Poland*, who had not long before voluntarily reſign'd that Crown, and retired into *France*.

This Year the King concluded a Treaty of Friendſhip and Commerce with *Savoy*.

The Lord General Monk, that Great Inſtrument of the Glorious Reſtauration, and *England*'s Happineſs, (for which he had afterwards confer'd upon him the Title of Duke of *Albemarle*, and many other deſerved Honours) dy'd at the *Cock-pit* by *Whitehall*, on the 3d of *January* 1669, in the 62 year of his age. After his Body had lain in State for ſome time at *Somerſet-houſe*, the Funeral was magnificently celebrated in a ſolemn Proceſſion from thence to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, on the 30th of *April* 1670, accompanied by many Barons, Biſhops, Earls, and perſons of all Degrees, ſet forth with all Trophies of Honour, Banners and Banneroles; the Effigies in the Habit proper to a General, Duke, and Knight of the Garter, lying in an open Chariot drawn by ſix Horſes capariſon'd with Velvet, the Paol ſupported by three Barons and the Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold; the principal Mourner was his Son and Succeſſor *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle*, his Train born up, himſelf ſupported by two Dukes aſſiſted by nine Earls and a Baron, all in cloſe Mourning. He was buried on the North ſide of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel. The whole Solemnity was perform'd with extraordinary Pomp and Ceremony, at the King's Expences, as the laſt Mark of his Majeſty's Love and Favour to a perſon of ſo great Merit.

1670. On the 11th of *April* 1670, the *King* paſs'd ſeveral publick Acts in Parliament, and then the two Houſes adjourn'd to the 24th of *October* following; among which Acts were theſe, *viz. An Act for the advancing the Sale of Fee-farm Rents, and other Rents. An Act to Suppreſs and Prevent Seditious Conventicles.* [Whereby, to be preſent under colour of any Exerciſe of Religion in other manner than according to the *Liturgy* and *Practice* of the Church of *England*, at which Meeting there ſhall be five Perſons, beſides thoſe of the ſame Houſhold, is made penal; for the firſt Offence 5 *s.* for the ſecond Offence 10 *s.* and ſo for every other Offence. Limitation for proſecution of which Act is three months.] *An Act for authoriſing ſeveral Commiſſioners of the Realm of* England *to treat with Commiſſioners of* Scotland, *for the Weal of both Kingdoms.* [This was in order to an Union of the two Kingdoms, as had been before endeavour'd in the Reign of K. *James* the Firſt, but the Deſign was never effected]. *An Additional Act for the Rebuilding the City of* London, *uniting of Pariſhes, and Rebuilding of the Cathedral and Parochial Churches within the ſaid City.*

On the 16th of *May*, her Royal Highneſs the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, the *King*'s only *Siſter* living, arriv'd at *Dover* from *Dunkirk*, in a Viſit to her Brother: ſhe was there met by the King, Queen, Duke and Dutcheſs, attended by all the principal Perſons of the *Engliſh Court*. Here ſhe remain'd till the 2d of *June*, during which time ſhe was entertain'd with Feaſts, Comedies, and other Diverſions, and all Demonſtrations of Affection and Magnificence that could be there expreſs'd. At the ſame time his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty coming to *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, he was complemented by the Lord *Buckhurſt*, ſent from our *King*, and Mr. *Thinne* from his *Royal Highneſs* the Duke of *York*. On the 2d of *June* the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* return'd to *France*, and arriv'd the 18th, N. S. at the Court at *St. Germain's*, where ſhe was receiv'd with *great Expreſſions* of Joy. But it pleaſed God, that not long after her arrival ſhe dy'd at *St. Clou*, of a ſudden and violent Diſtemper, which ſeiz'd her but the *Evening* before, and was by the Phyſicians taken for a kind of bilious Cholick. Which News was receiv'd here by Their Majeſties and Royal Highneſſes with *Infinite Affliction*, both for the Greatneſs of the Loſs, and the aſtoniſhing Surprize.

On the 29th of *October*, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* arriv'd at *Margate*, having two days before embark'd at the *Brill*, upon one of his Majeſty's Yachts which there attended for his tranſportation; immediately after his landing he took Poſt to *Canterbury*, and from thence paſſed by Coach to *Rocheſter*, where he lodg'd that night, and came the next morning to *Graveſend*, where he was attended by Sir *Charles Cotterel* Maſter of the Ceremonies, with His Majeſty's Barges, and ſo conducted to *Whitehall*. In his paſſage he was ſaluted by the great Guns from the *Tower*: Being landed at *Whitehall*, he was receiv'd at the Stairs-foot by the Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and conducted to the preſence of both Their Majeſties, who receiv'd him with all poſſible demonſtrations of Joy and Affection; as did likewiſe their Royal Highneſſes, to whom he was in like manner conducted by the Lord Chamberlain, and thence to the Apartment prepar'd for him in the *Cock-pit*. On the 10th of *November* the Lord Mayor, with the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*, came and complemented his Highneſs upon his arrival in *England*. On the 26th of *November*, being at *Newmarket*, he viſited *Cambridge*, where he was honourably receiv'd by the whole Body of the Univerſity, entertain'd in Congregation, and treated at Dinner by the Provoſt of *King's College*. On the 6th of *December* his Highneſs was treated with extraordinary Magnificence by the Lord Mayor and City at *Drapers-hall*. At his Entry within *Ludgate* he was attended by the two Sheriffs on Horſeback, and ſome Companies of the *Artillery*, drawn up in good order to receive him, by whom he was conducted to the ſaid Hall, where the Lord Mayor was ready to com-

complement him, and to attend him to the place of Entertainment. On the 18th of *December* his Highneſs went to *Windſor*, where he was receiv'd with the diſcharge of the great Guns round the Caſtle; the like next morning at his departure for *Oxford*: There he was receiv'd at the Eaſt Gate by the Mayor of that City and his Brethren. At St. *Mary's* he was attended by the Vice-Chancellor, with the Body of the Univerſity in their Scarlet and Formalities. At the great Gate of *Chriſt-Church* he was receiv'd and complemented by the Dean and Canons and whole Society of that College, and by them conducted to his Apartment there. At this Univerſity he was nobly treated, and in a Convocation held at the new Theatre, was pleaſed to accept of a Degree; as did ſeveral other Honourable Perſons in his Train. On the 13th of *February*, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* parted from *Whitehall*, in order to his return for *Holland*, infinitely ſenſible of the great Tenderneſs and Affection expreſs'd to him by Their Majeſties during the time he ſtay'd in *England*, and no leſs ſatisfied with the Univerſal Eſteem and Reſpect of the Court and People here. He was attended into *Holland* by the Earl of *Oſſory*, as His Majeſty had particularly appointed.

On *Monday* the 6th of *March*, the King paſs'd Eight publick Bills in Parliament; among the reſt, *An Act to prevent malicious Maiming and Wounding*; [Whereby it is enacted, That for any perſon, on purpoſe, and of Malice forethought, to cut out or diſable the Tongue, put out an Eye, ſlit the Noſe, cut off a Noſe or Lip, or cut off or diſable any Limb or Member of any Subject of his Majeſty, ſhall be *Felony*, without Benefit of Clergy]. This Act was occaſion'd by a violent and inhuman Attempt, committed the 21ſt of *December* laſt, on the Perſon of Sir *John Coventry* Knight of the *Bath*, and a Member of the Houſe of Commons, by a conſiderable number of armed Men, whereby he receiv'd ſeveral Wounds, *&c.* *An Act to prevent the malicious burning of Houſes, Stacks of Corn, and killing or maiming of Cattel.* [These Crimes, committed in the Night-time, are made Felony; and beſides, the Party injur'd may recover treble Damages in an *Action of Treſpaſs*.]

To conclude this Year, His Majeſty, at the Petition of the *Parliament*, iſſued out his *Proclamation*, dated the 23d of *March*, for the Baniſhing of all *Romiſh Prieſts* and *Jeſuits* who are not under any Reſtraint by Impriſonment, other than ſuch as by Contract of Marriage are to attend the Perſon of the Queen, or by the Laws of Nations are to attend foreign Ambaſſadors; and for putting the Laws in due execution againſt all *Popiſh Recuſants*, and ſuch as are ſuſpected to be ſo, in order to their Conviction.

This Year the King treated with *Spain* for ſetling Differences in *America*; and alſo concluded a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce with *Denmark*.

On *Friday* the 31ſt of *March* 1671, her Royal Highneſs *Anne* Dutcheſs of *York* dy'd at St. *James's*, after a long Indiſpoſition of Health. She was the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord Chancellor; ſhe dy'd in the 34th year of her Age, and was interr'd (with ſeveral of her Children) in the Vault of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in the Chapel of King *Henry* VII. Her Body was accompanied from the *Painted Chamber* at *Weſtminſter* by his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, as Chief Mourner, and by moſt of the Nobility, the Heralds and Officers at Arms attending, with the Solemnities uſually practis'd on the like occaſions. 1671.

On the 22d of *April* the King paſs'd Eighteen publick Acts in *Parliament*; among which, *An Act for the better ſetling Intaſtates Eſtates.* *An Act for the better ſettlement of the Maintenance of the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates in the Pariſhes of the City of* London, *burnt by the late Dreadful Fire there.* *An Act for veſting certain Fee-farm Rents, and other ſmall Rents in Truſtees*; [for Sale, purſuant to a former Act, 22 *Car.* 2. *cap.* 6.] *An Act for the better preſervation of the Game, and for the ſecuring Warrens not enclos'd, and the ſeveral Fiſhings of this Realm.* *An Act to prevent the planting of Tobacco in* England. After which the *Parliament* was prorogu'd to the 16th of the following *April*.

On the 9th of *May*, one *Blood* (outlaw'd for the Rebellion in *Ireland* eight years before) and three others, made a bold and unpreſidented Attempt to ſteal the Crown from the *Tower*, where it was lodg'd: Being admitted to ſee it, they gag'd and wounded the Keeper, and had carried it away with them to the laſt Centinel; where, upon the noiſe and purſuit, *Blood* and another were ſeiz'd, and the Crown recover'd. Some of theſe had been concern'd not many Months before, in an outragious and inſolent Attempt on the Perſon of the Duke of *Ormond*.

This Summer the King being at *Newmarket*, was pleas'd from thence to make a Progreſs to *Yarmouth*, *Norwich*, and ſome other places in *Norfolk*, in which he was accompanied by his Royal Highneſs. He alſo honour'd the Univerſity of *Cambridge* with a Viſit, on the 4th of *October*, where he was nobly entertain'd with a Comedy and Feaſt at *Trinity College*, and other Academical Welcomes.

And now the City of *London* being moſt rebuilt, and its publick Buildings reſtor'd out of their Ruins to a Condition of greater Beauty and Splendor than ever, this Year the new Lord Mayor, Sir *George Waterman*, made an Invitation to both Their Majeſties to honour his Feaſt at *Guild-hall*; which Their Majeſties received very graciouſly, and were preſent both at the Show (on the 30th of *October*) and at the Feaſt, together with the Duke of *York*, the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Ann*, Prince *Rupert*, and many principal Lords and Ladies of the Court, and a great Retinue; alſo the foreign Ambaſſadors, Lords of the Council, all the Judges, Serjeants at Law, *&c.* All which were treated that day in their ſeveral and proper ſtations, in a moſt magnificent and ſplendid manner; this being the firſt Entertainment of this nature ſince the Fire.

On *Tueſday* the 2d of *January* the King declar'd in Council, 'That ſeeing all the Neighbouring *Princes* and *States* were making great

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1671. 'preparations for War both by *Sea* and *Land*, 'he, for the ſafety of his Government and 'People, look'd upon himſelf as oblig'd to 'make ſuch Preparations as might be propor-'tionable for the Protection both of the one 'and the other, and to that end had given 'Orders for fitting and preparing a very con-'ſiderable Fleet againſt next Spring; and con-'ſidering the great Charges that muſt attend 'ſuch Preparations, and not finding any poſſi-'bility to defray ſuch unuſual Expences, by 'the uſual ways and means of Borrowing Mo-'neys, by reaſon his Revenues were ſo antici-'pated and engaged, he was therefore neceſſi-'tated (contrary to his own Inclinations) upon 'theſe Emergencies, and for the publick Safe-'ty, to cauſe a ſtop at preſent to be made of 'the payment of any Moneys, now being, or 'to be brought into his *Exchequer*, for the 'ſpace of one Year, ending the laſt day of '*December* next, unto any Perſon whatſoever, 'excepting only ſuch Payments as ſhall grow 'due upon Orders on the *Subſidy*, according to 'the *Act of Parliament*, and Orders and Secu-'rities upon the *Feefarm Rents*; but payment 'of Intereſt to be duly made in the mean time 'at 6 *per Cent.* At the ſame time the King declar'd, that no Perſon whatſoever ſhall be de-frauded of any thing that is juſtly due to him, nor ſhall his Reſtraint continue longer than the aforeſaid laſt day of *December*.

Not long after this, his Majeſty thought fit to iſſue out his Declaration to all his loving Subjects dated the 14th day of *March* in the 24th year of his Reign, whereby he declares, That his Care and Endeavours for the Preſer-vation of the Rights and Intereſts of the *Church* have been ſufficiently manifeſted by the whole courſe of his Government ſince his Reſtaura-tion, and by the frequent ways of Coertion that have been uſed for reducing *Diſſenters* and for compoſing the Unhappy Differences in *Religion* which he found among his Subjects at his Return: But it being evident, by the ſad Experience of Twelve Years, that there is little Fruit of all thoſe forcible courſes, he thinks himſelf oblig'd to make uſe of that Su-preme Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, which is not only inherent in him, but hath been de-clar'd and recogniz'd to be ſo, by ſeveral Sta-tutes and Acts of Parliament; and therefore he does now accordingly iſſue this his Declara-tion, as well for the quieting the Minds of his good Subjects in theſe points, for inviting Stran-gers to come and live here, and for the better Encouragement of all to a chearful following of their Trade and Callings, as alſo for pre-venting for the future the Danger that might otherwiſe ariſe from private Meetings and ſe-ditious Conventicles.

In the firſt place, he declares his expreſs Re-ſolution, Meaning, and Intention to be, That the Church of *England* be preſerved and remain entire in its Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Govern-ment, as now it ſtands Eſtabliſh'd by Law; That the Orthodox Conformable Clergy do receive and enjoy the Revenues belonging thereunto; That no Perſon, tho' of a diffe-rent Opinion and Perſwaſion, ſhall be exempt from paying his Tythes, or other Dues what-ſoever; and, That no Perſon ſhall be capable of holding any Benefice, Living, or Eccleſiaſti-cal Dignity or Preferment, in this Kingdom, who is not exactly conformable. Next, That the Execution of all and all manner of *Penal Laws* in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, againſt whatſo-ever ſort of *Nonconformiſts* or *Recuſants*, be imme-diately ſuſpended, and all Judges, Sheriffs, Ju-ſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Officers whatſoever, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, to take notice of it, and pay due Obedience there-unto: That he will from time to time allow a ſufficient number of Places, as they ſhall be deſir'd, in all parts of this Kingdom, for the uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the Church of *England*, to meet and aſſemble in for their pub-lick Worſhip, which places ſhall be open and free to all perſons; but no Meeting to be in any place until ſuch place be allow'd, and the Teacher of that Congregation appointed. And further declares, That this Indulgence, as to the Allowance of the publick places of Wor-ſhip, and Approbation of the Teachers, ſhall extend to all ſorts of *Nonconformiſts* and *Recu-ſants*, except the *Recuſants* of the *Roman-Catholick Religion*, to whom he in no wiſe allows publick places of Worſhip, but only indulges them their Share in the common Exemption from the Execution of the *Penal Laws*, and the Exer-ciſe of their Worſhip in their private Houſes only. Laſtly, he declares, That if after this Clemency and Indulgence any ſhall preſume to abuſe this Liberty, and preach ſeditiouſly, or to the Derogation of the Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Government of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, or meet in places not allow'd, they ſhall be puniſh'd with all imaginable Severity.

This Declaration of Indulgence was receiv'd with very great Joy and Applauſe by all *Non-conformiſts* and *Diſſenters*; but the *Parliament* was not ſo well pleas'd with it: Of which more hereafter.

On the 13th of *March*, ſome of his Majeſty's Frigats, under the Command of Sir *Robert Holmes* and the Earl of *Oſſory*, cruiſing by the *Iſle of Wight*, met with the *Dutch Smirna Fleet*, and other Ships, of about 50 ſail, convoy'd by ſix Men of War, and of the Merchant-men twenty at leaſt carried between 20 and 40 Guns a-piece, who refuſing to ſtrike and lower their Topſails, a Fight began about Three of the Clock that Afternoon, and laſted till Night, and all the next Day, in which we took five of their rich Merchant-men, and ſunk their Rear-Admiral.

On the 17th, as ſoon as this News arriv'd, his Majeſty was pleaſed in Council to order the publiſhing a Declaration of War againſt the *States General of the United Provinces*; in which Declaration was contained and ſet forth, That immediately upon his Reſtauration, his firſt Work was, the ſetling Peace and a good Cor-reſpondence between us and our Neighbours, particularly with the *States-General*, upon ſuch equal terms, as would certainly not have been broken, if any Obligations could have kept them within the Bounds of Friendſhip and Ju-ſtice; That tho' this League was maintain'd inviolable on his part, yet being in the year 1664 ſtir'd up by the Complaints of his Peo-ple,

ple, and the Unanimous Votes of both Houſes of Parliament, after ineffectual Endeavours to bring them to Reaſonable Terms, a War enſued in the year 1665, and continued to 1667, during which time our Victories and their Loſſes were memorable enough to put them in mind of being more faithful to their Leagues for the future: That a *Peace* was no ſooner made, but they return'd to their uſual Cuſtom of Breaking Articles; in particular, not ſending Commiſſioners to *London* (as they were expreſly engag'd to do by one Article of the Treaty at *Breda*) about the Regulation of Trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*: That when we deliver'd up to them *Surinam* in the *Weſt-Indies*, they detain'd the Engliſh Colony there, and would not ſuffer them to remove themſelves and Eſtates to ſome other *Plantation*, contrary to another Article in the ſame Treaty: That there is ſcarce a Town in *Holland* that is not filled with abuſive *Pictures*, and falſe *Hiſtorical Medals*, and *Pillars*, ſome of which have been expos'd to publick view by Command of the *States* themſelves, and in the very time when his Majeſty was join'd with them in United Councils, for the *Support of the Triple League*, and the *Peace of Chriſtendom*: That they have by their Commanders violated the Right of the Flag, tho' ſo ancient, that it is one of the firſt Prerogatives of his Royal Predeceſſors, and ought to be the laſt from which this Kingdom ſhould depart, and tho' expreſly acknowledg'd in the *Treaty* at *Breda*. This his Majeſty calls an *Ungrateful Inſolence*! that they ſhould contend with him about the Dominion of theſe Seas, who in the years 1635, 1636, & 1637 took *Licenſes*, and paid a *Tribute*, to be permitted to Fiſh in them; and who owe their being now in a condition of making this Diſpute to the Protection of his Anceſtors: That while he patiently expected Satisfaction in theſe Particulars, they endeavour'd to provoke the moſt Chriſtian King againſt his Majeſty: Wherefore deſpairing now of any good Effect of a further Treaty, he is compel'd to take up Arms in defence of the ancient Prerogative of the Crown, and the Glory and Safety of his Kingdoms, truſting in God's Aſſiſtance. And hereby declares War both by Sea and Land, againſt the *States-General of the United Provinces*, and all their Subjects and Inhabitants; further declaring Safety to the Perſons and Eſtates not only of all ſuch of the *Dutch Nation* as live here, and not correſpond with his Enemies, but to ſuch others as out of Affection to his Government, or becauſe of Oppreſſion at home, ſhall come into this Kingdom. Laſtly, That notwithſtanding the proſecution of this War, he will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle* inviolable, unleſs provok'd to the contrary.

This Declaration of War was on the 28th of the ſame Month ſolemnly proclaim'd in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, at the uſual places, and with the uſual Ceremonies. And on the 7th of *April*, *S. N.* (which was the ſame day with the former) War was proclaim'd at *Paris*, againſt the *States-General of the United Provinces*; ſo that after a ſhort Interval, we ſee theſe three Nations in Arms again, as in the year 1667, with this difference, That the *French*, who then took part with the *Hollanders*, now ſide with the *Engliſh*.

Nothing could more aſtoniſh the World than this unexpected Declaration of War againſt *Holland*; firſt, by Matter of Fact, in falling upon their *Smirna-Fleet*; and in conſequence of that, by a formal Declaration (contrary to an Article of the late Peace between the *Dutch* and Us, wherein ſix Months notice was to be given, in caſe of a future War) in which we gave Reaſons for our Quarrel, while *France* contented themſelves to give no other for their part of it, than only the Glory of that King. The *Dutch* could never be poſſeſt with a Belief that we were in Earneſt, till the Blow was given, but thought our Unkindneſs and Expoſtulations of late would end at laſt either in Demands of Money, or the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſtitution to the Authority of his Anceſtors. Nor could the neighbouring Princes imagine, that after having ſav'd *Flanders* out of the Hands of *France*, we ſhould ſuffer *Holland* to fall into the like danger: Yea, *France* it ſelf could ſcarce believe it till the Blow was ſtruck in the attack of the *Smirna-Fleet*; which Surprize (the *Dutch* having made no Proviſion for their Defence) made way for prodigious enſuing Succeſſes.

In the Beginning of *May* 1672, the *Engliſh* *Fleet*, commanded by the Duke of *York* in Perſon, join'd the *French*, commanded by the Count *d' Eſtrée*. On the 28th of *May*, the two Fleets thus join'd, and under the Command of his Royal Highneſs, encounter'd that of the *Dutch* off of *Southwold Bay*, with whom they had a ſharp Diſpute for eight hours, but at laſt the *Dutch* gave way, and ſtood off to their own Coaſt, with great Loſs both of Ships and Men. In this Victory our greateſt Loſs was the Life of the Noble Earl of *Sandwich*, that Renowned Commander, whoſe Ship was fir'd, and he leaping overboard, was drown'd; his Body was afterwards found, and honourably buried in *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel. 1672.

But on the Continent the *French* were ſo ſucceſsful, that they carried their Arms into the very Bowels of their Enemy's Country, and made themſelves Maſters of *Arnheim*, *Zutphen*, *Derenter*, *Utrecht*, and ſeveral other places of importance; being advanc'd on the 28th of *June* within four leagues of *Rotterdam*, and about the ſame diſtance from *Amſterdam*. This put the *Hollanders* into ſuch a terrible Confuſion, that in ſome places they cut their Dykes, and laid the Country under Water, as the beſt Defence to their principal Cities. The Common People were every where in mutiny, exclaiming againſt their Magiſtrates, and laying to their charge all their Misfortune. In *Dort* they broke into the Council-houſe, where their Burgermaſters were aſſembl'd, and forc'd them to put the Town under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, and ſwear Fidelity to him, as their Governor and Stadtholder: The like in ſome other places. About the latter end of *June* the Prince came to *Dort*, where he was entertain'd at Dinner, during which the Burghers ſent to require the Lords, that they would forthwith declare the Prince Stadtholder;

1672. whereupon, by their formal Act dated *June* 29. 1672, they declar'd his Highneſs *Stadtholder*, with all the Powers and Authorities, in as ample manner as any of his Anceſtors Princes of *Orange* have enjoy'd the ſame; renounc'd the *Perpetual Edict*, (whereby they had oblig'd themſelves never to admit of a *Stadtholder*) and diſcharg'd his Highneſs of the Oath he had taken, Not to be made ſuch. The like Declaration was made at the *Hague* and *Amſterdam*, on the 5th of *July*; and on the 9th he receiv'd from the *States-General* at the *Hague* his Commiſſions of *Stadtholder*, *Captain-General*, and *Admiral*.

But the Popular Commotions and Outrages ended not thus in *Holland*; for, beſides the plundering and wounding of ſeveral of their Magiſtrates, the Burghers and Common People at the *Hague*, on the 20th of *Auguſt* following, ſeiz'd on the Heer *John de Wit*, late *Penſionary* of *Holland*, and his Brother *Cornelius de Wit*, *Ruward van Putten* (who had been concern'd in promoting the fore mention'd *Perpetual Edict*) and not only murder'd them, with the greateſt Fury and Indignation, but drew their dead Bodies up and down the Streets, hung up their naked mangled Carcaſſes by the Heels on a Gallows, and afterwards ſold pieces of their Fleſh about the Town for ten, twelve, fifteen Stivers, or more.

Now, to return to *England*, on the 19. of *September* the Duke of *York* arriv'd at Court, having lain with the Fleet on the Coaſt of *Holland* moſt part of this *Summer*.

About this time it was that the King was pleaſed, by *Proclamation* dated the 16th of *Auguſt*, to ſuppreſs all Farthings and Half-pence put forth by private perſons, in ſeveral parts of the Nation, and Going only in their Neighborhood, and to cauſe Copper Farthings and Half-pence to be ſtamp'd at the Mint, and to paſs for Currant Money all over the Nation, in all Payments under the value of *Sixpence*. They were of near the intrinſick Value, and of a curious Impreſſion, having on one ſide the *King's Head*, and about it *Carolus à Carolo*; on the Reverſe the Figure of a *Woman* repreſenting *Britain*, with this Circumſcription, *Quatuor Maria Vindico*; but theſe words were ſoon after alter'd, and only *Britannia* circumſcrib'd in the room.

On the 17th of *November*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Keeper, having reſign'd the Great Seal, the King confer'd it to the keeping of *Anthony* Earl of *Shafteſbury*, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of *England*.

The King, not long after, iſſued out a *Proclamation* dated *December* the 4th, ſetting forth, *That having found it neceſſary, during the preſent War, to raiſe more Soldiers, and to form them into Regiments, and to diſpoſe of them into ſeveral Quarters, he ſtraitly Charges and Commands, That all Officers and Soldiers do take ſtrict Care that no Violence or Injury be offer'd to any of his Majeſty's Subjects, either in their Perſons or Eſtates, nor any kind of Diſorder committed or ſuffer'd in the ſeveral Quarters:* And directs how Complaints ſhall be redreſs'd, and the Offenders ſeverely puniſh'd.

This was follow'd by another Declaration, reciting that of *January* the 2d, laſt Year, whereby *Payments of Moneys* out of the *Exchequer*, were ſtop'd till the laſt day of this Inſtant *December*, and no longer. But now the King declares, 'That in regard of the continuance of 'thoſe inevitable Neceſſities which firſt forced 'him to make that Stop, he is compel'd at pre- 'ſent to continue the ſame until the Firſt day of '*May* next.

On the 4th of *February* the *Parliament* (which had been continued under ſeveral *Prorogations* till this day) met, and the *Place* of *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons* being void, by the promotion of Sir *Edward Turner* to the *Place* of *Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer*, the Commons, by His Majeſty's direction, proceeded to the Choice of a new *Speaker*, and accordingly choſe Sir *Job Charleton*, Serjeant at Law, whom they preſented to the *King* next day in the Houſe of Lords, and had his Approbation. At the ſame time his Majeſty made a Speech, in which he acquainted the *Parliament* of his having begun a moſt important, neceſſary, and expenſive War; refers them to his Declaration for the Cauſes; recommends the payment of his Debts to their eſpecial Care; acquaints them with his Declaration of Indulgence, and the Nature of it, that there is no more Liberty intended thereby to *Papiſts* than Freedom of their Religion in their own Houſes only, without any Concourſe of others; That he could not grant them leſs than this, when he had extended ſo much more Grace to others, moſt of them having been Loyal, and in the Service of him and the King his Father; That this Indulgence ſhall not any way prejudice the Church, as now Eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom. And having ſaid this, He ſhall take it very ill to receive Contradiction in what he hath done; and tells them plainly, He is reſolv'd to ſtick to his *Declaration*. My Lord Chancellor *Shafteſbury* was much larger in his *Speech*, and ſomewhat bitter againſt the *Dutch*; for he did not only apply to them and their Government, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, but ſaid expreſly *, That *the States of* Holland *are* England's *Eternal Enemy both by Intereſt and Inclination*. For the carrying on the preſent War, he preſſes for a Supply, and that the King may be enabl'd to revive the *Payments out of the Exchequer*; for tho' he hath been neceſſitated to put a ſtop to the Trade and Gain of the *Bankers*, yet he would be unwilling to *Ruin* them, and *Oppreſs* ſo many Families as are concern'd in thoſe *Debts*; beſides, it were too diſproportionable a Burthen upon many of his good *Subjects*.

* *Speech*, p. 10.

After which the Houſe of Commons (having firſt Voted the King a Supply) on the 14th of *February*, made an Addreſs to him, containing their moſt humble and hearty Thanks for his many gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances, to ſecure and maintain the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, our Liberties and Properties; and crave Leave humbly to Repreſent that they have, with all Duty, taken into Conſideration ſeveral parts of his Majeſties laſt *Speech*, and withal the *Declaration* therein mention'd, for Indulgence to Diſſenters dated the 15th of

March

March laſt, and they find themſelves bound in duty to inform his Majeſty, that penal Statutes in matters Eccleſiaſtical, cannot be ſuſpended but by *Act* of *Parliament*, therefore moſt humbly beſeech his Majeſty that the ſaid Laws may have their free Courſe until it ſhall be otherwiſe provided by *Act* of *Parliament*. To this the King returned an Anſwer in writing, dated the 24th of *February*, to this effect, That he is very much troubled that that *Declaration* which he put out for ends ſo neceſſary to the Quiet of this Kingdom, ſhould have proved the Cauſe of Diſquiet in his Houſe of Commons, and give occaſion to the queſtioning of his Power in Eccleſiaſticks, which he finds not done in the Reigns of any of his Anceſtors; that he never thought of uſing it otherwiſe than to the Peace and Eſtabliſhment of the *Church* of *England*, and the eaſe of all his Subjects in general; neither doth he pretend to the Right of Suſpending of any Laws wherein the Properties, Rights, or Liberties of any of his Subjects are concern'd, nor to Alter any thing in the Eſtabliſht Doctrine or Diſcipline of the *Church* of *England*, &c. To this, the Houſe of Commons reply by another Addreſs of *February* the 26th, That upon ſerious Conſideration, they find his Majeſties Anſwer to their late Petition is not ſufficient to clear the Apprehenſions that remain in the Minds of his People, by his claiming a Power to ſuſpend Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, and which he ſeems to aſſert in the ſaid Anſwer, to be intruſted in the Crown, and never queſtioned in the Reigns of any of his Anceſtors, wherein they conceive his Majeſty hath been very much miſinform'd, ſince no ſuch Power was ever claim'd or excerciſed by any of his Majeſties Predeceſſors, and if it ſhould be admitted, might tend to the interrupting the free Courſe of the Laws, and altering the Legiſlative Power, which hath always been acknowledged to reſide in his *Majeſty*, and his two Houſes of *Parliament*: Therefore humbly pray his Majeſties full and ſatisfactory Anſwer to their ſaid Petition and Addreſs, and that the Proceedings in this Matter, may not be for the future drawn into Conſequence or Example.

After this the King thought fit to revoke and cancel his ſaid *Declaration* of Indulgence; and not only ſo, but upon the Petition of the Lords and Commons, to iſſue his *Proclamation* dated the 13th of *March*, commanding all *Jeſuits* and *Romiſh Prieſts* (other than ſuch as are obliged to attend the *Queen*, or Forraign *Ambaſſadors*) to depart the Kingdom, and that the Laws be put in Execution againſt all *Popiſh* Recuſants.

During theſe Debates, Sir *Job Charlton*, the lately choſen Speaker, finding himſelf under ſome Indiſpoſition of Body, made ſuit to be eaſed of the Burden, which he was no longer able to ſuſtain, whereupon the King ſignifying to the Houſe of Commons his Permiſſion to chuſe a New Speaker, they thereupon made Choice of *Edward Seymour* Eſq; who was preſented to, and approved by the King.

On the 29th of *March* 1673. The *King* Paſs'd ten Publick Bills in *Parliament*; among which, *An* Act *for raiſing the Sum of* 1238750 *l. for Supply of his Majeſties extraordinary Occaſions.* *An* Act *for the* Kings Majeſties *moſt Gracious, General, and Free Pardon.* *An* Act *for preventing Dangers, which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants.* [By which it is enacted that all and every Perſon that ſhall be admitted, or placed into any Office *Civil* or *Military*, or ſhall receive any Pay, Sallary, Fee, or Wages of his Majeſty, or ſhall have Command, or Place of Truſt from, or under his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, ſhall at the next *Term* after admittance into his Office or Imployment, in the *Court* of *Kings Bench*, or *Chancery*, or elſe at the next *Quarter-Seſſions* in his proper County, take the *Oaths* of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, produce a Certificate of his receiving the *Sacrament* in ſome Pariſh Church, atteſted by two Witneſſes, and alſo declare and ſubſcribe a Declaration, *That he does believe that there is not any Tranſubſtantiation in the* Sacrament *of the* Lords-Supper, *or in the* Elements *of* Bread *and* Wine, *at or after the Conſecration thereof, by any Perſon whatſoever.* Penalty for executing any ſuch Office, and not doing as aforeſaid, diſabled to ſue or proſecute any Suit in Law or Equity, to be Guardian to a Child, Executor or Adminiſtrator to any Perſon, or capable of any Legacy or Gift, or to bear any Office within this Kingdom, and alſo forfeit the Sum of 500 *l.* Out of this *Act* are Excepted, the Office of any High-Conſtable, Conſtable, Tythingman, Headborough, Overſeer of the *Poor*, Church-Warden, Surveyor of the *High-ways*, or any like inferiour Civil-Office, or any Office of *Forreſters*, or Keeper of any *Park*, *Chace*, *Warren*, or *Game*, or Bayliff of any *Manor* or *Lands*, or any like Private Office.] After the Paſſing of which *Acts* the Parliament adjorn'd to the 20th of *October* following. 1672.

On the 28th of *May*, the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleet, under the Command of *Prince Rupert*, had a ſharp Engagement with the *Dutch*, on the *Coaſt* of *Holland*; which ended with a Conſiderable Loſs on their Side (who were forced to give way and retire within their Sands) and little Damage on ours, two Ships only being diſabled. On the 4th of *June*, the Fleet had a Second Engagement with the like Loſs to the Enemy, in which we loſt not one Ship, and very few Men. On the 11th of *Auguſt* happened a Third Engagement, which was very ſharp, both ſides having Fought with great Fury, but the greateſt Loſs fell upon the Enemy. While the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleets were thus Victorious at Sea, the *French* were no leſs Succesful on the Land; for on the 30th of *June* they took *Maeſtricht*, after a ſmall Siege, at which the Duke of *Monmouth* aſſiſted, in the Honourable Poſt of one of the Leiutenant-Generals of *France* and did Signalize his Valour in a high degree.

On the 9th of *November*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to take the Great-Seal from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and to give it to Sir *Heneage Finch*, then Attorney-General, with the Title of Lord Keeper.

A Match having been this Summer treated and concluded, by his Majeſties Conſent and Authority (tho' oppoſed by Petition in two

1673. Addreſes from the Houſe of Commons laſt *October*,) between the Duke of *York*, and the Princeſs of *Modena*, the ſaid Princeſs, accompanyed by her Mother, the Dutcheſs of *Modena*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality arrived at *Dover* on the 21ſt of *November*, and was there received by his Royal Highneſs. Afterwards they were met by the King, attended by the Principal Nobility, on the *River*, and arrived at *White-Hall* on the 26th.

On the 7th of *January* the Parliament met, having been Prorogued the 4th of *November* laſt, to this day. And now the King acquainted them with ſeveral Particulars relating to the preſent Juncture: On all which heads, the Lord-Keeper *Finch* enlarged in a Long and Eloquent Speech, containing what the King hath done for them ſince the laſt Receſs, in bringing all Recuſants under the Penal Laws; in forbidding all *Papiſts* or reputed *Papiſts* to come to *Court*, or to St. *James's*; in not extending his Prerogative beyond it's due Limits; in leſſening and reducing his Land Forces, and maintaining ſo few extraordinary, to extinguiſh the Fears of a ſtanding Army; in a Rigourous and ſevere Proſecution at Law, of all the Officers and Soldiers of his Standing Guards, when they Misbehave themſelves towards the meaneſt Subject; in abrogating all the Priviledges from Arreſts claim'd by his Servants in Extraordinary, and in the great Induſtry and Application of Mind uſed by him, all along, in hopes to have obtain'd by this time, if it had been poſſible, an honourable and a juſt Peace; and ſhews how the *Dutch* are in the Fault, that it is not concluded; then Minds them of what the King in Juſtice expects from them, a Speedy and proportionable Supply, as abſolutely neceſſary both for War and Peace; and mentions the Conſideration of the Goldſmiths, which involves ſo many Perſons and Families, That the Concern is little Leſs than National; 'tis an Affair which the King lays very much to heart, and hopes a Proper Time will come when a favourable Regard may be had of it; In fine, he tells them, That the King aſſures himſelf of their Affections, and expects they ſhould do their Endeavours to reſtore and improve the mutual Confidence between him and his People, and extinguiſh all their Fears and Jealouſies; That Religion and Liberty ſtand ſecured by the moſt Sacred Tyes that are, and that the King hath a greater Intereſt in the Preſervation of both than they themſelves; for as Religion, the *Proteſtant Religion*, commands indiſpenſible Obedience, ſo 'tis a juſt and lawful Liberty which ſweetens that Command, and endears it.

The Houſe of Commons voted Thanks to his Majeſty for thoſe Acts he had done ſince the laſt Prorogation, towards the ſuppreſſing and diſcountenancing of *Popery*, and for his gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances in his laſt Speech; and Reſolved on the 27th of *January*, that upon conſideration of his Majeſty's Gracious Speech, and the Propoſals from the *States-General of the United Provinces*, (which Propoſals he had communicated to both Houſes three days before) this Houſe is of opinion, that His Majeſty be humbly deſir'd to proceed in a Treaty with the ſaid *States*, in order to a ſpeedy Peace. The Lords alſo made the like Vote, which being deliver'd to the King by way of Addreſs, on the 11th of *February*, he returned for Anſwer, in the Houſe of Lords, 'That according to their Advice and Deſire, he had 'made a ſpeedy, honourable, and (he hoped) 'a laſting Peace, which is Signed already.

Which Peace had been concluded and ſigned on the 9th of *February* at *Weſtminſter*, (after it had been negotiated ineffectually at *Cologne*) and publickly proclaimed on the 28th, with the uſual Solemnities, at *London*; as it had been on the 6th of *March*, *N. S.* at the *Hague*. It conſiſted of five Articles: By the firſt the *States* agreed to the Rights of the Flag to be paid to all our King's Ships. The ſecond was for ſetling Trade in the *Indies*, &c. The third relates to the Colony of *Surinam*. By the fourth, both ſides are to reſtore all places taken from each other during this War. And by the fifth the *States* oblige themſelves to pay our King 800000 Patacoons.

That which facilitated and haſten'd the Conſummation of this Peace, was, that the Prince of *Orange*, with an Army of Forty thouſand Men, had put a ſudden ſtop to the full Career of the *French Conqueſts* in thoſe parts, having taken *Narden*, three leagues from *Amſterdam*, in ſpight of all oppoſition from either the *French* or the Seaſon; and leaving his Poſts there well guarded, he march'd to the reſt of his Army, beſieg'd *Bon*, and took it, which open'd a paſſage for the *German Forces* over the *Rhine*, and ſo into *Flanders*; whereupon the *French* immediately abandon'd all their Conqueſts upon *Holland* in leſs time than they made them, and began now to wiſh the War well ended, and were very glad to accept his Majeſty's Mediation.

On the 24th of *February* the Parliament was prorogued to the 10th of *November* following; and by Proclamation of the 22d of *September*, 1674, further prorogued from the ſaid 10th of *November* to the 13th of the following *April*. 1674.

A Peace being thus concluded, and no Parliament ſitting, we cannot expect to meet with many Occurrences of great and publick concern this year.

About this time ſome People were very licentious in ſpreading falſe and ſeditious Rumors, and preſumed to cenſure and defame Proceedings of *State*; of which the King took notice, and in particular of a very falſe Report then put about, as if he intended to diſſolve this preſent Parliament; hereupon he iſſued out a ſevere Proclamation, on the 2d of *May*, againſt all ſuch who by Writing or Speaking ſhall utter or publiſh any falſe News or Reports, or intermeddle with the Affairs of State and Government, or with the Perſons of any of his Majeſties Counſellors or Miniſters, in their common and ordinary Diſcourſe.

On the 10th of *June* was iſſued out another Proclamation for the apprehending and tranſportation of *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, and 5 *l.* offer'd for the diſcovery of any ſuch.

Sir

Sir *Robert Viner* being this year ſworn Lord Mayor of *London*, the King was pleas'd not only to be preſent at his Feaſt in *Guild-hall*, on the 29th of *October*, but alſo moſt graciouſly and freely to condeſcend to the acceptance of the *Freedom* of the City in the *Chamberlain's Office*; whereupon the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council unanimouſly agreed to expreſs their grateful ſenſe of ſo unparallel'd a Favour and Honour, beyond the Example of all his Progenitors; and accordingly the Lord Mayor, having firſt obtain'd his Majeſty's Leave, did with the Aldermen and Common-Council attend his Majeſty on the 18th of *December*, in the *Banqueting-houſe*, where the ſaid Sir *Robert Viner* Lord Mayor, with the *Chamberlain* of *London* kneeling by him, in the Name of the ſaid City, did preſent his Majeſty with the *Copy of the Freedom*, curiouſly written on Vellum, and adorn'd with Gilding after the beſt manner, in a large ſquare Box of Maſſy Gold, the Seal of the ſaid Freedom hanging at it, incloſed in a Box of Gold ſet all over with large Diamonds, to a conſiderable value. Which the King receiv'd with many Expreſſions of great Kindneſs.

On the 3d of *February* the King cauſed other ſtrict Orders of Council to be iſſued forth, 1. For the *Conviction* of *Popiſh Recuſants*. 2. Againſt *Saying* or *Hearing* of *Maſs* in any places whatſoever, except the *Chapels* of the *Queen* and *Foreign Miniſters*. 3. For the *departure* of all *Romiſh Prieſts* out of the Kingdom, except Mr. *John Huddleſton*, who was eminently ſerviceable to His Majeſty in his *Eſcape* from *Worceſter*. 4. That none of his Subjects ſend any Perſon to be educated in any *Popiſh College* or *Seminary* beyond the Seas. 5. That no *Papiſt* preſume to come to *Whitehall* or St. *James's*, or other place where the Court ſhall be. 6. That effectual Care be taken for the ſuppreſſing of *Conventicles*, his Majeſty declaring, that all his Licenſes were long ſince recalled, and that no *Conventicle* hath any Authority, Allowance, or Encouragement from him. All which was afterwards enforc'd by a Declaration publiſh'd in print, and dated the 12th of *February*.

This year the King renew'd a Peace with *Tunis*, formerly made by Sir *John Lawſon* in 1662.

On the 13th of *April* 1675, the Parliament met according to the Prorogation. The King made a Speech, containing new Promiſes and Aſſurances to maintain the Eſtabliſh'd Religion and Property according to Law, *&c.* For which Speech both Houſes voted their *Thanks*. In the beginning of this Seſſion of Parliament the Houſe of Commons made an Addreſs to the King againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, as having declar'd his Inclinations to Arbitrary Councils, in terror of his Majeſty's good Subjects, *&c.* And therefore, that his Majeſty would graciouſly be pleaſed to remove the ſaid Duke from all his Employments, and from his Majeſty's Preſence and Councils for ever, as a Perſon obnoxious and dangerous to the Government. To this the King anſwer'd in Writing dated the 7th of *May*, That the words of which the Duke was accuſed in the Addreſs, if ſpoken, were ſpoken before the laſt Act of General Pardon. And his Majeſty being ſenſible how great a Satisfaction and Security the Inviolable Preſervation of the former Act of Indempnity and Oblivion had been to all his Subjects, cannot but apprehend the dangerous Conſequences of enquiring into any things that have been pardon'd by an Act of General Pardon, leſt the Example of that might give Men cauſe to fear their Security under the firſt Act of Oblivion. 1675.

And now an unhappy Difference ariſing between the two Houſes, in a Caſe of Judicature, and Privileges, occaſion'd by Dr. *Shirley*'s bringing an Appeal in the Houſe of Lords, from a Decree in *Chancery*, againſt Sir *John Fagg*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons: The Diſpute was carried on ſo far, that Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Peck*, Sir *John Churchill*, and Mr. *Charles Porter*, being concern'd as Council in this Cauſe, were taken up in *Weſtminſter-hall*, by the Speaker's Warrant, and committed to the *Tower* for Breach of Privilege. The King taking notice of theſe Heats, on the 5th of *June* came to the Lords Houſe, ſent up for the Commons, and made a Speech to this effect: 'That he told them at the meeting of this 'Seſſion no Endeavours would be wanting to 'make the continuance of this Parliament un-'practicable; that he is ſorry Experience has 'ſo quickly ſhew'd the Truth of what he then 'ſaid; That in his Opinion the beſt means of 'coming to a Compoſure between them, is 'ſuch full Conferences, as may either convince 'themſelves, or enable him to judge rightly of 'the Differences; That he is not to ſuffer theſe 'Differences to grow to Diſorders in the whole 'Kingdom; That his Judgment ſhall be al-'ways impartial between his two Houſes of 'Parliament: but while they are in Debate 'about their Privileges, he will not ſuffer his 'own to be invaded. And concludes with 'deſiring them that they would yet conſider, 'and not ſuffer ill Mens Deſigns to hinder 'this Seſſion from a happy Concluſion.

But after this, the Tranſactions in this Affair proceeding with ſtill more vehemency and oppoſition, his Majeſty thought fit to prorogue the Parliament to the 13th of *October*; at which time they met again, but, it ſeems, the old Conteſts were not forgot; for on the 19th of *November*, I find among the Votes in the Houſe of Commons, 'That whereas this Houſe hath 'been inform'd of ſeveral Appeals depending 'before the Houſe of Lords from Courts of 'Equity, to the great violation of the Rights 'and Liberties of the Commons of *England*, it 'is this day reſolved and declared, that who-'ever ſhall ſollicite, plead, or proſecute any 'Appeal againſt any Commoner of *England*, 'from any *Court of Equity*, before the *Houſe of 'Lords*, ſhall be deemed and taken to be a 'Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the 'Commons of *England*, and ſhall be proceeded 'againſt accordingly. This Order was fix'd up in the *Lobby*, and upon the Gates of *Weſtminſter-hall*, and the two *Serjeants-Inns*, the four *Inns of Court*, and all the *Inns of Chancery*; and the next day they order'd Dr. *Shirley* to be taken into Cuſtody. Hereupon the King was pleaſed, on the 22d of *November*, to prorogue

the

the *Parliament* to the 15th of *February* come Twelve-month. At the ſame time paſſing one publick Act, entituled, *An Act for the better and more eaſie rebuilding the Town of* Northampton; [Which ſaid Town had been by a lamentable Fire, happening on the 20th of *September* before, almoſt wholly reduc'd to Aſhes, very little being left ſtanding, except ſome of the outward Buildings.]

A Treaty of Peace between *France* and *Holland* and the other Confederates, being now ſet on foot, by the Mediation of our King and the King of *Sweden*, and *Nimeguen* being at laſt agreed on for the place of Congreſs, the Lord *John Berkeley*, Sir *William Temple*, and Sir *Leoline Jenkins* repair'd thither about the middle of *December*, as *Plenipotentiaries* on the part of our King; but the Treaty laſted near three years before a Concluſion.

On the 19th of *December* his Majeſty, having created S. *Heneage Finch* a Baron of this Kingdom by the Title of Lord *Finch* Baron of *Daventry*, was pleaſed alſo to change his Title of *Lord Keeper* of the *Great Seal*, into that of *Lord High Chancellor* of *England*.

Publick Coffee-houſes were at this time cenſur'd as places of reſort for idle and diſaffected perſons, where divers falſe, malicious, and ſcandalous Reports are deviſed and ſpread abroad, to the defamation of the Government, and to the diſturbance of the Peace and Quiet of the Realm. Hereupon the King thought fit, by his *Proclamation*, dated the 29th of *December*, to put down and ſuppreſs the ſaid *Coffee-houſes*, and command, that after the 10th day of *Jan.* next no *Coffee-houſe* be kept in *England* and *Wales*, under the Penalty of 5 *l. per month*, inflicted by the Statute of 15 *Car.* 2. *ca.* 11. *S.* 15, on ſuch as ſell *Coffee*, *&c.* without License. But the time, upon humble *Petition*, was inlarged to the 24th of *June*, by another *Proclamation*, dated *Jan.* 8. the Keepers of ſuch Houſes taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and entring into a Recognizance of 500 *l.* Condition'd not to ſuffer Libels, *&c.* to be read or divulg'd in their Houſes, or otherwiſe to inform ſome Juſtice of the Peace thereof.

On the 7th day of *January* was iſſued forth a *Proclamation* for the better diſcovery of ſeditious Libellers, wherein a Reward of 50 *l.* was promis'd for ſuch diſcovery.

This year the King enter'd into Capitulations and Articles of Peace with the *Ottoman* Empire.

1676. On the 26th of *May* 1676, about four in the Morning, broke out a moſt lamentable Fire in the Burrough of *Southwark*, which continued with much Violence all that day, and part of the night following, before it could be ſtop'd; it conſumed about 600 Houſes; and the great Church of St. *Mary Overies* was in ſuch danger, that it was ſaved with Difficulty.

The 3d of *October* a ſtrict Order of *Council* was made againſt any of his Majeſty's Subjects repairing to Maſs, or Sermons at the *Queen's Chapel* at *Somerſet-houſe*, except ſuch as are her domeſtick Servants; nor to the *Chapels* or *Houſes* of *Foreign Ambaſſadors*, *Agents*, and *Miniſters*.

On the 15th of *February* the two Houſes of *Parliament* met according to their prorogation from the 22d of *November* 1675. In the beginning of *March* the Houſe of Commons repreſented to the King, in an Addreſs, That the Minds of his Majeſty's People are much diſquieted with the manifeſt Danger ariſing to theſe Kingdoms by the Growth and Power of the *French King*, by his Acquiſitions in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, in the preſervation whereof, they humbly conceive, the *Intereſt* of *His Majeſty*, and the *Safety* of his *People* are highly concern'd; and therefore beſeech the *King* to take the ſame into his Care, and ſtrengthen himſelf with ſtricter Alliances, *&c.* The *King* anſwer'd, That he was of Opinion with the two Houſes of *Parliament*, and that he will uſe all means for the conſervation of *Flanders* that can conſiſt with the *Peace* and *Safety* of the Kingdom.

This year a *Peace* was concluded with *Tripoli*.

On the 16th of *April* the *King* came to the Houſe of Lords, and paſs'd ten publick Bills, 1677. ſome of which were, *An Act for raiſing the Sum of* 584978 *l.* 2 *s.* 2 *d. ob. for the ſpeedy building of* 30 *Ships of War*. *An Act for the better Obſervation of the Lord's Day, commonly called* Sunday. [By which Act it is provided, That no perſon ſhall be arreſted on that day in any Civil Action, nor any Action brought againſt any Hundred, for a *Robbery* committed on that day.] *An Act for prevention of Frauds and Perjuries*; [By which it is enacted, That no Deviſe of Lands ſhall be valid, unleſs the Will be atteſted by three or more Witneſſes; that Contracts and Agreements be in Writing, *&c.* with ſeveral other new Proviſions.] *An Act for taking away the Writ* de Heretico comburendo. *An Act for Erecting a Judicature to determine Differences touching Houſes burnt and demoliſh'd by the late dreadful Fire in* Southwark. After the paſſing theſe Acts, the two Houſes adjourn'd to the 21ſt of the following *May*; at which time the *Parliaments* met again: And the Houſe of Commons continuing mindful of their former Addreſſes, to oppoſe the growing Power of *France*, reſolv'd on the 23d of *May*, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive, with the *States-General of the United Provinces*, and to make ſuch other Alliances with ſuch other Confederates as his Majeſty ſhall think fit, againſt the Growth and Power of the *French King*, for preſervation of the *Netherlands*. And ſuch Addreſs being accordingly preſented, *his Majeſty* return'd for Anſwer, *May* 28. 'That they have in ſome parts of their Addreſs, entrenched on ſo undoubted a Right 'of the Crown, that he is confident, it will 'appear in no Age, that the Prerogative of 'making Peace and War hath been ſo dangerouſly invaded; That they do not con'tent themſelves with deſiring him to enter 'into ſuch Leagues as may be for the ſafety 'of the Kingdom, but they ſay what ſort of 'Leagues they muſt be, and with whom; 'that ſhould he ſuffer this Fundamental Po'wer of Peace, and War, to be ſo far invaded,

1677. 'as to have the manner and Circumſtances of 'Leagues to be preſcribed him by Parliament, 'no Prince or State would any longer believe, 'that the Sovereignty of *England* reſts in the 'Crown; wherefore they may reſt aſſured that 'no Condition ſhall make him depart from, 'or leſſen ſo eſſential a Part of the *Monarchy*: 'and he is willing to believe ſo well of this 'Houſe of *Commons*, that he is confident the ill 'Conſequences are not intended by them: Theſe 'are the Reaſons, why he can by no means 'approve of their Addreſs; yet, tho' they have 'declined to grant him that Supply, which is 'ſo neceſſary to the Ends of it, he will ſtill ap- 'ply himſelf by all the means he can, to let 'the World ſee his Care both for the Secu- 'rity and Satisfaction of his People. After this the two Houſes were adjorn'd to the 16th of *July*, and from thence to the 3d of *December*. Before which day the King was pleaſed to Publiſh by *Proclamation*, that the Parliament ſhould be adjorn'd from thence to the 4th of *April* following. But when both Houſes met on the 3d of *December*, in order to adjorn themſelves accordingly, they received a Meſſage from the King, that tho' he intended they ſhould adjorn to *April*, he hath now weighty Reaſons to meet them ſooner, and therefore order'd their adjornment but to the 15th of *January*; and then by another Meſſage on the 15th a further adjornment to the 28th of the ſame Month.

Here we ought to look back a little, to remember an *Act* of great *Juſtice* and *Reputation* to the Memory of this *King*. It has been already obſerved, that in the year 1671. His Majeſty fonnd himſelf neceſſitated to ſtop, or poſtpone Payments out of his Exchequer; and not being enabled ſince that time, to pay off thoſe Debts which he had borrowed of Sir *Robert Viner*, and ſeveral other Eminent Goldſmiths, and through their hands, of almoſt an infinite Number of his Subjects, ſome of whom lay under great Difficulties (almoſt to their utter Ruine) he was this year pleaſed, by his *Letters-Patents*, dated 30th day of *April* in the 29th year of his Reign, to grant to the ſaid Reſpective Goldſmiths, their Heirs and Aſſigns (and to ſuch of their Creditors, as ſhall take Aſſignments) an *Annual* Sum or Payment out of the Exchequer, anſwerable in value yearly to the Intereſt of their reſpective Debts, at the Rate of 6*l. per Cent per Ann.* And Charged it on the hereditary Part of the Exciſe. This gave great Satisfaction, and had done more, if the Payments had been continued, as the King intended.

Nor was his Majeſty unmindful of Preſerving *Flanders*, and making Alliances to that Purpoſe. He apply'd himſelf therefore this Summer, to the Raiſing of Forces, and in a ſhort time had a brave Army on Foot, ready to be tranſported.

Alſo this Summer a Match was concluded between the Prince of *Orange*, and the Lady *Mary* eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *York*. The ſaid Prince landing at *Harwich* on the 9th of *October*, Accompanyed with a great many Perſons of the Chiefeſt Quality in *Holland*: The Marriage was on *Sunday* the 4th of *November* (his own, and his Mothers Birthday) privately celebrated at St. *James's*, by the *Biſhop* of *London*, in the Preſence of his *Majeſty*, who gave the Bride, their *Royal Highneſſes*, and ſome of the Chief Nobility. This was Accompanyed with mighty Rejoycing all over the three Kingdoms. So alſo in *Holland*.

Three days after this Marriage, her Royal Highneſs the Dutcheſs of *York*, was happily brought to bed of a Son, who was the next day Baptized by the Name of *Charles*, the *King*, and the Prince of *Orange*, being Godfathers. He had the Title of *Duke* of *Cambridge*, but lived no longer than the 12th of *December*, and then dyed ſuddenly, about a 11 of the clock in the Morning.

On the 28th of *January* 167⅞. The *Parliament* met; the *King* in his Speech to both Houſes acquainted them. 'That for their ſa- 'tisfaction he had made ſuch Alliances with '*Holland* as are for the preſervation of *Flan- 'ders*, and which cannot fail of that end, un- 'leſs prevented by the want of due Aſſiſtances 'to ſupport thoſe Alliances, or by the ſmall 'regard the *Spaniards* themſelves muſt have to 'their own Preſervation; That he cannot ſuſ- 'pect the want of aſſiſtance by reaſon of their 'repeated Engagements; that a War, which 'muſt be the neceſſary conſequence of thoſe 'Alliances, ought neither to be Proſecuted by 'halves, nor want ſuch aſſurances of perſeve- 'rance as may give him encouragement to per- 'ſue it; that He had uſed all means poſſible 'by a Mediation to have procured an Honou- 'rable and ſafe Peace, knowing how prefera- 'ble ſuch a Peace would have been to any War; 'that this Kingdom muſt neceſſarily own the 'vaſt benefits it has received by Peace, whilſt 'its Neighbours only have yet ſmarted by the 'War; but finding a Peace no longer to be 'hoped for by fair means, it ſhall not be his 'fault if it be not obtain'd by force; that for 'this reaſon he has recall'd his Troops out of 'France, and conſider'd that we cannot have 'leſs Forces on our part than 90 Sail of Ca- 'pital Ships, and 30 or 40 Thouſand Land- 'men; that he is contented that ſuch Monys 'as ſhall be given to theſe uſes, be appropri- 'ated as ſtrictly as they can deſire; that he 'hath directed ſuch larger dimenſions for the 'Building the New Ships as will coſt him a- 'bove 100000*l.* more than the Act allows; 'that for the repairing the Old Fleet and buy- 'ing Stores, &c. he hath expended a great 'deal more than 200000*l.* He hath born the 'charge of a Rebellion in *Virginia*, and a New 'War with *Algiers*; that he ſtands engaged 'to the Prince of *Orange* for his Neece's Portion; 'that he cannot be able to maintain his con- 'ſtant neceſſary Eſtabliſhments without the 'New Impoſition on Wines be continued; that 'to remove all ſorts of Jealouſies he hath Mar- 'ried his Neece to the Prince of *Orange*, thereby 'giving full aſſurances never to ſuffer that Prin- 'ces Intereſts to be ruin'd, if aſſiſted as he 'ought to be, to preſerve them; that he ex- 'pects from them a plentiful ſupply ſuitable 'to ſuch great occaſions; and that theſe con- 'ſiderations being of the greateſt Importance 'that ever concern'd the Kingdom, he would 'therefore 1678.

1678. 'therefore have them enter immediately upon 'them without ſuffering any other buſineſs 'whatſoever to divert 'em. The Houſe of Commons on the 30th of *January*, the Anniverſary Faſt, Voted 70000 *l.* for a ſolemn Burial of his late Majeſty King *Charles* I. and to erect a Monument for the ſaid Prince of Glorious Memory, the ſaid Sum to be rais'd by a Two Months Tax, to begin at the expiration of the preſent Tax for Building Ships. This, tho' in truth, an Affair to which the Nation has ſtood obliged this 29 Years, yet being never mention'd till yeſterday, (when firſt moved in the Houſe of Commons by the Lord *O Brian*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Tumond*, and whoſe Son lately had Marry'd my Lord Treaſurers Daughter) ſeem'd ſurprizing.

The next Day being the 31ſt of *January*, the Houſe of Commons in return to the Kings Speech, preſented their Addreſs to His Majeſty at *White hall*, containing, 'Thanks for 'his care expreſt for the preſervation and En'couragement of the Proteſtant Religion in con'cluding a Marriage between his Neece and the 'Prince of *Orange*; beſeech him not to admit 'of any Treaty of Peace whereby the *French* 'King ſhall be left in poſſeſſion of any greater 'Dominion or power than is left him by the '*Pyrenean* Treaty; that both on our parts and 'the parts of the Confederates, no Ship nor 'Veſſel may be admitted to come out of any 'Port of *France*, but that the Ships and Men be 'ſeized and the Goods deſtroy'd; that he would 'pleaſe to provide that none of the parties who 'ſhall joyn in this Alliance and Confederacy a'gainſt *France*, depart from the ſaid Alliance, till 'the ſaid King be reduced to the ſaid Treaty; 'that neither we nor the Confederates admit any 'Trade with *France*, or ſuffer any Goods to 'be Imported from thence on pain of Forfei'ture; that His Majeſty in making ſuch Con'federacies as neceſſary for attaining theſe ends, 'ſhall never doubt of the affections of the Peo'ple: Laſtly they renew their former proteſtati'ons and engagements to perſevere in the pro'ſecution of the ſaid War, and when he ſhall 'be pleas'd to Impart ſuch Alliances and Confe'deracies to them in Parliament, they ſhall be will'ing to give ſuch ready aſſiſtances upon all occa'ſions as may bring the War to a happy conclu'ſion.

To this Addreſs the *King* return'd the following Anſwer in Writing, which was read in the Houſe of Commons the 4th of *February*. 'That he was not a little ſurpriz'd to 'find ſo much inſerted there of what ſhould 'not be, and ſo little of what ſhould; that 'his Speech was to both Houſes joyntly, and 'the return ought to be from both; That in 'the Addreſs of the 20th of *May* laſt, they did 'invite him to a League offenſive and defen'ſive with *Holland* againſt the *French King*, 'and for the preſerving the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, 'and upon his Declaration of ſuch Alliances 'aſſured ſuch ſpeedy aſſiſtances as may fully 'Anſwer the occaſion; that he hath made 'ſuch Alliances, yet finds no return but the 'Old promiſes upon new Conditions, and ſo 'He may be uſed to Eternity, ſhould he ſeem 'ſatisfied with ſuch proceedings; that on the '28th of *May* laſt, he told you how highly he 'was offended at the great Invaſion of his 'Prerogative, yet you take no notice of it, 'but add to your former ill conduct new Invaſions; you deſire him to oblige his Confe'derates never to conſent to a Peace till the 'moſt Chriſtian King be reduced to the *Pyre'nean* Treaty, a Determination ſitting only 'for God Almighty, ſince none but He 'can tell the terms of Peace, who knows the 'event of War; You deſire him not to ſuffer 'a Ship of theirs to come from *France* under pain 'of Confiſcation, not excepting Alliet, Prince, 'or Ambaſſadors (if any among them); that 'he does not believe any Aſſembly of Men 'ever gave ſo great and publick a provocation 'to the whole World without ſo much as 'conſidering to provide one Ship, Regiment, 'or penny towards juſtifying it; that however 'if by your aſſiſtance he may be put into 'Arms ſufficient for ſuch a Work, He will 'not be weary till Chriſtendom be reſtored to 'ſuch a Peace, that it ſhall not be in the power 'of any one Prince to diſturb it; that the 'Rights of making and managing War and 'Peace are in His Majeſty; and if you think 'he will depart from any part of that Right, 'you are miſtaken; the Reins of Government 'are in his hands, and he hath the ſame care 'to preſerve them there, as to preſerve his 'own Perſon; he keeps both for his Peoples 'protection and ſafety; and that if this Houſe 'will encourage His Majeſty to go further 'in Alliances, you muſt conſider of raiſing 'ſpeedy ſupplies; for from the conſideration of 'thoſe he muſt take his meaſures.

And now the Earl of *Shaftsbury* releas'd from his Confinement in the *Tower*, where he had been cloſe Priſoner ever ſince laſt Spring, and reſtored to his place in Parliament, having firſt made his Submiſſion at the Lords Bar, the next day ſate in the Houſe of Lords.

On the 27th. The City was not a little Alarm'd with the *French* Kings taking of *Ghent*, and the great danger of ſeveral other places of note in *Flanders*.

About a Fortnight after, amongſt other Bills, there paſs'd *An Act for raiſing Money by a Poll, to enable His Majeſty to enter into an actual War againſt the French King*. And alſo an Addreſs was agreed upon to be preſented to his Majeſty from a Committee of the whole Houſe, humbly to adviſe His Majeſty, 'That for the ſa'tisfying the Minds of his good Subjects, who 'are much diſquieted with the Apprehenſions 'of the Dangers ariſing from the growth and 'power of the *French King*, and for the en'couragement of the Princes and States confe'derated againſt him, that his Majeſty would 'be graciouſly pleas'd to proclaim, and enter 'into an actual War againſt the ſaid *French* 'King: And that this Houſe will ſtand by and 'aſſiſt his Majeſty with ſuch Supplies as ſhall 'be neceſſary for the carrying on ſo Royal an 'Undertaking. And becauſe his Majeſty's En'deavours, by way of Mediation, have not pro'duc'd the deſir'd Effects, that therefore he 'would preſently diſmiſs the *French Ambaſſa'dors*,

'dors, and recall his from *France* and *Nime-*
'*guen.*

Wedneſday 27th of *March*, the Parliament was Adjourn'd by the Kings Order.

During the Interval a ſtrict Faſt is kept on *Wedneſday* the 10th of *April* in *London*, and the *Wedneſday* Fornight following through *England*, to implore Gods Bleſſing upon His Majeſty and his Kingdoms, and for the averting of Gods Judgments.

Monday the 29th of *April* the Houſes met again, the King and Lords in their Robes; My Lord Chancellor in a long Speech recited all the Addreſſes that they had made in relation to a War with *France*, what the King had already done in purſuance of the ſame, in joyning in an effectual League with the Confederates to that end, and how ready the King was to purſue their deſires, but that now he diſcovered the *Dutch* were entring upon a Treaty of Peace with the *French* King, and that without his conſent or privity, and therefore His Majeſty demands the advice of his Houſes how to proceed.

On *Monday* the 6th of *May*, the King returned a ſhort Anſwer to an Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, voted on the ſaid laſt* *Saturday*, which contain'd their humble Advice, that he would forthwith enter into the preſent Alliance with the Confederates, and an Actual War with *France*, *&c.* To which, this Anſwer was read by one of the Secretaries of State, *viz.*

C. R.

HIS Majeſty having been acquainted with the Votes of the 4th Inſtant, is very much ſurpriz'd both with the Matter and Manner of them: but if His Majeſty had Exceptions to neither, yet His Majeſty having asked the Advice of both the Houſes, doth not think fit to give any Anſwer to any thing of that nature, till he hath a concurrent Advice of both Houſes.

Among which mentioned Votes of the 4th Inſtant, beſide the Advice aboveſaid, this was paſs'd by a Majority of 16 Voices, 'That the 'late Leagues made with the *States-General of* '*the United Provinces* are not purſuant to the 'Addreſſes of this Houſe, nor conſiſtent with 'the Good and Safety of the Kingdom.

On *Saturday* the 11th of *May* the Commons preſented another Addreſs to the King, containing their humble Thanks to His Majeſty, for demanding their Advice: That accordingly they gave it; They beſeech him to communicate to them his Reſolutions thereupon: And whereas they conceive that the Inconveniencies and Dangers which the Kingdom now lies under, might totally, or in a great meaſure have been prevented, in caſe his Majeſty had accepted of the Advice by them given in their Addreſſes of the 26th of *May* laſt, and the 31. of *January*; That therefore he would pleaſe to remove thoſe Counſellors that adviſed him to give thoſe Anſwers which he did to the ſaid Addreſſes; That he would pleaſe to accept of this Petition in good part, as proceeding from Perſons heartily devoted to him, *&c.* In fine, That he would pleaſe to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from his Preſence and Councils. 1678.

Which being read, the King immediately returned *Anſwer* in theſe few words only: *That he was much ſurprized at the Extravagancy of their Addreſs, and unwilling at preſent to give it ſuch a due Anſwer as it deſerves.*

On the *Monday* following the King paſs'd ſeveral private Bills, and then cauſed the *Parliament* to be prorogued till *Thurſday* come ſevenight, being the 23d of this Inſtant *May*.

On the aforemention'd *Thurſday* the 23d of *May*, the *Parliament* met again, and the Houſe of Commons being ſent for by the Black Rod to attend his Majeſty in the Houſe of Lords, the King deliver'd his pleaſure to this effect: 'That he is reſolv'd, as far as he is able, to 'ſave *Flanders*, either by a War or Peace, 'which way he ſees moſt conducing; either 'ways he thinks it convenient to keep up his 'Army, and Navy at Sea, for ſome time, till a '*Peace* be concluded, but leaves it to them to 'conſider of Supplies for their continuance or 'disbanding; and in either caſe not to diſcou-'rage ſo many worthy and gallant Gentle-'men, who have offer'd their Lives and Ser-'vice to their Country, and that in purſuit of 'the *Parliament's Advice* and *Reſolution*: That a 'Branch of his Revenue is now expiring, ano-'ther part of it is cut off by a Clauſe in the '*Poll-Bill*; That he has borrow'd 200000 *l.* 'upon the Exciſe at their requeſt, of all which 'they are to conſider; That he hath no In-'tentions but of good to them and his people, 'nor ever ſhall; Deſires they will not drive 'him into Extremities, which muſt end ill both 'for them and him, and (which is worſt of all) 'for the Nation; deſires to prevent all Diſor-'ders and Miſchiefs that may befal by our diſ-'agreement; but in caſe any do, leaves it to 'God Almighty to judge who is the occaſion of 'it: In fine, That he will not for the future 'ſuffer the Courſe and Method of paſſing Laws 'to be chang'd, by tacking together ſeveral 'Matters in one Bill.

This was immediately follow'd by a long but excellent *Speech* of my Lord Chancellor, enlarging to the like purpoſe, and concluding with ſtrong perſwaſions to a compoſure of all Diſguſts.

Monday, *May* 27. Reſolved in the Houſe of Commons, That the Houſe taking into conſideration the ſtate of his Majeſty's Affairs, and the great Charge and Burthen that his Majeſty and the Nation lies under by the *Army* now in being, are humbly of opinion, That if his Majeſty pleaſe to think fit to enter into the War againſt the French King, this Houſe is, and always will be ready to ſupport and aſſiſt him in that War; but if otherwiſe, That they will proceed to the Conſideration of providing for the ſpeedy diſbanding of the *Army*. The Houſe further order'd, That the Members of this Houſe who are of his Majeſty's privy Council, do acquaint the King with theſe Votes, and pray his Majeſty's *Anſwer*.

1670. To this the King returned an *Answer*, which was read in the Houſe of Commons the next day; it contained, 'That the French King 'hath made ſuch Offers of a Ceſſation till the '27th of *July*, as his Majeſty doth not only 'believe will be accepted, but will end in a 'General Peace; yet ſince that is not certain, 'he does not think it prudent to diſmiſs either 'Fleet or Army before that time, nor doth he 'think it will add much to the charge, in re'gard the raiſing Money, and paying them off, 'would take up that time, were they to be 'disbanded as ſpeedily as poſſibly: In the mean 'time he deſires Money for their ſubſiſtence, 'that as hitherto they have been the moſt or'derly *Army* that ever came together, they may 'be encourag'd to continue ſo; and concludes 'with reminding the Houſe of the 200000 *l.* 'formerly mention'd in his *Speech*, which he 'wants for his Houſhold.

The next day of ſitting, being *Thurſday* the 30th of *May*, the Commons vote unanimouſly, That all Forces rais'd ſince the 29th of *September* laſt (except thoſe tranſported to Foreign Plantations) be forthwith paid off and disband'ed, and that they conſider of a Supply for that purpoſe.

The laſt of *May*, being the firſt day of *Trinity Term*, Sir *William Scroggs*, at that time Puiſne Judge, in the *Common Pleas*, took his place in the *Kings-Bench*, as Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, on the removal of Sir *Richard Rainsford*, who reſigned a few days before; and was ſucceeded in the Common-Pleas by Baron *Bartu*, and Serjeant *Bramſton* promoted to his place in the Exchequer.

June 4th the Commons vote 200000 *l.* to be raiſed by a Monthly Tax, in ſix Months, after the Land-Tax now in being be expired; with a Clauſe, That this be for the disbanding of the Army, by the end of this preſent *June*. The next day they voted the King 200000 *l.* more, towards the defraying the Expences of the Fleet. Soon after which, the King ſent them a Meſſage by one of the Secretaries of State, containing, 'That his Mind was ſtill 'the ſame with what he deliver'd the 23d of 'May laſt, That the Army and Fleet ought to 'be kept up till the expected Peace be conclu'ded: He alſo recommended to their Conſide'ration, whether it were not diſhonourable for 'him to recal his Forces in *Flanders* from thoſe 'Towns which he had taken into his protecti'on, before they could provide themſelves of 'other Succours? Hereupon they extend the time (as to the Forces in *Flanders*) to the 27th of *July*.

The *Tueſday* following the King ſent for the Commons up to the Lords Houſe, and told 'em in a long Speech, 'That the ſeaſon requiring 'a Receſs by the middle of next Month at far'theſt, it is convenient that we part fairly, and 'with a perfect confidence of one another: 'Therefore he opens his Heart freely to them 'in ſome particulars of neareſt concern, more 'eſpecially as to the Peace of *Spain* and *Hol'land*, in which Peace *his part* will be not only 'that of a Mediator, but alſo to give his War'ranty in it: That *Spain* writes word, that un'leſs *England* bears the charge of maintaining 'Flanders, even after the Peace, they will not 'be in a Condition to ſupport it long; That 'to this end it is neceſſary not only to keep up 'our Navy at Sea, but to give the World 'ſome aſſurance of being well united at home; 'That tho' the Houſe of Commons may think 'ſuch a Peace as ill a Bargain as a War, becauſe 'it will coſt them Money, yet if they ſeriouſly 'conſider that otherwiſe *Flanders* had been loſt, 'perhaps by this time, he believes they will 'give much greater Sums than this will coſt, 'rather than the ſingle Town of *Oſtend* ſhould 'be in the *French* hands, and 40 of their Men 'of War in ſo good a Haven over againſt the 'River's Mouth; That we cannot but be plea'ſed to underſtand the Reputation we have 'gain'd abroad, by having in 40 days raiſed 'an Army of 30000 Men, and prepar'd a 'Navy of 90 Ships; Therefore if they de'ſire to keep up the Honour of the Crown at 'home, and look to the ſafety of the Balance 'of Affairs abroad, and purſue the War of 'Algiers; if they deſire he ſhould paſs any part 'of his Life in quiet, and all the reſt in confi'dence and kindneſs with them and other fu'ture Parliaments; if ſo, that they muſt find 'a way not only to ſettle for his Life his Re'venue as at *Chriſtmas* laſt, but alſo to add a 'new Fund of 300000 *l. per annum*, upon 'which he will paſs an Act to ſettle 50000 *l.* 'upon the Navy and Ordnance; and ſhall be 'alſo always ready to conſent to all ſuch Laws 'as they ſhall propoſe for the good of the Na'tion: Then he reminds 'em to enable him to 'keep his word with the Prince of *Orange*, in 'the payment of his Neice's Portion, which is '40000 *l.* the firſt payment being now due 'and demanded by him.

This Speech being ended, the Commons returned back, and Voted his Majeſty the Thanks of the Houſe for his gracious Expreſſions in his Speech.

Monday the 25th of *July* the Parliament was prorogued to the firſt of *Auguſt*, the King having then paſs'd the following Bills: 1. *An Act for granting a Supply to His Majeſty of* 619388 *l.* 11 *s.* 9 *d. for Diſbanding the Army, and other Uſes therein mentioned.* 2. *An Act for granting an Additional Duty to his Majeſty upon Wines for Three Years.* 3. *An Act to enable Creditors to recover their Debts of the Executors and Adminiſtrators of Executors in their own wrong.* 4. *An Act for Burying in Woollen.* 5. *An Act for admeaſurement of Keels and Boats carrying Coals.* 6. *An Act for Reviving a former Act of the* 13*th of this King*, ch. 2. *for avoiding unneceſſary Suits and Delays, and for continuance of another Act of* 22 & 23 Car. II. ch. 10. *touching Inteſtates Eſtates.* 7. *An Act for further Relief and Diſcharge of poor Priſoners for Debt.* 8. *An Act touching Highways.* 9. *An Act for preſervation of Fiſhing in the River* Severn.

But the Parliament continued under ſeveral Prorogations till the 21ſt of *October*.

And here it will not be amiſs to take a ſhort view of our Neighbors Affairs, eſpecially in relation to the Congreſs of *Nimeguen*, in order to the General Peace, in which we bore no ſmall part. The *French King*, notwithſtanding the

the Ceſſation of Arms, ſtill endeavours to enlarge his Conqueſts in *Flanders*, and to poſſeſs himſelf of ſeveral ſtrong Towns. But to prevent him, the Prince of *Orange* had march'd his Army to the Relief of *Mons*, at this time block'd up by the *French King*'s General, the Duke of *Luxemburg*. His Highneſs, accompanied with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Oſſory*, advanc'd near the Enemy's Camp at St. *Denys*, making a fierce Attack, and after a briſk Diſpute, forced the *French* (though very advantageouſly poſted) to diſlodge, and poſſeſſing himſelf of their Ground, compell'd 'em to fly in great diſorder to their main Body. The Duke of *Luxemburg*, notwithſtanding he had upon the firſt approach (on preſumption that he lay encamp'd in a place which was impregnable) laugh'd at and derided the vain Attempt, as he imagin'd, of forcing his Camp, yet in ſpight of many Diſadvantages from an Army drawn ſo ſuddenly together, ſo haſty a March as that of the *Dutch*, and Poſts taken with ſo much Skill, and fortified with ſo much Induſtry by the *French*, as was believed, the Prince upon the 14th of *Auguſt* attack'd them with a Reſolution and Vigor that at firſt ſurpriz'd 'em, and after an obſtinate and bloody Fight ſo diſorder'd them, that tho' the Night prevented the End of the Action, yet it was generally concluded, that if he had been at liberty next day to purſue it with Seven or Eight Thouſand *Engliſh* that were ready to joyn his Army, he muſt in all appearance not only have reliev'd *Mons*, but made ſuch an impreſſion into *France* as had been often deſign'd, but never attempted ſince the War began. But the morning after the Battel, the Prince receiv'd from the *States* an Advice of the Peace having been ſign'd at *Nimeguen*; and thereupon immediately ſent a Deputy with the News of it to Monſieur *Luxemburg*. 'Tis certain, that the Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory, nor with greater Spight, to ſee ſuch a mighty Occaſion arreſted out of his Hand by the ſudden and unexpected Signing of the Peace, which he had aſſur'd the *States* would not have conſented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the certain News of it he return'd to the *Hague*, and left the *States* to purſue their own meaſures, our Court not only taking no part, but diſowning to have had any ſhare in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*.

However, the *States* having thus concluded a ſeparate Peace, and glad they were got out of a War that ruin'd their Trade, and drain'd their Money, did what lay in their power to promote a General Peace. And tho' the King of *England* was offer'd by ſeveral of the Allies to be Arbiter as well as Mediator in the preſent Differences, and was known by them all to have it in his power to enjoyn what Terms he pleas'd upon *France*, and balance the whole Treaty, yet choſe only to perform the Offices of a bare Mediation, and to avoid the Parties ſubmitting their Differences to his determination.

But now the Miniſters of the Confederates, eſpecially thoſe of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, employ'd their utmoſt Vigor to prevent the *Spaniards* agreeing to their part of the Peace, which the *Dutch* had accepted for them, ſaying, That what was left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* by thoſe Terms, was indefenſible, and could only ſerve to exhauſt their Strength and Treaſure to no purpoſe; the Deſign of *France* herein being only to break this preſent Confederacy by the ſeparate Treatiſe, and ſo leave the *Spaniards* abandon'd by their Allies upon the next Invaſion. Nay, *Holland* remain'd yet doubtful, whether they ſhould ratify what their Ambaſſadors had done, till the Treaty with *Spain* ſhould be concluded; the *Spaniards* at the ſame time being irreſolute whether they ſhould accept the Peace mediated by the *Dutch*, and the *Emperor* being for carrying on the War; altho the *French* at that time retir'd with their Army from before *Mons*, and ſeem'd to perſue the Peace with great eagerneſs. 1678.

But whilſt there were ſeveral Wiſhes and Conjectures upon this Conjuncture, Mr. *Hyde* arriv'd at the *Hague* from the King of *England*, to acquaint the *States* how much he was ſurpriz'd at the News of their *Ambaſſadors* having Sign'd a particular Treaty with the *France*, without including *Spain*, and without any Guaranty given for the Evacuation of the Towns, within the time requiſite; as alſo complaining of the new Pretenſions the *French* had at the ſame time advanc'd; and that therefore for theſe Reaſons, he believed the late Treaty in *July*, between His Majeſty and the *States* ought to take effect, the Caſe being fallen out, againſt which that was provided, and both Parties being thereby obliged to enter joyntly into the War againſt *France*. That if the *States* would hereupon refuſe to ratify the Treaty their Miniſters had ſign'd at *Nimeguen*, His Majeſty offer'd immediately to declare War againſt *France* in all Points according to the ſaid Treaty.

All the while theſe Matters were in Motion at the *Hague*, the King's Forces were every day tranſporting in *Flanders*, as if the War were to be carried on with the greateſt Certainty and Vigour; which gave Encouragement to thoſe in *Holland* that diſliked the Peace, and rais'd ſuch confidence in the *Spaniards*, that they form'd all the Difficulties and Delays they could with the Confederate Miniſters at *Nimeguen*, for retarding the Treaty there between that Crown and *France*, upon ſecurity that *Holland* would not ratify theirs till that of *Spain* were agreed to; and that in the mean time they might be drawn into the War by the violent Diſpoſitions which now appear'd in *England*, as well as in the Confederates to continue it.

But *France* thought the Conjuncture too Important to let it hover long in ſuch Uncertainties, and therefore diſpatch'd an Expreſs to their *Ambaſſadors*, with power to remit all the Differences, which obſtructed the Concluſion of the Treaty between them and *Spain*, to the Arbitrage of the *States* themſelves.

This procedure gain'd ſomuch Confidence towards the *States*, and appear'd ſuch a Teſtimony of the *French King*'s Sincerity in the late Advances he had made toward a Peace, that it had all the Effect deſign'd by it; and the

1678. Treaties between *France* and *Spain*, were sign'd by the 10th of *September*. Whereupon the *Dutch* Ratifications were exchang'd with the usual Form.

Denmark and *Brandenburg* were not yet come in; and the *Emperor* tho' inclin'd to a General Peace, yet seem'd unwilling to suffer the Terms of it to be impos'd on him.

But during this time, the *French* Troops made Incursions into the richest Parts of *Flanders*, and exacted so great Contributions, and made such Ravages where they were oppos'd, that the *Spanish Netherlands* were more ruin'd between the Signing of the Peace, and the Exchange of the Ratifications, than they had been in so much time during the whole Course of the War.

The great Calamities of the Subjects in *Flanders* began at length to quicken the *Spaniards* Pace; and the Embroilments of *England*, upon the Subject of the Plot, took up the Minds both of *Court* and *Parliament*, and gave 'em little leisure to think on Foreign Affairs.

After many fruitless Contests by the Imperial *Ambassadors* and others, the *Spanish* Ratifications at length arriv'd, and about the latter end of *January* 167$\frac{8}{9}$ all things were concluded, and prepar'd to be sign'd, which was effected about three days after.

The remaining part of the General Peace, *viz.* That of *Denmark*, *Brandenburg*, &c. was left to be made at the Mercy of *France*.

Thus Affairs abroad were left at present in a General Peace, and *France*, to persue what she could gain upon her Neighbours, by her pretensions of Dependencies, which she prosecuted in such rigorous Methods both against the *Emperor* and *Spain*, as render'd her Acquisitions after a Peace greater, at least in consequence, than what she had gain'd by the War; since not only great Tracts of Country, upon the Account of Dependencies, but *Strasburg* and *Luxemburg* fell as Sacrifices to her Ambition, without any Neighbouring *Prince* or *State* concerning themselves in their Relief.

And now let us return to *England*, where the Cloud seem'd to gather, and Contrary Winds presag'd such a Storm, as might endanger the Ship whatsoever hand were at Helm.

On *Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Monday* and *Tuesday*, the 28th 29th and 30th of *September* and 1st of *October* 1678. the Privy-Council sate twice a Day, The business a *Popish Plot* discover'd by one *Titus Oats*, who had been educated at *Cambridge*, and admitted into Orders in the *Church* of *England*; but afterwards was (seemingly at least) reconcil'd to the *Church* of *Rome*, who going to St. *Omers*, was entred into the *English College* there, and afterwards being sent into *Spain*, ingratiated himself with the *Jesuits* and *Priests* in those Parts with a Design (as he alledg'd) to discover what they were *Plotting* against *England*: And returning about this time, inform'd the *King* of a *Plot* carrying on by the *Jesuits* and others of the *Roman-Catholick Religion*, against his Person and Life, the *Protestant-Religion* and the *Government* of the *Kingdom*. And to gain the better Credit, he nam'd divers Persons of Quality ingag'd in the Design; and what Instruments had been provided for his Assassination; affirming, That when he was once taken off, the remaining part of the Work was to be carried on by Arms, Foreign Assistance, and such other Expedients as they should judge necessary for the Success of their Enterprize. Hereupon several were examin'd and committed, *viz.* Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Physician; Mr. *Coleman*, the Dutchess of *York*'s Secretary; Mr. *Langhorn*, of the *Inner-Temple*; *Thomas Whitebread*, Provincial of the Jesuits in *England*, *John Gaven*, *Anthony Turner*, *William Ireland*, *William Marshal*, *William Rumly*, *James Corker*, *Thomas Pickering*, Jesuits, Popish Priests and Monks, with divers others.

This Discovery of a Plot opening every day more and more, the aforesaid Mr. *Coleman* and Mr. *Langhorn* were committed close Prisoners, with several others, their Studies search'd, their Papers seiz'd and sent to *White-hall*.

And for the better corroborating the said *Oats*'s Testimony, there came in afterwards divers other Witnesses, *viz. William Bedloe*, formerly Servant to the Lord *Bellasis*, but afterwards imploy'd in carrying Letters beyond the *Seas* for the *Jesuits*; *Stephen Dugdale*, who had been Servant to the Lord *Aston*; one *Smith*, who had been a *Romish Priest*; *Thomas Dangerfield*, *Miles Prance* and several others.

On the appointed 21st of *October*, the Houses met: The Kings Speech contain'd these words only, concerning the Plot.——'I have been 'informed of a Design against my Person by 'Jesuites of which I shall forbear any Opi'nion, lest I may seem to say too much, or 'too little, but leave the matter to the Law —— The Chancellor on the same Head had these Expressions. —— 'And tho' His Majesty doth 'in no sort prejudg the Persons accused, yet 'the strict enquiry into this matter, hath been 'a means to Discover so many other unwar'rantable Practices of theirs, that His Majesty 'hath reason to look to 'em. The Examination of this Plot, and the concurrent Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* employ'd the Commons so assiduously, that towards the beginning of this Session they sate whole Days, from Morning till late at Night. The Product was a Fast Voted; the minutes and Votes of the House of Commons forbid to be divulg'd; several Lords Committed, *Bellasis*, *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Powis*, *Stafford*, *Petre*, *Castlemain*, &c. Soon after this, came out a Proclamation, appointing a Fast through all *England*, on the 13th Day of *November*. *Thursday* the 31st of *October*, the House of Commons resolved, upon the Evidence that hath already appear'd to this House, this House is of Opinion, 'That 'there hath been and is an Execrable and 'Hellish Design contrived and carry'd on by Po'pish Recusants for Assassinating and Murther'ing the King, for Subverting the Government, 'and for destroying the Protstant Religion by 'Law Established.

The

The next day, in pursuance of an Address presented to the King by the Commons the *Saturday* before, came out a Proclamation, whereby all *Papists*, or such reputed, be banish'd ten miles from *London* and *Westminster*, to remove themselves by the 7th day of *November*, except Housholders, and they to take the Oaths or suffer the Penalties inflicted by Law. The same day the Commons in Parliament resolv'd, That an Address be made to the King, That the Trained-Bands of *London*, *Westminster*, and *Surrey*, be rais'd for preservation of his Majesty's Person, and the Parliament, during this Session.

On *Monday* the 4th of *November* came out an Order of the King in Council, proposing, That whoever can discover any Officer or Soldier in any of the King's Guards, Horse or Foot, who has taken the Oaths and Test, and since turn'd Papist, such Discoverer shall have 20*l.* for every man so discovered.

Monday the 4th of *November* it was moved in the House of Commons, That an Address be made to the King, to remove the Duke of *York* from his Presence and Councils; but the Debate was adjourn'd over to *Friday* following, at which time it being again moved, the Debate was again adjourn'd over to *Thursday* following. The next day, being *Saturday* the 9th of *November*, his Majesty went to the Lord's House in his Robes, and made a Speech to both Houses, wherein after he had return'd them his most hearty Thanks for their very great and extraordinary Care for preservation of his Person in this time of Danger, he told them, *That he was as ready to joyn with them in all ways and means that may establish a firm Security to the Protestant Religion as their own Hearts can wish; and this not only during his Life, but in future Ages even to the end of the World: And therefore he is come to assure 'em, that whatsoever reasonable Bills they shall present to be pass'd into Laws to make 'em safe in the Reign of his Successor, so as they intend not to impeach the Right of Succession, nor the Descent of the Crown in the true Line; and also as they restrain not any Power or just Right of his Protestant Successor, such Bills shall find from him a ready Concurrence.*

Monday the 18th of *November*, the House of Commons being inform'd, that Sir *Joseph Williamson* Secretary of State, had lately Countersigned several Commissions for Roman Recusant Officers, with a *Non Obstante* to the Oaths and Test, he was by the said House committed to the *Tower*. The next day the King sent for the Commons to attend him at the *Banquetting-House*, and told 'em, That *tho' they Committed his Servant without acquainting him, yet he intends to be freer with them, and acquaint them with His Intentions to release his Secretary*: which accordingly he did that day.

In the mean time *Oats* (the great Discoverer of the Plot) accuses the Queen; hereupon the King places a stricter Guard upon him than ever; but the Commons, *Novemb.* 29. order an Address to be made to his Majesty, That the said *Oats* be freed from his Restraint, attended by his own Servants, and that a competent Allowance be appointed for his Maintenance; and that the Queen, with all her Servants, and all Popish Recusants, or such suspected, be removed from *Whitehall*. 1678.

Saturday, *Novemb.* 30. the King had two Bills presented to him; one of which, viz. for Exclusion of all Popish Members to sit in either House of Parliament (with a Clause in favour of the Duke of *York*) he pass'd: The other, which was for raising a third part of the Militia, to be in constant Arms for a time, he refused; alledging, That that were to put the Militia out of his Power, which thing he would not do, no not for one hour: but if the Parliament will assist him with Money for that purpose, he will take care to raise such a part of the Militia, as shall secure the Peace of the Government, and his own Person.

On the 27th of *November* Mr. *Coleman* was arraigned and tryed at the aforesaid Bar, and condemned of High Treason. The Evidence was the aforemention'd *Oats*, and one *Bedloe*, and his own Letters; but the Tryal being in print, I shall take no farther notice of particulars. The King gave back all Mr. *Coleman*'s Estate to his Wife and Children, and his Quarters to be buried.

Thursday, *Decemb.* 4th, the Commons Impeach'd the Lords *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Bellasis*, *Powis*, *Petre*, and *Stafford*, of Treason and other high Crimes and Misdemeanors, severally; which several Impeachments were carried up by five several Members of the House of Commons. Two days before the said Lords had been found guilty upon special Indictments to the same purpose by the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, before special Commissioners sitting at *Westminster*; but now for some Reasons those Proceedings were waved, and it was thought more effectual to proceed by way of Impeachment before the House of Lords in Parliament.

Tuesday, *December* the 17th, *Ireland*, *Pickering*, and *Graves* were condemn'd of High Treason, as Conspirators in the Plot, but their Execution was respited for some time. At the same time *Whitebread* and *Fenwick* were arraign'd, but their Tryal put off till the 15th of *January*.

In the mean time the Parliament sit incessantly, without Adjournment these Holidays, but only for *Christmas Eve* and *Christmas-Day*; requiring a full appearance of all their Members not disabled, as well Lords as Commons; enjoyning all in Town not to depart under strict Penalties, and sending their Messengers for all absent in the Country.

But it pleas'd the King, on *Monday* the 30th of *December*, to prorogue both Houses till the 4th of *February* following.

During this Interval the Reports were various touching the next sitting; it being sometimes affirmed, that the Session was further prorogued till the 25. of *February*; then again, That the *Parliament* would certainly meet at the 4th of *February*, the day first appointed; till at last on the 24th day of *January*, the King was pleas'd to settle the variety of Rumor, and by his *Proclamation* then publish'd, absolutely to Dissolve this *Parliament*, promising however to issue out his Writs for a New one, by the 6th of *March* next following.

Thus

Thus ended this *Parliament*, having now been continued by ſeveral Prorogations and Adjournments 17 Years, 8 Months, and 17 days, being firſt called on the 8th day of *May*, *Ann. Dom.* 1661.

1679. In further proſecution of thoſe matters diſcover'd the laſt year, *Green* the Cuſhion-man at *Somerſet-houſe* Chappel, *Berry* the Queen's Porter there, and *Hill* Dr. *Godden*'s Man, were on the 10th day of *February* tryed at the *Kings Beneh Bar* for the Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*; which three being convicted chiefly on the Evidence of *Miles Prance*, a Goldſmith, were found guilty, and having on the next day received ſentence of Condemnation to be hang'd for the ſaid Murder, *Green* and *Hill* were executed accordingly at *Tyburn*, *Feb.* 21. but *Berry* was repriev'd for a week longer, all three denying the Fact in as poſitive terms as could be: the laſt dying a *Proteſtant*, of which Perſwaſion he had formerly been before he enter'd into the Queen's Service.

About this time Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* ſurrender'd his Office of *Secretary of State*, to the Earl of *Sunderland*.

On the 28th of *February* 1678, the King directed the following Letter to the Duke of *York*:

I Have already given you my Reſolves at large, why I think it fit that you ſhould abſent your ſelf for ſome time beyond the Seas; As I am truly ſorry for the Occaſion, ſo may you be ſure I ſhall never deſire it longer than it will be abſolutely neceſſary for your Good and my Service: In the mean time I think it proper to give it you under my Hand, that I expect this Compliance from you, and deſire it may be as ſoon as conveniently you can. You may eaſily believe with what Trouble I write this to you, there being nothing I am more ſenſible of than the conſtant Kindneſs you have ever had for me. I hope you are as juſt to me to be aſſured, that no Abſence, nor any thing elſe, can ever change me from being truly and kindly

Yours,

C. R.

And accordingly, in purſuance of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, within few days after this, the Duke, Dutcheſs, and Family left the Kingdom, and retired for a while to the *Hague*, and from thence to *Bruſſels*.

The Parliament, which had been called according to the King's Promiſe on the Diſſolution of the laſt, meet at the appointed ſixth day of *March*. The King's Speech contained, *That in order to the uniting the Minds of his Subjects both to himſelf and to one another, he had excluded the Popiſh Lords from their Seats in Parliament; cauſed the Execution of ſeveral Men, both for the Plot and Murder of Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey; *diſbanded as much of the Army as he could get Money to do; Above all, That he hath commanded his Brother to abſent himſelf, that ſo all Colour may be taken from malicious Men, of pretending any influence of Popiſh Councils; That he propoſes by this means to ſee whether the Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom be as truly aimed at by others, as they are really intended by him; if ſo, they (the Members of Parliament) will lay aſide all private Animoſities, and employ their time upon the great Concerns of the Nation; That he will not ceaſe to make further ſearch into the Plot and the Murder of Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey, *for which he deſires the aſſiſtance of both Houſes; That he has order'd the Penal Laws to be executed againſt Papiſts; Deſires their Aſſiſtance in raiſing Supplies for diſbanding the Army, and paying off the Fleet; and that they would ſome way make up the loſs he has ſuſtain'd by the Prohibition of* French *Wines and Brandy, which turns only to his prejudice, and the great advantage of the* French; *That it is neceſſary to have a Fleet at Sea, ſince our Neighbours are making Naval Preparations; That a Conſtant Eſtabliſhment might be made for the Navy; And concludes with his earneſt Deſires to have this a Healing Parliament, aſſuring them to defend with his Life the Proteſtant Religion and the Laws of the Kingdom, and expects to be by them defended from the Calumny as well as Danger of thoſe worſt of Men, who endeavour to render both him and his Government odious to his People.*

The Chancellor's Speech did enlarge on the former Heads, reminding the two Houſes, as to the Plot, not to over-do their Buſineſs, and that by being too far tranſported with the Fears of *Popery*, they do not neglect the Opportunities of making ſober and laſting Proviſions againſt it, which (ſays he) are the only Hopes of the *Papiſts*, thus to ſee our Zeal out-run our Diſcretion, and that we our ſelves ſhould become the unhappy occaſion of making our own Councils abortive. P. 12. P. 14.

After this the Commons draw up an Addreſs to the King for a Faſt, in which alſo the Lords concur; and a Faſt was appointed by Proclamation dated *Mar.* 28, to be obſerv'd throughout the Nation on the 11th of *April* following.

On the 15th of *April* the Earl of *Danby*, being under the Diſpleaſure of the Commons, render'd himſelf to the Uſher of the Black Rod, and was committed by the Houſe of Lords to the *Tower*.

On the 16th of *April*, four of the five Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, who had been on the 9th Inſtant impeach'd, gave in their Anſwers in perſon, *viz. Powis*, *Stafford*, *Petre*, and *Arundel*; but the Lord *Bellaſis*, being diſabl'd by the Gout, had his Anſwer receiv'd in Writing.

On the 20th of *April*, the King was pleas'd to declare to his *Privy Council* his Pleaſure to diſſolve them, and to conſtitute a new one, which for the future ſhould conſiſt of the conſtant number of 30 Members, of which 15 to be

be certain, *viz.* 1. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 2. Bishop of *London*. 3. Lord Chancellor. 4. One of the Chief Justices. 5. The Admiral. 6. Master of the Ordnance. 7. Treasurer. 8. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. 9. Privy Seal. 10. Master of the Horse. 11. Lord Steward. 12. Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold. 13. Groom of the Stool. And the two Secretaries. The other 15 elective at the Kings pleasure, 10 out of the Nobility, and 5 Commoners. Besides these, such Princes of the Blood as shall be at Court; A Lord President, and a Secretary of *Scotland*, but these uncertain. And according to this new Model, so many of them as were in Court did the next morning, being *April* 21st, meet in the Council Chamber, and were there Sworn Privy-Councellors. The same day his Majesty was pleased to acquaint the two Houses with what he had done, and that He was resolved in all His weighty and important Affairs, next to his great Council in Parliament, to be advised by this Privy Council.

About this time it was that the Bishops of *Ely*, *Gloucester*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, were accused for *Papists*; but the Accusation quickly fell, it being discovered to be a malicious contrivance to blast their Reputation, and fix a Scandal on the whole Order.

On the 25th of *April* the Earl of *Danby*, and the Lord *Bellasis* appear'd in Person at the Bar of the Lords House; tho the Earl putting in his Plea, and the Lord *Bellasis* his Answer. The next day the Lords *Stafford*, *Arundel*, and *Powis*, appear'd at the same Bar, and having retracted their former Pleas to their Impeachments (which appeared insufficient to the House of Commons) put in their further Answers to the same.

After this, on the last day of *April* His Majesty was pleased to send for the Commons, to attend Him in the House of Lords, and acquaint 'em by the mouth of the Lord Chancellor, 'That he was ready to agree to any 'Laws to secure Religion, so the Discent of 'the Crown in the Right Line be not defeated, 'and therefore he is willing that a Provision 'be made, First to distinguish a *Papist* from a 'Protestant Successor, then to limit the Author'rity of the First in these particulars, *viz.* that 'all Church preferment may be confer'd on 'Pious and Learned Protestants; That there 'may not want a Parliament on the Kings 'Death, but that the Parliament then in being, 'or the last that sate, should at such time 'reassemble without any new Summons or 'Election; That during the Reign of any 'Popish Successor, no Privy Counciller, no 'Judge at the Common Law, or in Chancery, shall be put in, or displaced but by Au'thority of *Parliament*; That none but *Pro'testants* be Justices of Peace; so also for 'Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Leiutenants and 'Officers in the Navy, not to be put in or re'moved but by Authority of Parliament; 'concluding that it is hard to invent any o'ther restraint to be put on a Popish Succes'sor; yet if any thing else can occur to the 'Wisdom of the Parliament whereby to se'cure Religion, and Liberty, without defeat- 1679.
'ing the Right of Succession it self, that His 'Majesty is most ready to consent to it.

After the Consideration of this Speech had been Adjorn'd over from time to time; 'It 'was at last Resolved on the 11th of *May* 'in the House of Commons in defence of 'the Kings Person and the Protestant Reli'gion, that they will stand by His Majesty 'with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if 'His Majesty should come by any violent 'Death (which God forbid) that they will 'revenge it to the utmost upon the *Papists*. And according to this Vote they drew up an Address on the 14th, with this varation in the form of Words, *viz.* 'We shall be ready 'to Revenge upon the *Papists*, any violence of'fered [by them] to your Sacred Majesty.

Further then this they took no notice of the Kings Resolution expresst in the said Speech; but contrary to that Clause which related to the Succession, on the 15th of *May*, they brought in a Bill to Disable the Duke of *York* to Inherit the Imperial Crown of *England*, which being Read the first time on the said 15th of *May*, was on the 21st read again and Commited to a Committee of the whole House; yet the House divided on the Question. *Yeas* 207. *Noes* 128. But the Parliament being soon after Prorogued, it proceeded no further, at that time.

On the 6th of *May* it was ordered in the House of Lords, that *Saturday* next be appointed for the Earl of *Danby*'s Plea to be argued, and that the five Lords in the *Tower* be tryed this Day Sennight: With which Orders they acquainted the Commons the next Day, and that their Lordships had appointed an Address to be made to His Majesty to appoint a Lord Steward for the said Tryals. The Commons well satisfied with these proceedings, desire that a Committee of both Houses may be nominated to consider of the most proper ways and methods of proceeding upon Impeachments, according to the usage of *Parliaments*. But the Lords refused to agree to the Proposal as inconformable to the Rules and Orders of proceedings of their House, which is and ever must be render in matters relating to their Judicature. Upon this Answer the Commons resolve (*May* 9.) That no Commoner whatsoever presume to maintain the validity of the Pardon pleaded by the Earl of *Danby*, without the leave of this House first had; and that the Persons so doing shall be acounted Betrayers of the Liberties of the Commons of *England*. After this it seems that the Lords did recede from their former resolution, for on the 11th of *May*, they acquainted the Commons by Message, That they had appointed a Committee consisting of Twelve Lords, to joyn with a Committee of the House of Commons to consider of propositions and circumstances in relation to the aforesaid Tryals.

Which joint Committee of both Houses meeting, they disagreed about the Bishops being present at the Tryals. For the Lords having resolved in their House, That the Lords Spiritual have right to stay in Court in Capital

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But this did not satisfie the House of Commons; who on the 24th of *May* Resolve that they cannot proceed to the Tryal of the Five Lords before Judgment be given on the Earl of *Danby*'s Pardon, and in the point of the Bishops Voting in Capital Offences. For which they drew up Reasons, and the 26th of *May* delivered the same to the Lords at a Conference: which being very large, and in print, I shall here omit.

And in this posture did the Publick Transactions in Parliament appear on the 27th day of *May*, at which time it pleas'd His Majesty to Prorogue both Houses until the 14th day of *August* next.

About this time the King was pleased to remove Sir *John Robinson* from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and confer the Place on Captain *Cheek*.

The Troubles in *Scotland*, which broke out in this Month, gave occasion of much discourse, and no little alarm in *England*. They begun in the Barbarous Murder of Dr. *Sharp* Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, on the 3d of *May*, as he was travelling from *Edenburgh* to his own Residency. But the *Assassins* stop not at Murder, for soon after this they gather into a Body in the Western parts of *Scotland*, and fall into open Rebellion and Treason; on the 29th, a Party of the Rebles well mounted and armed, came to *Rugland*, proclaim the *Covenant*, and burnt the following Acts of Parliament, *viz.* 'The Act concerning the Kings Supremacy. The Rescissory Act (by which all the Mock-Laws, made in the times of the late Anarchy, were repeal'd.) 'The Act for establishing 'Episcopacy: And the Act appointing the 'Anniversary of the 29th of *May*. They also publisht an Insolent Declaration full of Treason; their Army increased daily to such a considerable number, that the King Commissioned the Duke of *Monmouth* as *Generalissimo* to suppress the Insurrection, which not long after, with the assistance of the Loyal Gentry and Heretors of that Nation, he hid in one Battle; killing some, and taking several Hundreds of Prisoners; of which some few being hang'd, especially those who were more immediately concern'd in the Archbishops Murder, the rest were Transported.

But to return to *London*. On the 13th of *June*, *Thomas White*, alias *Whitebread*, Provincial of the Jesuits in *England*, *William Harcourt*, *John Fenwick*, *John Gaven*, and *Anthony Turner*, all Jesuits, were Tryed at the *Old-Baily*, and found Guilty of High Treason as Conspirators in the late Plot; The next Day *Richard Langhorn* Esq; a Barister of the *Inner-Temple*, was Tryed at the same Bar for the same Crime, and being also found Guilty, all six had Sentence of Condemnation, and were accordingly Executed, the five Jesuits on *Fryday* the 20th of *June*, and Mr. *Langhorn* on the 14th of *July* following; All departing this Life with the greatest Protestations of Innocence, as to the Crimes Objected, as could be possibly expressed.

But now arrives the 10th of *July*, on which Day the King was pleas'd to Dissolve the present Parliament by Proclamation, with a Declaration, of His Intention to call another on the 17th of *October* following.

On the 18th of *July* Sir *George Wakeman* Baronet, the Queens Physician, *William Marshal*, *William Rumley*, and *James Corker*, Benedictin Monks, were Tryed for High Treason relating to the late Plot; the Evidence, *Oates*, *Bedloe*, and others; But the Jury found 'em not Guilty, and they were discharged.

In *August*, the King fell dangerously ill at *Windsor*, upon the Intelligence of which his Royal Highness came over Post to his Majesty; But it pleas'd God that the King recovering His Health, to the great Joy of the Nation; the Lord Mayor of *London*, with the Court of Aldermen, and a Train of 30 Coaches, and about 100 Horsemen, went on *Monday* the 15th of *September* to *Windsor* to Congratulate his Majesty's Recovery. On the *Wednesday* following the King, attended by his Royal Highness and the whole Court, return'd to *White-hall*; that Night by the Lord Mayors express Order there were Bonfires throughout the whole City for his Majesty's return, as well to his former Health, as place of Residency. But it seems the Duke of *Monmouth* having contracted the Kings Displeasure, on some account or other, not commonly known, His Majesty was pleas'd to take from him his Commission of Captain General, and for a time expel him the Kingdom; soon after this the said Duke went over to *Utrecht*, and at the same time his Royal Highness return'd to *Brussels*; But this last, it seems, without designs of any long stay there, for on *Sunday* Night the 12th of *October*, his said Royal Highness, the Dutchess, and Family, arrived at St. *James's* to the surprize of some, and Joy of others.

The King having call'd a New Parliament, as he had formerly promised on the Dissolution of the last, to meet on the 17th of *October*, He was now further pleas'd to Prorogue it from the time appointed, to the 26th of *January* following.

Much discourse there was at this time, and many Narratives came out daily concerning the Discovery of a New Plot which the Papists (as was said) had contrived to lay on the *Presbyterians*. The chief Discoverer was one *Dangerfield* alias *Willoughby*; Several were accused, and laid up as Conspirators; among whom, the Countess of *Powis*, Mrs *Celier*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, and Mr. *Gadbury*.

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On *Thursday* the 27th of *November*, the Duke of *Monmouth* arrived in the night time at *London*, at whose return the Citizens expreſs'd a mighty Joy by Bonfires, Fireworks, and Ringing of Bells all the next day, and moſt part of the night.

In the mean time his Royal Highneſs, with his Dutcheſs and Daughter, attended with a Guard and Retinue ſuitable to their Quality, made a Journey into *Scotland*; where being arriv'd, the Duke was at *Edenborough* on the 4th of *December*, receiv'd and complemented by the *Privy Council* of that Kingdom, with abundance of Reſpect and Honour; the Lord Chancellor made a Speech in the name of all the Council, to which his Royal Highneſs anſwer'd in very affectionate terms, expreſſing his great ſatisfaction at the Civilities he had receiv'd ſince his arrival in that Kingdom; and declaring his readineſs to promote the *Honour* and *Service* of the King, and the *Intereſts* of the *Scottiſh Nation*.

About this time great Endeavours were uſed to procure a multitude of Hands to Petitions which were framing in *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and ſeveral Counties, to be preſented to the King for the ſitting of the Parliament on the 26th day of *January* next, according to the laſt Prorogation; which manner of Petitioning being held unwarrantable and tumultuous, the King was pleaſed in Council, *Decemb.* 10. to order the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to take care in their ſeveral ſtations of his Majeſty's Honour, and of the Peace and Safety of the City, and not to ſuffer ſuch Perſons that ſhould ſign ſuch Petitions, or go about to procure Hands to them, to go unpuniſh'd; but that they ſhould proceed againſt them, or cauſe them to be brought before the Council-board to be puniſh'd, according to a Reſolution of all the Judges of *England*, 2 *Jac.* (which may be ſeen, *Cro.* 2. part of *Reports*, *fol.* 37.) his Majeſty was further pleaſed to iſſue out his Proclamation dated the 12th of *December*, containing, 'That whereas he hath been inform'd 'that divers evil-diſpos'd Perſons endeavour in 'ſeveral parts of this Kingdom to frame Petitions to his Majeſty, for ſpecious ends and purpoſes relating to the Publick, and thereupon 'to collect and procure to the ſame the Hands 'and Subſcriptions of multitudes of his Majeſty's Subjects; which proceedings being contrary to the common and known Laws of this 'Land, and tending to promote Diſcontents 'among the *People*, and to raiſe Sedition and 'Rebellion, his Majeſty doth therefore ſtrictly 'Charge and Command all and every his loving Subjects, of what Rank or Degree ſoever, that they preſume not to agitate or 'promote any ſuch Subſcriptions, nor in any 'ways joyn in any petition of that manner to 'be preferred to his Majeſty, upon peril of 'the utmoſt rigour of the Law that may be inflicted for the ſame.

At the ſame time his Majeſty iſſued out another *Proclamation*, declaring his Reſolution to prorogue the *Parliament* from the 26th of *Jan.* to the 11th of *Nov.* next.

Notwithſtanding the ſcope of theſe two *Proclamations*, the buſineſs of *Petitioning* went forwards; ſeveral were perfected and delivered not long after, one from *London*, ſubſcrib'd with many Thouſands of Hands, others from *York*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Wiltſhire*; all which the King receiv'd but coldly, and, as appeared afterwards, ineffectually; for on the 26th of *January*, being the day to which the *Parliament* was prorogued, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make a ſhort Speech to both Houſes, containing, 'That when he declar'd in Council his Intention of putting off the *Parliament* to a time 'ſo remote as *November*, it was not without 'mature Conſideration; That he cannot be 'perſwaded from any thing that has happen'd 'ſince (in reference to Affairs within the Kingdom) to alter or repent of that Reſolution; 'That notwithſtanding, conſidering the preſent danger which threatens ſome of our 'Neighbours and Allies, he thinks fit to appoint 'a day for their meeting again in *April*; yet 'the Diſtractions and Jealouſies at home are of 'ſuch a nature, and ſo heightned and improv'd 'by the Malice and Induſtry of ill men, that 'he is unalterably of opinion, that a longer 'Interval of *Parliament* will be abſolutely neceſſary for compoſing and quieting of Mens 'Minds; in order to which, he is afraid the 'moſt proper Remedies would prove ineffectual 'without the aſſiſtance of ſome further time; 'He reſolves therefore, that on the ſaid meeting in *April* there ſhall be a further *Prorogation*, 'unleſs the Condition of our Allies abroad do 'then require our immediate aſſiſtance.

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Hereupon he commanded the Lord Chancellor to prorogue the *Parliament* to the 15th of *April*.

In the beginning of *Hilary Term*, Sir *Thomas Gaſcoigne*, a *Yorkſhire* Knight of 85 years of age, was arraign'd at the *King's Bench* Bar in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, upon an Information of High-Treaſon, in conſpiring the Death of the King, and the Subverſion of the Government. He was afterwards brought to his Tryal at the ſame Bar; the Jury were all *York-ſhire* Gentlemen, the Fore-man, Sir *Thomas Hodſon*; the chief Evidence againſt him one *Bathon*, who had formerly been Baily of his Colepits, and one *Mowbray*, who had alſo belonged to his Family; but their Teſtimony, it ſeems, not being of that weight or credibility with the Jury as ſome expected, they brought in their Verdict *Not Guilty*; whereupon the *Priſoner* was immediately diſcharged.

On the 31ſt of *January*, 1679, the Duke acquainted the Lords of the *Privy-Council* at *Edinburg*, 'That he had received a Letter from 'the King, calling him very ſpeedily to Court; 'That though he did very chearfully obey his 'Majeſty's Commands, and went with much 'Joy to attend him, yet he could not part from 'their Lordſhips ſo ſoon without a great deal of 'Reluctancy and Trouble, having both at his 'Reception, and during the ſhort time of his 'Abode there, met with all poſſible demonſtrations of Civility and Kindneſs, both from the 'Nobility, Gentry, and from the Repreſenta-

1689. 'tives of the ſeveral Bodies of the Nation, particularly from the Council, of which he had 'ſo juſt a reſentment, that he could not in all 'his Life forget them, and ſhould not fail upon all occaſions to meet their great Kindneſs 'and Affection ſhewn him, with all the ſervice 'he was capable to do them; That he would 'acquaint his Majeſty that he had in *Scotland* 'a brave and loyal Nobility and Gentry, a regular Privy Council, and the Judicatures fill'd 'with able perſons well affected to his Majeſty's 'Service and Intereſt; That he had obſerv'd 'the diſaffected Party were nothing ſo conſiderable as their Friends in *England* ſtudied induſtriouſly to repreſent them to be. He then 'recommended to the Council the ſetling of 'the Differences between ſeveral Gentlemen of 'the *Highlands*, whom he had always obſerv'd 'to be firm to his Majeſty's Intereſt. The Lord Chancellor, in the name of the Council, acknowledg'd the great Happineſs they had had in his Preſence, Conduct, and Advice, and declared how much devoted they all were to the Service of his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs; and that they could not expreſs the great Grief that they had to part ſo ſoon with him, to whoſe Counſel and Preſence they owe ſo many Advantages.

After this the Duke, Dutcheſs, and all their Retinue, began their Voyage by Sea for *London*, where he arrived at the Court-privy-Stairs on the 24th of *February*. There arrived at the ſame time, from the Privy Council of *Scotland*, a Letter full of Loyal Expreſſions to the King's Service, with abundance of Recommendation and Proteſtations for the Duke's Intereſt. Two days after his arrival his Royal Highneſs was attended by the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Recorder, and Common Council of the City of *London*; at which time the Recorder having in all their Names congratulated his ſafe arrival, they all kiſs'd the Hands both of the Duke and Dutcheſs.

On the 11th of *February* his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare in Council, That he had granted his Secretary *Coventry* leave to reſign his place of Secretary of State; That his intention was to continue him however of his Council; And that he had made choice of Sir *Lionel Jenkins* to ſucceed him in the place of Secretary, who was accordingly ſworn of his Privy Council that day, and took his place at the Board.

On the ninth of *March* the King iſſued out a Proclamation againſt ſuch, who under a vain pretence of *Honour*, take upon them to be the Revengers of their private Quarrels in Duels and ſingle Combat, which ought not to be upon any pretence or provocation whatſoever, ſtrictly charging and commanding all his loving Subjects, of what quality ſoever, that they do not, either by themſelves or others, by Meſſage, Word, Writing, or other ways, Challenge, or cauſe to be Challeng'd, any perſon or perſons, to fight in Combat or ſingle Duel, nor Carry, Accept, or Conceal any ſuch Challenge or Appointment, nor actually fight any ſuch Duel, or as a Second or otherwiſe accompany or be aſſiſtant therein; declaring further, That he will not grant his Pardon to any perſon whatſoever, that ſhall fight or be any way aiding or concerned in ſuch Duel, where any perſon ſhall be ſlain or dye of his Wounds receiv'd therein, but will leave all ſuch perſons to the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity of the Laws; And that he will not ſuffer or endure any perſon or perſons to be or remain at Court who ſhall preſume to intercede for any perſon or perſons offending againſt this Proclamation, ſtraitly charging and commanding, by the ſaid *Proclamation*, all perſons whatſoever, who ſhall receive or know of any Challenge ſent or deliver'd as aforeſaid, forthwith to give notice thereof to ſome of the *Privy Council*, or ſome *Juſtice of Peace* near the place, upon pain of his higheſt Diſpleaſure, and being left to the ſtricteſt Rigour and Severity of the Law.

On the 15th of *April*, being the day to which the *Parliament* was formerly prorogued, the King then abſent at *Newmarket*, my Lord Chancellor, by Commiſſion under the Great Seal, prorogued it further to the 17th of *May* following, the Duke of *York* being preſent in the Houſe. On the 17th of *May* it was further prorogued till the firſt of *July*.

And now it was that thoſe Counties which had been lately ſo active in promoting Petitions for the ſitting of the *Parliament* began to recant. The City of *Weſtminſter* was the firſt, whoſe Grand Jury, by their publick and formal Act, at their Seſſions after *Eaſter*, diſown'd the ſaid Action of promoting *Petitions*, and charg'd it on certain Factious perſons unknown to them. After this, follow'd the like Addreſſes from the Counties of *Surrey*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and *Norfolk*, which laſt mention'd County of *Norfolk* had this further Acknowledgment in their Meſſage, *viz. Their humble Thanks to his Majeſty for recalling the Duke from* Flanders.

About this time it was, that a falſe and dangerous Rumour flew abroad, and was ſpread about the Town, concerning a *Black Box* reported to be found, wherein was ſaid to be contain'd a Writing importing a Marriage or Contract between his Majeſty and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother; which Report coming to the King's Ear, he was pleas'd to ſummon the Council to meet extraordinarily on the 26th of *April*, in which he declar'd the ſaid Report to be altogether falſe, and that he thought himſelf oblig'd in Honour and Conſcience to have the matter throughly examin'd and ſearched into: In order whereunto Sir *Gilbert Gerard* (who was rumour'd to have ſeen ſome ſuch Writing) being call'd in, was examin'd in Council (his Royal Highneſs, and all the Judges of the Courts at *Weſtminſter* being preſent) touching the truth of what was reported, to which he anſwer'd upon Oath, 'That he 'never had any ſuch Writing committed to his 'Cuſtody, nor did he know of any ſuch thing, 'or had ever ſeen any ſuch Writing. To all which he alſo ſubſcribed his Name. His Majeſty declaring, he reſolved to uſe all means poſſible to find out the Author of this Report. And accordingly a Committee of Council did

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fit for a while afterwards, to ſift into the Buſineſs.

On the fifth of *May*, all the Judges of *England*, having been demanded their Opinions, made their Report in Council, and declar'd for Law, 'That his Majeſty may pro-'hibit the printing and publiſhing of all News-'books and Pamphlets of News whatſoever not 'licens'd by his Majeſty's Authority, as mani-'feſtly tending to the breach of the Peace, and 'diſturbance of the Kingdom: And accordingly the King iſſued out his Proclamation to ſuppreſs 'em, *May* 12.

On *Friday* the 21ſt of *May* was brought to the *Kings-Bench Bar*, by *Habeas Corpus*, *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, who much complaining of his long Imprisonment, was informed by the Court, 'That all the Judges had reſolved up-'on mature Conſideration, that he being im-'peach'd of Treaſon in Parliament, he could 'not be tryed out of Parliament; and for the 'ſame reaſon alſo it was out of the power of 'this Court to Bail him; That he and the other 'Lords in the Tower were not within the be-'nefit of the late Act touching *Habeas Corpus*'s; 'That the Court was ſorry they could not re-'lieve him; and that there was no way for 'him to come to his Tryal, but by the ſitting 'of the Parliament.

The 29th of *May*, being the ſolemn Anniverſary for the King's Birth and Reſtoration, paſs'd this year with the uſual Church-Service, and the Joy of Bells, but without any Bonfires at night, all Bonfires, not only on this, but any other day whatſoever, having been forbid (by order of the Privy-Council, *April* 7.) without Licence firſt obtain'd from the Council or other Magiſtrates: Such Bonfires as of late having been obſerved the occaſions of tumult and dangerous Opportunities of Sedition.

On the firſt day of *Trinity-Term* Mrs. *Celier* was try'd for High-Treaſon, at the *Kings-Bench Bar*, the Indictment run in the uſual form as againſt the reſt of the Plotters; but the chief (and indeed only) Evidence againſt her *Thomas Dangerfield*, being prov'd by Records then produc'd ſo great and infamous a Criminal, his Teſtimony was refus'd by the Court to be admitted, and chiefly in regard he ſtood outlaw'd of Felony, and Felony not being expreſt in his Pardon, ſhe was therefore found Not Guilty, and *Dangerfield* himſelf committed to Cuſtody till he could find Bail to reverſe the Outlawry, to anſwer the Felony, and for his good Behaviour: But within a few days after the ſaid *Dangerfield* producing a *Newgate Pardon*, whereby all Felonies were Pardoned, and his Name being found therein, he was diſcharg'd.

And now it was that His Majeſty, in purſuance to what he had done in *April*, and to remove all Pretences of the Diſaffected in the point of Succeſſion, publiſh'd his Declaration, proteſting on the Word of a King, and the Faith of a Chriſtian, That he was never married to Mrs. *Barlow*, alias *Waters*, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother, nor to any other Woman beſides the now Queen. Which Declaration was on the 15th of *June* in this *Trinity Term*, regiſter'd on Record in the High Court of *Chancery*, all the great Lords of the Privy Council who were preſent when his Majeſty declared and ſigned the ſame, atteſting the Action upon their Corporal Oaths in open Court. The Lord Chancellor declaring at the ſame time, That *this Declaration is not enrolled here to receive any augmentation of Repute or Force from this Court, for it cannot receive more than it hath already, but only to be preſerved here as in a Repoſitory or Regiſtry; and he doubts not but it will alſo find a more Noble Regiſtry than this, that is, the Hearts of all the Loyal Subjects of the Nation.* 1680.

On the firſt of *July*, being the day to which the Parliament had been formerly prorogued, it was further prorogued, by Commiſſion, to the 22d of the ſame Month, the Duke of *York* being preſent in the Houſe, and from thence to the 23d of *Auguſt*.

On the 23d of *Auguſt*, being the day to which the Parliament had been prorogued, the Houſes met, and were further prorogued to the 21ſt of *October* following, the King promiſing that they ſhould ſit then, and publiſhing his *Proclamation* to that purpoſe.

And now comes on the long-expected 21ſt day of *October*, and with it the firſt Seſſion of this *Parliament*, the day before which the Duke and Dutcheſs of *York* began their Journey for *Scotland* by Sea; the King accompanying them as low as *Woolwich*, and there Dining with them on Shipboard.

On the 21ſt the King's Speech contain'd, *That he had during this long Prorogation made Alliances with* Holland *and* Spain; *That he deſir'd Money of them for the Relief of* Tangier, *which had already exhauſted his Purſe; That he would not have them meddle with the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Right Line, but proceed in the Diſcovery of the Plot, and to the Tryals of the Lords*, &c. After this (the Chancellor making no ſet Speech) the Commons return'd to their own Houſe, and unanimouſly choſe for their Speaker Mr. *Williams* of *Grays-Inn*, Recorder of *Cheſter*.

On the 30th of *October* the King publiſh'd a *Proclamation*, promiſing his *Pardon* to all that within two Months ſhall come in and make any further Diſcovery of the *Plot*. And this was done upon an Addreſs of *Parliament*.

In the mean time the Commons, not ſatisfied in puniſhing their own Members who had appear'd againſt *Petitioning for the Parliament's ſitting*, they take notice of others who were without their Walls, and among the reſt Sir *George Jeffreys* becomes the Object of their Diſpleaſure; who being Recorder of *London*, the *King*'s Serjeant at Law, and Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*, is for the Crime above ſpecified, on the 13th of *November*, Voted a Betrayer of the *Rights* of the Subject, and an Addreſs order'd to be made to his Majeſty to remove him from all publick Offices. At the ſame time it was order'd, That a Committee enquire into all ſuch perſons as have been *adviſing* or *promoting* the late *Proclamation*, ſtiled, *A Proclamation againſt Tumultuous Petitioning*.

1680. But about the ſame time a matter of much greater concern was thus mannaged. On the 11th of *November*, was paſt in the Houſe of Commons a Bill entituled, 'An *Act* for ſecu-'ring the *Proteſtant Religion*, by diſabling '*James* Duke of *York* to Inherit the Imperial 'Crown of *England*, and *Ireland*, and the Ter-'ritories thereunto belonging. Which Bill was on the 15th carryed up to the Lords Houſe by my Lord *Ruſſel*, attended by almoſt all the Commons. They being departed it was read once, and being put to the Vote, whether it ſhould be read a ſecond time it was carryed in the *Affirmative*, by two Voices. On the ſecond reading it was debated till 11 a Clock at night (the King being preſent all the while) and then thrown out of the Houſe by a Majority of about 30 Votes; in which Majority were all the Biſhops then preſent, which were 14.

Soon after, *William* Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, one of the 5 *Popiſh* Lords in the *Tower*, was brought to his Tryal on an Impeachment of High Treaſon. The Tryal began in *Weſtminſter Hall* on *Tueſday* the 30th of *November*, being the next day after the Term ended. Which Impeachment, and Evidence upon the ſame, was managed by a Committee of the Commons. The Tryal laſted for a Whole Week: The Evidence againſt him were *Oates*, *Turberville*, and *Dugdale*; Of the Lords who ſate upon the Tryal (the Lord Chancellor being Lord High Steward) 31 procounced him not Guilty, and 55 Guilty. And accordingly Judgment was pronounced againſt him on *Wedneſday* the 7th of *December*. But his Execution was reſpited till *Wedneſday* 29th of *Decem.* on which day he was Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, proteſting with his laſt breath his Innocency as to thoſe Crimes of which he ſtood Condemn'd.

During theſe Tranſactions a Comet with a moſt Prodigious Stream of light appear'd in the *Weſt*; the Star from which the Blaze proceeded was but ſmall, and when firſt diſcover'd, appeared not much above the *Horizon*; but every night afterwards it appear'd higher and higher in the beginning of the Night, and conſequently ſetting later and later, its Luſtre and Magnitude alſo decaying.

An Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons was preſented to his Majeſty on the 21ſt of *December*, in anſwer to his Speech of the 15th, wherein he demanded, once more, Supplies of Mony for the defence of *Tangier*. The effect of the ſaid Addreſs, was to deny (in as modeſt Terms as could be) all Supplies of Mony for that purpoſe; unleſs his Majeſty would be pleas'd to paſs a Bill to Seclude the Duke of *York* from Inheriting the Crown, and to enable the *Proteſtants* of this Nation to Aſſociate themſelves for the ſecurity of the *Proteſtant Religion*, the Defence of the King and Kingdoms.

On the 4th of *January* his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend his Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, in Anſwer to their Addreſs of *December*, 21ſt above mention'd, in which Meſſage, He let them know, 'That he had re-'ceived their Addreſs with all the diſpoſition 'they could wiſh to comply with their reaſo-'nable Deſires; but upon peruſal of it, he 'was ſorry to ſee their thoughts ſo wholly fixt 'on the Bill of Excluſion, as to determine 'That all other remedies for the Suppreſſing of '*Popery* will be ineffectual; That his Majeſty 'is confirm'd in his Opinion againſt that Bill, by 'the Judgment of the Houſe of Lords who re-'jected it; that he thinks there remains nothing 'more for him to ſay in Anſwer to the aforeſaid 'Addreſs, than to recommend to this Houſe, the 'Conſideration of all other means for the pre-'ſervation of the *Proteſtant Religion*, to which they 'have no reaſon to doubt his concurrence, when-'ſoever they ſhall be preſented to him in a *Par-'liament* any way; and in concluſion, again, He 'urges them to the preſervation of *Tangier*.

On the *Friday* following, being the 7th of *January*, the Houſe entred upon the Conſideration of the ſaid Meſſage, and reſolve, as the Opinion of the Houſe, 'That there is no 'ſecurity or ſafety for the *Proteſtant Religion*, 'the Kings Life, or the well conſtituted and 'eſtabliſht Government of this Kingdom 'without paſſing a Bill for diſabling *James* 'Duke of *York* to inherit the Imperial Crown 'of *England*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions 'and Territories thereunto belonging; and that 'to rely upon any other means or remedies 'without ſuch a Bill, is not only inſufficient, but 'dangerous: That till ſuch a Bill be paſt, this 'Houſe cannot give any Supply to his Majeſty 'without danger to his Majeſties Perſon, Ex-'tream hazard of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and un-'faithfulneſs to thoſe by whom this Houſe is 'intruſted: That all Perſons who adviſed his 'Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage to this Houſe to 'inſiſt upon an Opinion againſt the Bill for Ex-'cluding the Duke of *York*, have given Pernici-'ous Council to his Majeſty, and are Promoters 'of *Popery*, and Enemies to the King and King-'dom: And as ſuch they name *George* Earl of *Hallifax*, *Henry* Marquiſs of *Worceſter*, *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*, againſt which, as alſo againſt *Lewis* Earl of *Feverſham*, and *Laurence Hide* Eſq; they Vote an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty to remove them from all Offices of Honour and Profit, and from his Majeſties Councils and Preſence for ever. They further Vote and Reſolve, the ſame day, 'That 'whoſoever ſhall hereafter Lend or cauſe to 'be Lent by way of advance, any Mony 'upon the Branches of the Kings Revenue 'ariſing by Cuſtoms, Exciſe, or Hearth Mony, 'ſhall be adjudg'd to hinder the ſitting of '*Parliaments*, and ſhall be reſponſible for the 'ſame in *Parliament*.

On the *Monday* following, being the 10th of *January*, the King was pleas'd to determin this Seſſion, by Proroguing the *Parliament* to the 20th day of *January* then next following; at the ſame time paſſing only Two Publick Bills, *viz.* One about *Iriſh Cattle*, and One about *Burying in Woollen*. The Houſe of Commons were it ſeems, aware of this Prorogation, and therefore that very morning the firſt thing they did, after they were ſate, and before the Uſher of the Black Rod came in,

in, they Reſolved, 'That whoſoever adviſed 'His Majeſty to Prorogue this Parliament, to 'any other purpoſe than in Order to the paſ- 'ſing of a Bill for the Excluſion of *James* 'Duke of *York*, is a Betrayer of the King, 'the *Proteſtant Religion*, and of the Kingdom 'of *England*, a Promoter of the *French* Intereſt, 'and a Penſioner to *France*.

On the 13th of *January* a Court of Common Council, being Aſſembled in *London*, they ordered to be drawn up, and Preſented to the King a Petition, ſetting forth, 'That 'whereas, the *Parliament* had convicted one 'of the 5 *Popiſh* Lords in the *Tower*, and 'were about to convict the other 4 of 'High Treaſon; That they had Impeacht 'the Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, and were about 'to Impeach other Judges, and all this in 'order to the preſervation of his Majeſties 'Life, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and *Government*, 'That they were much ſurprized to ſee the '*Parliament* Prorogued in the height of their 'buſineſs; That their only hopes were that 'this was done only in order to bring ſuch 'Affairs about again as were neceſſary to 'the Settling the Nation: They therefore 'pray'd that his Majeſty would be pleas'd to 'let the *Parliament* ſit at the day appointed, 'and ſo to continue till they had effected the 'great Affairs before them. To this effect were the Words of their Petition, which was further ordered to be delivered that night, or as ſoon as may be, by the Lord Mayor, attended with the new Recorder *George Treby* Eſq; and certain Members of the Court of Aldermen, and Common Council. But before the ſaid 20th day of *January* arrived, the King was pleaſed by his Proclamation bearing date at *White hall*, *January* 18th to diſſolve this *Parliament*, and intimate his Royal pleaſure and intentions to call another to ſit on the 21ſt of *March* following, at *Oxford*.

Not long after this, *viz.* on the 25th of *January*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and other Lords Preſented to the King a Petition, ſetting forth, 'That whereas the Nation and his Majeſties 'Perſon were in imminent danger from the '*Papiſts*, unto which no ſtop or remedy 'could be provided unleſs by a *Parliament*; 'That ſeveral *Parliaments* being call'd and aſ- 'ſembled, they were prorogued and diſſolved 'before any ſufficient order could be taken 'therein, *&c.* That his Majeſty had been pre- 'vailed with to call another at *Oxford*, where 'neither Lords or Commons can be in ſafety, 'but will be dayly expoſed to the Swords of 'the *Papiſts* and their adherents, the liberty of 'ſpeaking thereby deſtroyed, and the validi- 'ty of their Acts and proceedings left diſputa- 'ble, the ſtraightneſs of the place unfit for 'ſuch a Concourſe of perſons as now follows 'every *Parliament*, and the Witneſſes which 'are neceſſary to give Evidence upon the Com- 'mons Impeachment unable to bear the char- 'ges of ſuch a Journey, and unwilling to truſt 'themſelves under the Protection of a *Parli-* 'ament, that is it ſelf evidently under the Po- 'wer of Guards and Souldiers; They there- 'fore pray that the *Parliament* may ſit at '*Weſtminſter*.

And now City and Country were buſie in the Election of Members to ſerve in the next Parliament to be holden at *Oxford*. For the moſt part, the old Members were choſen again. I ſhall give a ſhort account of what happen'd at *London* on this occaſion. The Election for that City was perform'd at *Guild-hall*, on *Fryday* the fourth of *February*, and the Choice which the Common Hall fix'd upon, were Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Thomas Player*, *Thomas Pilkington*, and *William Love*, Eſquires: To which four, as ſoon as the Election was over, a Paper was preſented in the Name of the Citizens of *London* then aſſembl'd in Common Hall, containing a return of their moſt hearty Thanks for their faithful and unwearied Endeavours, in the two laſt Parliaments, to ſearch into and diſcover the depth of the Plot, to preſerve his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the well eſtabliſh'd Government of this Realm, to ſecure the meeting and ſitting of frequent Parliaments, to aſſert our undoubted Rights of Petitioning, and to puniſh ſuch who would have betray'd thoſe Rights, to promote the long wiſh'd-for Union of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, to Repeal the 35 *El.* and the Corporation Act, and more eſpecially for their Endeavours in promoting the Bill of Excluſion of *James* Duke of *York*. In fine, they conclude, that being confidently aſſured that they (the ſaid Members for the City) will never conſent to the granting any Mony-ſupply, till they have effectually ſecur'd us againſt *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, they reſolve, by God's aſſiſtance, to ſtand by their ſaid Members with their Lives and Fortunes. 1681.

After this, another Paper was preſented from the ſaid Citizens, to the two Sheriffs, requeſting them, in the Name of all the ſaid Citizens then aſſembl'd in Common Hall to return their grateful acknowledgment to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and by him to the reſt of the Lords, who preſented the late *Petition* and *Advice* to his Majeſty.

In like manner were the former Members of Parliament again choſen in moſt places; and in many, ſuch Papers of Addreſs preſented to them, in their reſpective Countries, as had been done by the Commonalty of *London* to their Members. Alſo (contrary to the old Cuſtoms of the Members treating the Country where they ſtood) now the Country in moſt places treated them, or at leaſt every man bore his own Charges.

About a Week before the Seſſion, the King left *London*, and removed to *Oxford*, appointing certain Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horſe to keep Garriſon in the *Meuſe* during his abſence. Many Members of the Houſe of Commons, eſpecially thoſe of *London*, went to *Oxford*, accompanied or attended with the Ceremonious Cavalcade of a numerous Train of Friends.

On the 14th of *March* the King and Queen enter'd *Oxford*, received and preſented by the Mayor and Body of that City at the *Eaſt* Gate, and from thence attended with Acclamations and all ſort of Demonſtrations of Joy to *Chriſt-Church*; the next day the Body of the Univerſity

1681. ſity waited on Their Majeſties, and received the Honour to kiſs Their Hands, preſenting at the ſame time to the King a large *Oxford* Bible, and to the Queen the Cuts belonging to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity, both richly bound.

The 21ſt of *March* being now arriv'd, and the Members of both Houſes of *Parliament* aſſembled at *Oxford*, according to the King's Writs of Summons, the Lords ſate in the Gallery at the Schools, and the Commons in the Convocation Houſe.

His Majeſty's Speech at the opening of the Seſſions contained, That the unwarrantable Proceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons were the occaſion of the Diſſolution of the laſt *Parliament*; That as he will never uſe Arbitrary Government himſelf, ſo he is reſolved never to ſuffer it in others; That whoſoever ſhall calmly conſider the Proceedings in the laſt *Parliament*, may perhaps more wonder at his *Patience* ſo long, than that he grew weary at laſt; That it is as much his Intereſt and care as theirs to preſerve the Liberty of the Subject, becauſe the Crown can never be ſafe when that is in Danger; That neither Liberty nor Property can ſubſiſt long, when the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown are invaded, or the Honour of the Government brought low and into diſreputation; That he hath call'd this Parliament ſo ſoon, to ſhew that no Irregularities in Parliaments ſhall make him out of Love with them; That the juſt care they ought to have of Religion ought not to be ſo manag'd and improv'd into unneceſſary Fears, as to be made a pretence for changing the Foundation of the Government; That he hopes the Example of the ill ſucceſs of former Heats will diſpoſe them to a better Temper; That they would not lay ſo much weight upon any one Expedient againſt *Popery*, as to determine all other are ineffectual; That they ought to remember, that without the Safety and Dignity of the Monarchy, neither Religion nor Property can be preſerved; That he cannot depart from what he had formerly ſo often declar'd touching the Succeſſion, but to remove all reaſonable Fears that may ariſe from the poſſibility of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor's coming to the Crown, if means can be found out; that in ſuch a Caſe the Adminiſtration of the Government may remain in *Proteſtant Hands*, he ſhall be ready to hearken to any ſuch Expedient by which the Religion may be preſerv'd and the Monarchy not deſtroy'd; that therefore they would provide for Religion and Government together with regard to one another, becauſe they ſupport one another, and that they would make the known Eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Land, the Rules and Meaſures of all their Votes, becauſe he is reſolv'd they ſhall be his.

After this Speech the Commons return'd to their Houſe, and choſe for their Speaker *William Williams* Eſq; who had managed that Office in the laſt Parliament; who being the next day preſented, made a Speech to the King, and claim'd by humble Addreſs (as his Words were) *The Ancient Rights of the Commons.*

Nothing of extraordinary note paſſed till *Saturday* the 26th of *March*, on which day it was that the Houſe of Commons were inform'd that the Lords had refuſed to proceed upon the Impeachment of the Commons againſt *Edward Fitz Harris*, for High Treaſon, but had directed that he ſhould be proceeded againſt at the Common Law; hereupon they Vote, *That this Refuſal of the Lords to proceed in Parliament upon ſuch Impeachment, is a denial of Juſtice, and a violation of the Conſtitutions of Parliaments, an Obſtruction to the further Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, and of great danger to his Majeſty's Perſon and the Proteſtant Religion*: And further they reſolve, *That for any inferiour Court to proceed againſt* Edward Fitz-Harris, *or any other perſon lying under an Impeachment in Parliament for the ſame Crimes for which he or they ſtand impeached, is an high breach of the Privilege of Parliament.*

On the *Monday* following the Bill againſt the Duke of *York* was read the firſt time, and order'd a ſecond Reading: When on a ſudden the King ſends for the Commons up to the Houſe of Lords, and tells them, *That he perceiv'd Heats betwixt the Lords and them, and therefore he had order'd the Chancellor to Diſſolve the preſent Parliament*; which he accordingly did immediately.

The ſame day the King left *Oxford*, and came to *Windſor* that night; the next morning by Eight a Clook, to *Whitehall.*

Not long after this, his Majeſty was pleaſed to publiſh in Print a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, in which he ſet forth the Reaſons which induc'd him to Diſſolve his two laſt Parliaments, his reaſonable Deſires which he had propoſed to 'em, with their unwarrantable proceedings in return; declaring however, that he is not yet out of love with Parliaments, but that he will frequently adviſe with them as his great Council, which he hopes e're long to find in a better Temper. Much to this purpoſe were the Contents of that Declaration, which by his Majeſty's Order in Council was appointed to be read in all Churches and Chapels.

In *Eaſter-Term*, *Fitz Harris* was arraign'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, on the laſt day of *April*; he was thrice bid to hold up his Hand, inſiſting upon the Impeachment in Parliament, but at laſt he held up his Hand, and heard his Indictment read; which was for High Treaſon, expreſs'd in a certain Writing call'd *The True Engliſhman*, full of moſt horrid Expreſſions againſt the King, as if he were a Conſpirator in the Plot, and exciting the Nation to riſe as one Man againſt him, *&c.* To which Indictment he put into Court a Dilatory Plea againſt the Juriſdiction, alledging, that he being impeach'd by the Commons in Parliament, he cannot be Tryed here, but this Plea not being under Council's Hand, was refus'd to be receiv'd; however, the Court gave him time to conſider whether he would ſtand by ſuch a Plea, and in regard it might be fatal unto him in caſe it ſhould be overruled; and aſſigned him for *Council*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, and Mr. *Wallop*, (as he deſir'd) to argue the ſaid point of Judicature next

Wedneſday,

Wednesday, if he perſiſted in ſuch Plea. On the ſaid *Wednesday*, being the 4th of *May*, the Priſoner was again brought to the Bar, attended with his Council; at which time the King's Attorney Sir *Robert Sawyer* enter'd a Demurrer to the Priſoner's Plea, and inſiſted chiefly on the manifeſt defect of form, in regard the Plea ran, that the ſaid *Fitz-Harris* was impeach'd at the late Parliament at *Oxford*, *de Alia proditione*, but does not ſay of what ſort or manner of Treaſon, nor ſets forth the Impeachment at large, which a Plea ought to do, when it is to the Juriſdiction. After this, the Council of the Priſoner join'd in Demurrer, but upon their earneſt motion (tho' oppoſed by the Attorney-General) time was given them to next *Saturday* Morning to maintain the ſaid Plea by Argument, if they can. At which time it was argued largely by *Williams*, *Wennington*, *Wallop* and *Pollexfen*, for the Priſoner, and by the Attorney General, the Sollicitor, Serjeant *Jeoffreys* and Sir *Francis Withens* for the King; the King's Council, and alſo the Court, declaring, That they medled not at all with the Privilege of the Houſe of Commons, or Juriſdiction of the Lords in Parliament, which was not in the point, but only as to the form of the Plea. After all the Debate, which laſted from eight till after twelve that day, the Lord Chief Juſtice declar'd, That the Court would take a convenient time to conſider before they gave their Judgment.

On the *Wednesday* following, being the 11th of *May*, the *Priſoner* being again brought to the Bar by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, my Lord Chief Juſtice, in the name of the whole Court, gave Judgment, and declar'd, That he and his Brothers had conſider'd of the Plea, That they had alſo conſulted with others of the Judges, and that himſelf, Juſtice *Jones*, and Juſtice *Raymond* were of opinion, that the Plea was inſufficient (*Dolbin* doubting) the *Plea* was therefore overruled, and the Priſoner order'd to plead over; and accordingly he pleaded Not Guilty, and alledging, That a material Evidence on his part was now in *Holland*, his Tryal was put off till the 9th of *June*.

During all this *Eaſter-Term*, and many Months after, many Loyal Addreſſes flowed to the King from all parts of *England*.

On the 8th of *June*, in *Trinity Term*, was Dr. *Oliver Plunket* tryed for High Treaſon at the *Kings-Bench* Bar; the Evidence againſt him were all profeſs'd *Papiſts*, (as ſaid) and came out of *Ireland*: the chief matters ſworn againſt him, *That he was made Primate of* Ireland *by the Pope at the King of* France's *recommendation: That upon that account he having engaged to do that King all the Service he could, he had actually Levied among his Popiſh Clergy great Sums of Money, therewith to introduce the* French *Dominion into that Kingdom, and exterminate the Proteſtants.* Upon this Evidence he was found Guilty.

The next day being *Thurſday* the ninth of *June*, *Fitz-Harris* was tryed at the ſame Bar for High Treaſon, the chief Evidence againſt him were *Everard*, and Sir *William Waller*; the Jury upon the Evidence brought him in Guilty of High Treaſon.

Preſently after this Tryal Mrs. *Fitz-Harris* the Priſoner's Wife, and her Maid, accuſed my Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* of the Contrivance of that Treaſonable Libel of which her Huſband was convicted; upon which Accuſation the ſaid Lord was committed to the *Tower* on *Sunday* Morning, *June* 12. 1681

On the *Wednesday* following, being the 15th of *June*, *Plunket* and *Fitz Harris* were ſeverally brought to the *Kings-Bench* Bar, and receiv'd Judgment of Condemnation, as in caſes of High Treaſon.

On *Friday* the firſt of *July*, Dr. *Oliver Plunket* the *Popiſh* Primate of *Ireland*, and *Edward Fitz-Harris*, were both executed at *Tyburn* for the ſeveral Treaſons of which they were ſeverally Try'd and Condemn'd the laſt Term. *Plunket* in a long Speech declar'd his Innocency, forgave his Enemies, and pray'd for the King, Queen, and Duke of *York*. But *Fitz-Harris* ſaid very little, the ſubſtance of what he had to ſay or diſcover being by him deliver'd to Dr. *Hawkins*. Miniſter of the *Tower*, for his Wife.

About this time ſeveral were committed to the *Tower* for High Treaſon, namely, *Rouſe*, *Hayns*, *White*, and one *Colledge*, commonly call'd *The Proteſtant Joyner*. Alſo on *July* 2. the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was before the Council at *Whitehall* (to which the King came from *Windſor* that day on purpoſe) accuſed of High Treaſon, and for the ſame committed to the *Tower*, and his Papers ſeiz'd.

At the Seſſions at the *Old Baily*, which follow'd ſoon after, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and the Lord *Howard* mov'd to be Bail'd, but they were anſwer'd by the unanimous Opinion of the Judges, That it was not in the power of that Court to Bail out of the *Tower*.

At the ſame Seſſions it was that a Bill of Indictment of High Treaſon was delivered to the Grand Jury of *London*, againſt *Colledge*, and they brought in the Bill *Ignoramus*. But another Bill being exhibited ſoon after, to the Grand Jury at the Aſſizes at *Oxford*, againſt the ſaid *Colledge*, (part of the Treaſonable Words and Matters being tranſacted there) the Bill was found there, on the ſame Evidence which was rejected at the *Old Baily*. And in *Auguſt* he was Tryed, Condemned, and Executed at *Oxford*.

On the 28th of *July* the Parliament ſate in *Scotland*, where his Royal Highneſs preſided as his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner. At the opening of the Seſſions the King's Letter was read, ſetting forth, 'That he had call'd them at that time 'to adviſe of ſuch things as may truly conduce 'to the Security and Intereſt of that Kingdom, 'and as an eminent Expreſſion of his Favour, 'he hath named his moſt dear and moſt entirely beloved Brother *James* Duke of *Albany* 'and *York* to be his Commiſſioner there, &c. After this the Duke made a Speech, 'Declaring 'the high eſteem he had of the great Honour 'and Happineſs the King had been pleaſed to 'do him, in making choice of him to ſerve 'as his Commiſſioner in that his ancient King-'dom, ſince it ſhews to all the World the Good-'neſs the King hath for him, and Confidence

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1681. 'he hath in him, and capacitates him not only to ſerve his Majeſty as becomes a Loyal 'Subject, but alſo to evince the real concern 'he hath for the Good of that Kingdom, and 'his readineſs to ſerve it, and improve its In'tereſt; That his Majeſty had commanded 'him to aſſure them, that he will inviolably 'maintain and protect the *Proteſtant Religion*, as 'by Law eſtabliſh'd in that Kingdom, and the 'Church Government by Archbiſhops and Bi'ſhops; That he will maintain and allow the 'Properties and Rights of his Subjects, accord'ing to the due courſe of Law, and that he 'doth expect that they will not be ſhort of the 'Loyalty of their Anceſtors, in vigorouſly aſ'ſerting and clearing his Royal Prerogative, 'and in declaring the Rights of his Crown in 'its natural and legal courſe of Deſcent, *&c.*

After this, the Duke entertain'd the whole Parliament at a Splendid and Royal Feaſt; the Lords by themſelves, and the Commons by themſelves, at ſeveral Tables.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* the Parliament returned a moſt Loyal and Dutiful Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letter. Alſo in purſuance and confirmation of their Loyal Affections, on the 14th of *Auguſt*, the Parliament paſs'd a Bill entituled, *An Act acknowledging and Aſſerting the Right of Succeſſion to the Imperial Crown of* Scotland; by which they recognize and declare, 'That the ſaid Crown is by Inherent Right, 'and the nature of the Monarchy, as well as 'by the fundamental and unalterable Law of 'the Realm, tranſmitted and devolved by Li'neal Succeſſion, according to proximity of 'Blood, and that no difference in Religion, no 'Law nor Act of Parliament can alter or di'vert the Right of Succeſſion and Lineal De'ſcent of the Crown to the neareſt and lawful 'Heirs, and therefore they declare it High 'Treaſon, by Writing, Speaking, or any other 'manner of way to endeavour the alteration, 'ſuſpenſion, or diverſion of the Right of Suc'ceſſion.

At the ſame time they paſs'd another Act ratifying all former Laws for the Security of the *Proteſtant Religion*.

On the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, *Oates* was by Order of Council expell'd from *Whitehall*, his Sallery taken off, and accuſed of Miſdemeanors.

Great numbers of poor *French Proteſtants*, about this time, flock'd over out of *France*, to whom our King was ſo gracious, as by Act of Council to declare his pleaſure, That all his Officers and Magiſtrates ſhould give 'em the ſame Countenance and Favour with his own Subjects; That he would take 'em into his protection; That he would grant 'em his Letters of Denization, forthwith upon their Requeſt; and, That he would intercede with the next Parliament, to obtain for them an Act of Naturallization. He alſo granted very ample Letters Patents, for collecting Moneys all over *England* for their relief, dated the 10th of *September*, this year.

This Summer the King was pleas'd to appoint under him certain Deputies, or Commiſſioners of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, to whom he delegated his power to diſpoſe of all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Preferments which belong to his immediate Patronage. The Names of which Commiſſioners were, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Rocheſter*, Lord *Halifax*, Lord *Hide*, and Mr. *Seymour*.

At the Seſſions for *London* held at this time, one *Roſe* being charged with High Treaſon, and a Bill of Indictment exhibited to the Grand Jury attending for that City, againſt him, they found the Bill *Ignoramus*, after the ſame manner as had been formerly done in the caſe of *College*.

On the 24th of *November* all the Judges of *England* ſate with the Mayor and Aldermen, by ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, at the *Old Baily*, and the Grand Jury being call'd and ſworn, of which Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* Foreman, a Bill of Indictment of High Treaſon was deliver'd to them againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; The Evidence were all examin'd in open Court, but the Jury return'd this Bill alſo *Ignoramus*, upon which the people gave a ſhout. The Witneſſes who gave Evidence againſt the ſaid Earl, were aſſaulted by the Rabble, and in ſuch Danger of their Lives, that the Sheriffs were neceſſitated to Guard them at Night as far as the *Savoy*, homewards. Several Bonfires were made that night in the City, at which ſeveral Riotous Actions were committed.

On the 28th of *November*, the laſt day of the Term, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and Lord *Howard*, Priſoners in the *Tower*, were admitted to Bail in the *King's Bench*. By Order of Council to the Lord Mayor, and from him to the Officers of every Ward and Pariſh, all Bonfires and Bells Ringing were prohibited that Night.

The Act of Teſt which paſs'd in the Parliament in *Scotland* the laſt Seſſions, was the occaſion of ſeveral Diſcontents and Emotions amongſt ſome Parties there. The Act enjoyn'd a certain Oath or Engagement to be taken by all Officers in Church and State, and Graduates in their Univerſities, to maintain the Form of Government as now eſtabliſh'd; which Teſt tho' explain'd and qualified, was notwithſtanding ſo contrary to the ſenſe of ſome in that Kingdom, that ſeveral of their Miniſters refus'd it, and ſome of the Laity, among whom of greateſt note was *Archibald Campbel* Earl of *Argile*, who was about this time impeach'd of High Treaſon, and found Guilty. But being after his conviction kept for ſome time a Priſoner at *Edenburough*, he found means to make his Eſcape, after which his Arms were, with all publick Solemnity, reverſ'd and torn, and ſuch other marks of Diſhonour denounc'd againſt him, as in ſuchlike caſes are, by the *Cuſtoms* of *Scotland*.

The Proceedings of the Juſtices of Peace for the *County* of *Middleſex*, at their Seſſions at *Hicks-Hall*, before *Hillary Term*, were of note on divers accounts; Firſt, They order'd by their publick Act of Seſſions dated the 13th of *Jan.* That whereas the *Conſtables* and *Church-wardens*, *&c.* of every Pariſh and Precinct within the ſaid *County*, had been enjoyn'd laſt Seſſions to make a Return the firſt day of this, of the

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Names of the Preachers in Conventicles, and the moſt conſiderable frequenters of the ſame within their ſeveral Limits, which Order not being obey'd, but contemn'd by ſome, it was therefore by the Juſtices then aſſembl'd, deſir'd that the Lord Biſhop of *London* will pleaſe to direct thoſe Officers which are under his Juriſdiction, to uſe their utmoſt diligence, that all ſuch perſons may be Excommunicated who commit Crimes deſerving that Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, and that the ſaid Excommunications may be publiſh'd in the Pariſhes where the perſons live, that they may be taken notice of, and obvious to the Penalties that belong to perſons Excommunicate, *viz.* Not to be admitted for a Witneſs, or returned upon Juries, or capable to ſue for any Debt. And they further order'd at the ſaid Seſſions, that the Stat. 1 *Eliz.* and 3 *Jac.* be put in due execution, for the levying 1 *s. per Sunday* upon ſuch perſons who repair not to Divine Service and Sermons at their Pariſh, or ſome other publick Church.

Alſo there was another Act of the ſame Seſſions at *Hicks-Hall*, which bore Date the 18th of *January*, with which the Juſtices of Peace attended upon his Majeſty at *Whitehall* the ſame day. It contain'd, 'That they the 'ſaid Juſtices were ſenſible of their great Ho'nour and Happineſs, in being the firſt who 'return'd their humble and hearty Acknow'ledgment for his moſt gracious Declaration; 'which being follow'd by a multitude of Ad'dreſſes from all parts of the Kingdom, his 'Majeſty hath had a full Diſcovery of his Peo'ples Affections, *&c.*

To this purpoſe were ſeveral other Congratulations or Addreſſes to the King (ſome before, ſome after this of *Middleſex*) *viz.* from *Norwich*, from *Hereford*, from the Lieutenancy of *London*, *&c.*

In *March* his Royal Highneſs arrived out of *Scotland*, he landed at *Yarmouth* on the 10th; the next day, about ſix in the Evening, he arrived at *Newmarket*, where he was receiv'd by both their Majeſties with all the marks of Kindneſs and Affection.

The next day, being the 12th of *March*, the King was preſented at *Newmarket* with an Addreſs of Abhorrency from the Artillery Company in *Briſtol*.

About *Eaſter* certain perſons (to the number of many Hundreds, as reported) did deſign to meet at a publick Thankſgiving Sermon and Dinner, pretended, for God's wonderful Providence in delivering and protecting his Majeſty's perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and Engliſh Liberties, from the helliſh and frequent attempts of their Enemies the *Papiſts*, and Tickets of Invitation to this purpoſe were deliver'd abroad for a Meeting on *Friday* the 21ſt of *April*. Which Meeting was by ſpecial Order of his Majeſty in Council *April* the 19th prohibited and ſuppreſs'd, in regard the appointing of publick Faſts and Thankſgivings is a Matter of State, which belongs only to his Majeſty by his Prerogative, and therefore ſuch a Thankſgiving being appointed by the Subject, his Majeſty look'd upon the ſame as an inſolent Attempt in manifeſt derogation of his Right, and of dangerous conſequence. 1682.

On the 3d of *May* his Royal Highneſs left the Court at *Windſor*, in order to his Journey into *Scotland*, from thence to fetch hither the Dutcheſs, great with Child. He went by Sea in the *Gloceſter* Frigat, attended by ſeveral other Veſſels: In which Voyage the Duke's Ship ſtriking on the *Lemon-ore* Sands in *Yarmouth* Road, the Veſſel was loſt, with above 100 Men, but the Duke and ſeveral others of the greateſt Quality went off timely into a Yacht attending, and arrived ſafely in *Scotland*; where a little before had been an Inſurrection or Tumult of Apprentices at *Edenborough*, ſuppreſt by the Soldiers, not without Blood. About the ſame time another Tumult of Apprentices was begun at *Dublin*, but quickly ſuppreſs'd.

The enſuing *Eaſter-Term* yielded ſeveral paſſages of publick note in the *Kings Bench* Court at *Weſtminſter*: The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had brought his Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt one Mr. *Craddock*, a Citizen and Mercer in *Pater-Noſter-Row*, for ſpeaking ſome words of the ſaid Earl, importing him to be a Traytor; which Action being laid in *London*, and the Defendant's Council ſhewing that there was no likelihood of a fair Tryal by a *London* Jury, by reaſon that the Earl was not only free of the City, but alſo of the Skinners Company, of which Sheriff *Pilkinton* was Maſter, and that therefore the Jury ought to ariſe out of ſome Neighbouring County; to which the Court enclined, and gave the Earl his choice of any County of *England*; but the Earl reply'd, *That he had rather lay down his Action than admit it to be Tryed in any other County, in regard moſt of them had put* Abhorrences *upon him.* Which poſitive Reſolution of his did confirm the Lord Chief Juſtice in his Opinion of the Earls confiding in a *London* Jury, and therefore order'd, That unleſs he would conſent to try it by a Country Jury, it ſhould not be tryed in *London*; whereupon the Earl diſcontinued his Action.

The like Rule was made ſoon after in the ſame Court, between the ſaid Earl and Mr. *Graham* Principal of *Clifford's* Inn, againſt whom his Lordſhip had brought an Action of Conſpiracy, he having been appointed by the King's Council to be Solliciter in the Indictment againſt the ſaid Earl at the *Old Baily*. The like Rule alſo in the *Exchequer* in *Slingsby Bethel's* Caſe.

On the 27th of *May* the Duke, Dutcheſs, and Lady *Anne* arrived at *Whitehall*, having been met there by the King and Queen, who came from *Windſor* that Morning, and were all entertain'd at Dinner that day at my Lord *Arlington's* at the end of *St. James's* Park. But the King return'd to *Windſor* that night.

The next day the King fell ill (occaſion'd as ſuppoſed by ſome Cold caught the day before) of which Indiſpoſition he recover'd again, upon breathing a Vein, in a few days, to the great Joy of his Subjects.

On *Tueſday* the 6th of *June*, Captain *Ayres*, the Pilot of the *Gloceſter* Frigat lately caſt away when the Duke ſail'd to *Scotland*, was tryed be-

1682. fore Special Commiſſioners of Seamen, and being found Guilty of that grievous Loſs, was ſentenced by the ſaid Commiſſioners to perpetual Impriſonment, and accordingly was committed to the *Marſhalſea*. *Vid.* Stat. 13 *Car.* II. Ch. 9. Art. 25.

About this time it was that the Conventicles in *London* began to be diſturbed in good earneſt, and the Statute put in execution againſt them. On the 20th of *June* my Lord Mayor iſſued out his Orders to the Aldermen of all the Wards, to command the Conſtables of every Ward to be up on *Sundays*, and aſſiſt thoſe who ſhould put the ſaid Statute in execution againſt ſuch as ſhould reſiſt, as it ſeems ſome had done the *Sunday* before.

Againſt the 24th of *June* (the Cuſtomary Day for electing Sheriffs of *London* for the year enſuing) my Lord Mayor iſſued out his Summons to the ſeveral Companies to appear at *Guildhall*, on the ſaid 24th day of *June*, for the Confirmation of Mr. *Dudly North*, (whom his Lordſhip had choſen for one, according to Cuſtom at the *Bridge-Houſe* Feaſt) and for the choice of another Sheriff. At the day appointed a mighty concourſe of People aſſembled in *Guildhall*, before my Lord Mayor and Sheriffs ſitting in the *Huſtings*; there were two Parties appeared in competition, Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box* on the one Party, and Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* on the other; but in their polling ſome Difference ariſing, my Lord Mayor adjourn'd the Court by Proclamation to Nine a Clock *June* the 27th, and departed out of the Hall; notwithſtanding which Adjournment the two Sheriffs continued to poll on till night. The next day, being *Sunday*, admitted of no Buſineſs, but on *Monday* Morning my Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the two Sheriffs were ſent for to appear before the King and Council, where the matter being fully examined, the two Sheriffs were ſent to the *Tower*; the Warrant for their Commitment being ſign'd by 24 Privy-Counſellors.

On *Tueſday* the 27th of *June* the Common Hall was again adjourn'd over to *Wedneſday* the 5th of *July*.

Friday the 30th of *June* the two Sheriffs above-mention'd were brought by *Habeas Corpus* to the *Kings-Bench* Bar, where they were admitted to be Bail'd by four Gentlemen of conſiderable Eſtate, themſelves in 2000 *l.* a-piece, and the Bail each in 1000 *l.* At the ſame time they pleaded Not Guilty to an Information for a Tumultuous and Riotous Aſſembly in holding the Common Hall above mention'd after it was adjourn'd and the Aſſembly diſcharg'd.

The Sheriffs being thus at liberty, met at the Common Hall on the 5th of *July*, and notwithſtanding that the Lord Mayor (being ſick) ſent Order by the Recorder to adjourn the Hall to the 7th following, yet the Sheriffs proceeded in the Election, and declared their Choice of *Papillon* and *Dubois*. On the 7th the Mayor and his Party met again at *Guildhall*, but ſome Diſputes ariſing concerning the laſt Adjournment, four Lawyers were ſent for to the Court of Aldermen to argue the validity of the thing, *viz.* Sir *George Jeffreys* and Mr. *Saunders* for the Mayor, and Mr. *Pollexfen* and Mr. *Williams* on the other ſide; but coming to no concluſion, the Court was adjourn'd further to that day ſevenight, being the 14th of *July*.

On the 13th of *July* the King was pleaſed to iſſue out an Order of Council in theſe words,

HIS Majeſty having been informed by the Lord Mayor, and divers of the Aldermen of London, *that the Diſorders and Riots ariſen in the City upon the Day appointed for the Election of Sheriffs, have been chiefly occaſion'd by the Proceedings of the Common Hall in an irregular way, contrary to what hath been anciently accuſtomed; his Majeſty, by the Advice of his Council, hath thought fit, for the better keeping of the Peace of the City, to direct and hereby to require the Lord Mayor to maintain and preſerve entire the ancient Cuſtoms of the City, and for the better doing thereof, to take effectual Order, that at the Common Hall to be held to morrow all Proceedings be begun anew, and carried on in the uſual manner, as they ought to have been upon the 24th day of* June *laſt.*

This was read the next day in the Common Hall, but oppoſed by the adverſe Party with Noiſe and Clamour, ſome crying out for the Statute 16 *Car.* I. ch. 10. to be read, wherein there is a Clauſe declaratory, That the Privy-Council have no Authority to examine, determine, or diſpoſe of the Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels of any of the Subjects of this Kingdom. But this being thought not pertinent to this purpoſe, they proceeded; my Lord Mayor declaring in the firſt place Mr. *North* duly elected by him, and that he would poll for the other three, *viz.* *Box*, *Papillon*, and *Dubois*, and accordingly cauſed Books to be fitted with three Columns only. In the mean time the Sheriffs (with a *Salvo Jure* to their former Election of *Midſummer* day) went on apart, and polled for four Heads. The next day, being *Saturday* the 15th, my Lord Mayor declar'd Mr. *Box* duly elected by the majority of Voices in his Books, and therefore *North* and *Box* to be Sheriffs for next year. On the other hand the now Sheriffs declar'd *Papillon* and *Dubois* to have the majority in their Books: and ſo the Poll ended.

On the 27th of *July* the Court of Aldermen aſſembled, not without ſome apprehenſions of a Diſturbance. Two Companies were order'd to be up at the *Exchange* that day, and the Lieutenancy placed themſelves in the Gallery before the Room where the Aldermen ſate, to keep off the Multitude from preſſing in; a great

great number were gathered into *Guildhall*, for an Answer to a Petition which they had formerly deliver'd to that Court, requiring, that *Papillon* and *Dubois* should be call'd forth to give Bond to serve for the two Sheriffs of next year. Some few of the chief of this Party being at last call'd in, my Lord Mayor caused the following Paper to be read to 'em, as his final Answer:

Gentlemen,

THIS Court hath Consider'd of your Petition, and will take care that such persons shall take the Office of Sheriffs upon them as are duly Elected, according to Law and the ancient Customs of this City; and in this and all other things this Court will endeavour to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the Chair, and of the whole City; and wherein ye think that we do otherwise, the Law must judge between us.

With this Answer the Lord Mayor commanded them in the King's Name to depart. And thus this matter rested at that time.

During this Long Vacation, Mr. *Box*, who had been chosen Sheriff to serve with Mr. *North*, did think fitting to Fine, rather than take upon him the Office. Hereupon the Lord Mayor at a Common Hall held the 19th of *September*, proposed the electing of another Sheriff in his place, which tho' much opposed by the adverse Party, crying, No *North*, No *North*, No Election, &c. yet the Lord Mayor went on in the Election, and by the majority of his Party *Peter Rich* Esq; a Lieutenant Colonel in *Southwark*, and twice a Burgess in Parliament for that Burrough, was chosen, and so declar'd; whereupon the Mayor dissolv'd the Court, and returned to his House.

On the 28th of *September* in the morning, Mr. *Dudly North* and Mr. *Rich* were, according to Custom, sworn Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, before the Lord Mayor in the Hustings. At which time, to prevent a Tumult, a Company of the City Train'd-Bands were drawn up in *Guildhall*. The 30th of *September* the said Sheriffs were presented by the Recorder in the *Exchequer*, and Sworn there, the old Sheriffs giving up their Office at the same time.

On the 5th of *November* (the 5th happening on a *Sunday*) the Rabble were so unruly after the Bonfires, that they gather'd together in a great number, at least 1500, crying, a *Monmouth*, and knocking down such as they suspected not to be of their own Gang; and committing many other riotous actions in *Cheapside* and thereabouts, till dispersed by my Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, assisted by some of the Train'd-Bands, who took several of the Riotors, and committed them, some to *Newgate*, some to the *Counters*. This occasion'd a strict Order of Council *November* 10. *That no person whatsoever should presume to make any Bonfires, without Special Order so to do by the Magistrates.* Which Order being vigilantly observ'd by the Justices of *Middlesex*, and my Lord Mayor, who with the Sheriffs rid up and down the Streets of *London* all *Friday* night the 17th of *November*. No Riotous Actions, nor Burning of the *Pope* was suffer'd that night, as usual some years past.

On the 24th of *November* the great Cause was tryed at the *Kings-Bench* Bar between his Royal Highness and the late Sheriff *Pilkinton*, for these words spoken of the Plantiff, *viz. He fired the City, and now is come to cut our Throats.* And the Words being proved by two Aldermen of *London*, the Jury found for the Plantiff, and gave 100000 *l.* Damages.

On the last day of the Term *Pilkinton* render'd himself, in discharge of his Bail, a Prisoner in Execution; into whose place of Alderman was elected Mr. Sheriff *North*.

On *Wednesday* the 29th of *November* dy'd at his House in St. *James's* Park the illustrious Prince, *Rupert* Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Cumberland*, &c. in the 63d year of his Age. After whose death his Majesty was pleased to confer the Constableship of *Windsor-Castle* on the right honourable the Earl of *Arundel*.

On *Monday* the 18th of *December* the right honourable *Heneage* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, departed this Life; into whose Office succeeded Sir *Francis North*, then Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*.

This year came into *England* two very extraordinary Ambassadors; one was from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*, his Name *Hamet Ben Hamet Ben Haddu Ottar*, a Man of great eminency in his own Country, as Report says: His business about setling a *Peace* with *Tangier*; much respected he was here, carress'd at Court, and at both the Universities, and he seemed to express no less esteem for our Nation. But at his return, upon what account I know not, he was reported to be receiv'd by his Master with disgrace. The other Ambassador was from the King of *Bantham*, or *Surosoam*, in the *East Indies*; his Business about the *East India* Trade.

This year the King concluded a Treaty of *Peace* and *Commerce* with *Algiers*.

In *March* ill News arriv'd from the *East-Indies*, importing the loss of the great Town of *Bantham* to the *Dutch*; who under colour of assisting the Rebel-prince of *Bantham* against the King his Father, came with Forces and seized upon the Town, turning out the *English* there, to the great damage of our *English Factory*. 1683.

On *Thursday* the 22th of *March* happen'd a sudden Fire at *Newmarket*, about eight in the Evening, which consumed a great part of that Town; but by the Providence of God came not on that side of the way where the King's Palace stood.

The *Monday* following the King, Queen, Duke and Dutchess returned to *Whitehall*, where the Court continued till *Saturday* the 14th of *April*, on which day his Majesty and his Royal Court departed to *Windsor*.

1683. On *Tuesday* the 24th of *April*, one *Broom*, Clerk of Skinners Hall, and Coroner of *London*, having a *Latitat* out of the *Kings-Bench*, in an Action upon the Case at the Suit of Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*, against my Lord Mayor, Sheriff *North*, and several Aldermen; the said *Broom* acquainting them with the Writ, they all submitted to his Arrest, and went with him as Prisoners to Skinners Hall, and there remain'd under his Custody till one a clock at night: In the mean time eight Companies of the Militia are raised by order of the Lieutenancy, and are posted all that Night in several parts of the City, to prevent any Tumults which might happen on so new a thing as the Arrest and Detainer of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*; a thing never heard of before in the Times of Peace. And it so happen'd that one *Fletcher* a Common Serjeant of the *Poultry Counter*, having an Action of Debt upon Bond of 400 *l.* against the said *Broom*, which Action had been enter'd the Week past, Arrests his person in *Skinners Hall*, and carries him forthwith to the Counter. *Broom* being thus gone, and no body left in Charge of my Lord Mayor and his fellow Prisoners, they demanded if there was any about the House that had any Orders to detain 'em any longer in that place; which being answer'd in the Negative, they all departed peaceably to their several Homes.

On *Tuesday* the 8th of *May* was tryed at *Guildhall*, before my Lord Chief Justice *Saunders*, the Riot committed last *June* at the Election of Sheriffs for *London* and *Middlesex*. And this was upon an Information exhibited in the *Crown Office* by Mr. Attorney-General, of which I made mention formerly. Upon Evidence 14 persons were found Guilty, *viz.* the then Sheriffs *Pilkinton* and *Shute*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, Sir *Thomas Player*, *Cornish*, *Bethel*, *Finks*, *Goodenough*, *Deagle*, *Jekel*, *Freeman*, *Wickham*, *Keys*, and *Swinock*. On the last day but one of *Trinity Term* they were all Fined severally, as follows: *Pilkinton* 500 *l.* *Shute* 1000 Marks, *Cornish* the same sum, Lord *Gray* the same, Sir *Thomas Player* 500 marks, *Bethel* 1000 marks, *Finks* 300 marks, *Deagle* 400 marks, *Freeman* 300 marks, *Goodenough* 500 marks, *Keys* 100 marks, *Wickham* 100 marks, *Swinnock* 500 marks, and *Jekel* 200 marks.

On *Wednesday* the 6th of *June* was held a Common-Council at *Guildhall* in *London*, where all the treasonable and irregular Acts of that Court, in the times of Rebellion, were repeal'd, and a Bill past'd in the said Common Council for declaring and asserting the ancient Rights of the Chair; by which Bill my Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen were restor'd to their negative Voice, which had been taken away by an Act in the late Rebellious Times, and never question'd before that. Also it was at this Common Council declar'd and enacted, That my Lord Mayor has sufficient and lawful power of chusing one Sheriff. And accordingly my Lord Mayor did the next day declare his choice at the *Bridge-House Feast*, by drinking to Mr. Alderman *Daniel*, as one of the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, for the year ensuing.

On the first *Tuesday* in *Trinity Term*, 1683, Judgment was given in the *Court of Kings-Bench*, in the *Quo Warranto* brought last *Trinity Term* against the *City* of *London*; the Pleadings were large on both sides. The chief *Crimes* on which this Writ was grounded were two: For exacting Tolls in their Markets illegally, and for framing and printing a scandalous Petition, wherein they charged the King with obstructing the Justice of the Nation, by *proroguing* the last Parliament. Whether these were sufficient causes of seizing their Liberties was argued *pro* and *con* by the *Sollicitor-General* and the Recorder last *Hillary Term*, and by the *Attorney-General*, and Mr. *Pollexfen*, last Term, very largely and elaborately: And now (my Lord *Chief Justice Saunders* being sick and absent) Justice *Jones* having concisely summed up all the Proceedings past, in a very pithy and solid Speech, gave *Judgment*, and declar'd it to be the unanimous Opinion of that *Court*, *That the Liberties and Franchises of the City of* London *be seized into the King's Hands*. After which he declar'd by the *King's* expres Order, That *Judgment* should not be enter'd till his Majesty's pleasure be further known.

Thursday the 14th of *June* was held a Common Council in *London*, at which Court the following Petition was order'd to be presented to the *King* at *Windsor*; it was entitul'd, *The humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of* London, *in Common Council assembled*; 'It acknowledg'd their hearty and 'unfeigned Sorrow for the misgovernment of 'that City of late years, which occasion'd a '*Quo Warranto* to be brought against them and 'Judgment therein; That they are deeply 'sensible, and thankfully acknowledge the 'King's great Favour in not requiring Judg'ment to be immediately enter'd thereon: In 'this distressed condition they humbly cast 'themselves at his Royal Feet, imploring his 'Princely Compassion and Grace, begging Par'don for all Offences, with most solemn Pro'mises and Assurances of constant Loyalty and 'Obedience to His Majesty, his Heirs and Suc'cessors, and of a regular Administration of 'his Government in that City for the future; 'and humbly beg his Majesty's Commands and 'Directions. This Petition was carried and presented by the Lord Mayor, and several Aldermen and Citizens of *London* on *Monday* the 18th of *June*; after which my Lord Keeper, by the King's Command, declar'd, 'That for 'the sakes of so many of the present Magistrates 'and other eminent Citizens in *London*, who 'are of undoubted Loyalty and Affection to his 'Majesty's Service, his Majesty will shew the 'City all the Favour they can reasonably de'sire: In fine, That his Majesty requires their 'Submission to these Regulations, That no 'Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common 'Serjeant, Town-Clerk, or Coroner of *Lon'don*, or Steward of *Southwark*, shall be capa'ble of or admitted to the exercise of their re'spective Offices, before his Majesty shall have 'approved them under his own Sign manual; 'That his Majesty's disapproving the Mayor 'twice, he may if he please nominate a Lord 'Mayor himself; so also for Sheriffs: Never'theless, the Election of these Officers may be 'according to the ancient usage of the City,

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'with ſome ſmall Reſtrictions then ſpecified.

On *Wedneſday* the 20th of *June* was held a Court of *Common Council* again at *Guildhall*; the Queſtion being put, whether they ſhould aſſent and ſubmit to his Majeſty's Order of Regulation, as above expreſs'd, it was carried in the Affirmative by the majority of eighteen Voices.

Towards the end of this *Trinity Term* another Plot was diſcover'd, deſign'd to be carried on by ſome diſcontented perſons to the Government; the firſt Diſcoverer whereof was one *Keeling*, who gave a long and confuſed Narration thereof; and upon his examination impeach'd ſeveral perſons of mean Rank, but not a word all this while of any of the Nobility, or any Perſon of Quality; till ſome of the Evidence who were firſt and deepeſt involv'd, and now ſtrugling as it were for Life, the better to eaſe themſelves, threw the weight of the Plot chiefly on my Lord *Ruſſel*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hambden*, &c. As for the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was under the ſame Accuſation, he withdrew himſelf for a time, but a Proclamation following him at the Heel, he came in and ſurrender'd himſelf to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, where it was ſaid that he made a Confeſſion of the whole Conſpiracy; but without the leaſt deſign upon his Majeſty's Life, which he firmly denied to have ever thought of; and gave his Majeſty much greater light into many particulars of it, than he could poſſibly elſe have obtain'd. Upon which the King granted him his Pardon; which no ſooner was obtain'd, but he began to aſſert the Innocence of ſome that had ſuffer'd. This caus'd the King to remind the Duke of his late Promiſes, and demanded of him ſome ſuch ſatisfaction to the Nation in publick, as he had already given his Majeſty in private; which he ſeemed ready to comply with, and accordingly ſubſcrib'd a Letter of the ſame import with the Confeſſion he had made to the King. But finding what uſe ſome People made of his coming in, and fearing leſt ſome Opportunity might be taken from it by his Enemies, to blaſt his Reputation, and perhaps to bring him to give Evidence againſt others, which tho' his Majeſty often aſſur'd him to the contrary, yet he perſiſted in his Requeſt, That the Paper might be reſtor'd; which at laſt the King told him he would no longer keep, but withal baniſh'd him his preſence.

Mr. *Weſt* of the *Temple* was firſt apprehended, examin'd, and committed. And *His Majeſty's* Proclamation, dated the 23d of *June*, came out for the apprehenſion of others who had conſpired againſt the Lives of his moſt Sacred Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs, *viz.* Colonel *John Rumſey*, *Richard Rumbold* Maſſter, *Richard Nelthorp* Eſq; *Edward Wade* Gent. *Richard Goodenough* Gent. Capt. *Walcot*, *William Thompſon*, *James Burton*, and *William Hone*; for the Diſcovery of any of which 100 *l.* was offer'd as a Reward to the Diſcoverer. Alſo another Proclamation came out not long after, dated the 28th of *June*, for the apprehending of *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, *Ford* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* Knight, and *Robert Ferguſon*, who were alſo fled; for the diſcovery of any of which 500 *l.* was offer'd as a Reward to the Diſcoverer. The Crimes alledged in the ſaid Proclamations are, *For Trayterouſly conſpiring to compaſs the Death and Deſtruction of the King, and his deareſt Brother the Duke of* York, *to effect which they have held ſeveral Treaſonable Conſultations to Levy Men, and to make an Inſurrection in this Kingdom.* 1683.

On the 2d of *July* the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, in a Body, waited on his Majeſty in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, and preſented him with their Addreſs of Congratulation, 'Importing 'their Thanks to Almighty God for bringing 'to light this impious and execrable Machina'tion, deſigned for the deſtruction of his Ma'jeſty's Royal Perſon, and of his deareſt Bro'ther *James* Duke of *York*, and for the de'ſtruction of his Majeſty's beſt Subjects, and 'to involve this and the future Generation in 'Confuſion, Blood, and Miſery, carried on 'by *Conventiclers* and *Atheiſtical Perſons*, &c. Which Addreſs being Graciouſly received by his Majeſty, they then waited on his Royal Highneſs, and made their complement to him on the ſame occaſion. After which almoſt innumerable Addreſſes on the ſame Subject flow'd from all parts of the Kingdom. At the ſame time alſo the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of Foreign Princes congratulated his Majeſty in their Maſters Names for his happy Delivery from the deſigned Aſſaſſination. The King of *France* alſo publiſh'd in his Dominions an Edict or Proclamation for the apprehenſion of thoſe Four mention'd in our King's Proclamation of *June* the 28th, and propoſed 500 Piſtols for the Diſcovery of each.

On the 12th of *July* was tryed at the *Old Baily* the above-mention'd Captain *Walcot*, for this Conſpiracy, and upon Evidence was found Guilty of High Treaſon. The next day the Lord *Ruſſel*, eldeſt Son and Heir apparent to the Earl of *Bedford*, was Tryed for the ſame Treaſon, and upon Evidence given by the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, and others, was found Guilty. The ſame day alſo *Hone* and *Rouſe* were tryed and found Guilty of the ſame Crime. All which received Sentence of Death the next day from the Recorder, *viz.* the Lord *Ruſſel* by himſelf, and *Walcot*, *Hone*, and *Rouſe* together; but the Judgment was the ſame, to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd. During the Tryal of the Lord *Ruſſel*, four Companies of the Guards were drawn into *Lincoln's-Inn-Field*, and there poſted all the day; two Companies of the Trained Bands in St. *Bartholomew's* Hoſpital, and a Party of the Life-Guard waited at the Gates of the *Old Baily*, attending upon the Lord *Howard*.

In the mean time, *viz.* on *Friday* the 13th of *July*, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, while my Lord *Ruſſel* was upon his Tryal, News was brought into the Court of the *Old Baily*, That the Earl of *Eſſex* being at this time a Priſoner in the *Tower*, on the account of this New Plot, had murder'd himſelf, by cutting his Throat with a Razor, thereby to prevent the Hand of publick Juſtice: which Fact was urg'd by ſome of the Council againſt my Lord, as a confirmation of the Plot and my

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1683. Lord *Ruſſel's* Guilt. But to moſt people it ſeem'd little probable that he ſhould do Violence to himſelf, being a perſon of great Seriouſneſs and Piety; and that which encreas'd the Suſpicion of his not having had fair play, was, that he had been privy to the diſcovery of moſt of the ſecret Intrigues of the *Popiſh Plot*.

On *Friday* the 20th of *July* Three of the aforeſaid condemn'd perſons were executed at *Tyburn*, *viz. Walcot*, *Hone*, and *Rouſe*, according to the common Judgment in Treaſon, Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd. But the Lord *Ruſſel*, by reaſon of his noble Birth, had the Favour from the King to have the common Judgment mitigated, and was on the day following, *viz. Saturday* the 21ſt of *July*, beheaded in *Lincolns-Inn Fields*. Ten Companies of the Guards, and a Troop of Horſe were drawn up in the Fields at that time, to ſecure the *Peace* againſt ſo vaſt a concourſe of people as appear'd there on that occaſion. The Lord *Ruſſel* was beheaded by three ſtroaks of the *Executioner*, at half an hour after Ten in the morning.

On the ſame day, the 21th of *July*, was aſſembled a Convocation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in their Convocation Houſe there; at which, in a ſolemn and formal manner they condemn'd 27 *Propoſitions*, as falſe, ſeditious, and impious, and moſt of them heretical and blaſphemous, infamous to Chriſtian Religion, and deſtructive of all Government, both in Church and State: Which wicked *Propoſitions* were collected out of ſeveral modern Authors, namely, *Buchanan*, *Milton*, *Hobs*, *Goodwin*, *Baxter*, *Julian*, *Proteſtant Reconciler*, &c. Which ſaid Books were at the ſame time order'd to be Burnt, and were Burnt in the Court of the Schools of the ſaid Univerſity.

On *Saturday* the 28th of *July*, being St. *Anns Day*, about Ten in the *Evening*, the Lady *Ann* ſecond Daughter to his Royal Highneſs, was married to Prince *George*, Brother to the King of *Denmark*, which *Prince* arrived at *Whitehall* the *Thurſday* ſevennight before. The Ceremony of the Marriage was perform'd by the Biſhop of *London*, in the preſence of the King, Queen, Duke, and Dutcheſs, with moſt of the great Perſonages of the Court. All that night and the next, the Bells proclaim'd the publick Joy. And preſently after they receiv'd the Congratulations of all the Ambaſſadors and publick Miniſters in Town. The like alſo from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, in their Scarlet.

Soon after which was publiſh'd his Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects, dated the 28th of *July*, whereby was ſet forth a ſhort Narration of the Treaſonable Conſpiracy, as it hath been lately diſcover'd; for which happy Diſcovery his Majeſty appointed by the ſaid Declaration a ſolemn day of Thankſgiving to Almighty God, to be celebrated throughout the Kingdom, on *Sunday* the 9th day of *September* next; and that the ſaid Declaration be publickly read in all Churches, as well on *Sunday* the 2d day of *September*, as on the Day of Thankſgiving aforeſaid. The ſame Day of Thankſgiving was alſo appointed to be obſerv'd in *Scotland*, which was perform'd accordingly.

On *Michaelmas Day*, the uſual time for the Election of a new Lord Mayor, the Choice was Adjourn'd over for ſix days longer; but before that day came, the King being diſpleas'd at the Delays of the City in not ſigning the Particulars by their *Common Council* formerly yielded, relating to their Charter, cauſed the Attorney-General to enter Judgment of Seizure in the *Quo Warranto*, which was done on *Thurſday* the 4th of *October*; and thereupon his Majeſty gave Sir *William Prichard* his Commiſſion to execute the Office of Lord Mayor of *London* during Pleaſure; ſo alſo to the two new Sheriffs, Mr. *Daniel* and Mr. *Daſhwood*, all which were ſworn with the uſual Oaths. At the ſame time Mr. *Jenner* of the *Inner Temple* was Knighted by the Name of Sir *Thomas Jenner*, and made the King's Recorder of *London*, in the room of Sir *George Treby* diſplac'd.

On *Sunday* the 7th of *October* my Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs appear'd at *Guildhall Chapel* as uſually, in their Gowns and Chains, but none of the Aldermen in their Gowns and Chains, only ſome of them attended in their ordinary Habits, Sixteen of them being made Juſtices of the Peace by the King's new Commiſſion, in which eight other Aldermen were left out, *viz. Allin*, *Frederick*, *Lawrence*, *Clayton*, *Ward*, *Shorter*, *Gold*, and *Corniſh*. But on *Saturday* the 13th of *October* the King ſent a new Commiſſion to the City, impowering the aboveſaid ſixteen Aldermen, together with eight new Aldermen, *viz.* Sir *Benjamin Newland*, Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*, Sir *John Buckworth*, *Samuel Daſhwood*, (one of the preſent Sheriffs) *Charles Duncomb*, *Jacob Lucy*, *Peter Paravicine*, and *Benjamin Thorogood*, to act as Aldermen in their ſeveral Wards in the ſaid Commiſſion mention'd. And accordingly ſeveral of them attended on my Lord Mayor the day following at *Guildhall Chapel*, after the uſual form and manner, in Gowns and Chains, and the next week aſſembled in a Court of Aldermen, as formerly.

On the 5th of *November* ſeveral Tumults and Riotous Actions being committed by the Rabble in and about *London*; eſpecially upon the Sieur *Citters*, Ambaſſador from the *United Provinces*, by aſſaulting his Coach, and throwing into it ſeveral *Squibs*, *Stones*, and *Firebrands*, whereby his Lady, who was then with him, was dangerouſly wounded; and complaint hereof being made to the King in *Council* on the 7th of *November*, *His Majeſty* was pleaſed to order for the future, 'That no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever do preſume to throw any 'Squibs or other Fireworks in the Streets of 'London or *Weſtminſter*, or other place within 'the Weekly Bills of Mortality, nor aſſemble 'together for the making of Bonfires: And the '*Lord Mayor*, *Aldermen*, and *Juſtices of Peace* in 'their reſpective Limits, are required to take 'due care for the performance of the ſaid *Order* 'of *Council*.

On the 22th of *November*, 1685, this *Michaelmas Term*, *Alderman Sidney* Eſq; was arraign'd at the *Kings-Bench* Bar for High-Treaſon, being accus'd to be one of the *Council* of *Six* in the aforeſaid Plot, and for ſending a *Meſſenger* into *Scotland*, to invite them into Rebellion, and for writing a Treaſonable Libel found in his *Cloſet*.

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The Lord *Howard* depos'd, That he was one of the Council of Six, and that he sent a Messenger into *Scotland*, to invite hither *Melvin*, *Cockram*, and the *Campbels*. And several other persons witnessed, That those persons were in Town about that time. Concerning the Libel, it was prov'd, that it was found in Colonel *Sidney*'s Closet, and (as far as such a matter will bear) to be of his own Hand-writing. To which he answer'd, That the Papers, if they were his, might be written long since in answer to *Filmer*'s, and for his own Diversion, not for Publication; denied he sent the Messengers, &c. But upon the Evidence was found Guilty; and on the 26th, being the *Monday* following, he was brought to the said Bar, and receiv'd Sentence of Death, as in cases of High Treason, and was Beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 7th of *December* following.

On the last day of *Michaelmas Term*, six Prisoners, then in the *Tower* for High Treason, were Bail'd, *viz.* the Lord *Brandon*, *Gerard* Mr. *Booth*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Hamden* Junior, Mr. *Charleton*, and Major *Wildman*, all which being accused for Conspirators in the late Plot, and but one Witness against them, they were Bail'd out in 2000 *l.* apiece; and 1000 *l.* their Sureties, except Mr. *Hamden*, against whom there being a Bill of Indictment for high Misdemeanours, he was bound in 10000 *l.* himself, and 5000 *l.* his Sureties.

Friday the 4th of *January*, the Lord *Peters*, who had lain a long time a Prisoner in the *Tower* on the account of *Oates*'s Plot, without being brought to his Tryal, departed this Life in his said confinement.

This Year was remarkable abroad for the formidable and bloody Descent of the *Turks* into *Hungary*. The *Mahometan* Army consisting of 150000 fighting Men, Horse and Foot, came before *Vienna* on the 9th of *July*, Commanded by the *Grand Visier* in Person. The Emperor had retir'd two days before, and left the City under the Command of Count *Starenberg*, who defended it bravely, notwithstanding all the bloody Assaults and utmost Endeavours of the Enemy, till on the 12 of *September* the Siege was rais'd, in the heighth of the Defendant's Extremity, by the coming of the King of *Poland*; who having joyn'd with the Imperial Forces commanded by the Duke of *Lorain*, not only beat off and routed the Turkish Army, with vast Slaughter, and no less Booty, but pursuing his Blow, took from them the Fort of *Barkan*, and the City of *Gran*, (formerly call'd *Strigonium*) after it had been possess'd by the Turks 78 years. Which City had been formerly, before it was lost by the Christians, the Metropolitan City of *Hungary*. To the Glory of the English Nation, some of our Country-men were present at the Siege of *Vienna*, in defence of which they signaliz'd their Valour. In particular the Lord *Lansdown*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Bath*, whom for his extraordinary Merits the Emperor created a Count of the Sacred Empire, an Honour which the Ancestors of the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardor* had formerly attain'd in the defence of *Strigonium*.

One thing more renders this Year remarkable, which was partly domestick, and partly foreign. *Tangier* in *Africa* being possess'd by the *Portugals*, came to the Crown of *England* with Queen *Catherine*, and having cost our King since he had it vast Sums of Mony in defending it against the *Moors*, and also in making the greatest part of a Mole there, which not being found so feasible as expected, the Charges very great and certain, the expectation of any Advantage from thence very uncertain, *His Majesty* was pleased about the end of this last Summer to commission my Lord *Dartmouth*, attended with about 20 sail of Ships, to go and utterly to demolish the said Town, Castle, and Mole at *Tangier*, to choke up the Haven, and to bring off the Ordnance and *English* Inhabitants to *England*, sending the Foreigners to their several Countries, but first compounding with every man for his Ground, Estate, and Property in their several Houses; all which was accordingly done in about six months time.

1684.

The Bailing the Lords in the *Tower* had been often mov'd for, yet could never be obtain'd till now. The Earl of *Danby*'s Case was argu'd *Hilary Term*, 1683, and on the last day of the Term, being *February* the 14th, the Judges in the *Kings-Bench* did severally give their Opinions and their Reasons for the same, concluding all in one Judgment, That his Lordship ought to be Bail'd; and accordingly Bail was taken.

The other Lords, *viz.* the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardor*, and the Lord *Bellasis*, being within the same Reason, were admitted to the same Advantage; as also the Earl of *Tyrone*, who had lain Prisoner in the *Gatehouse* about the same space of time with those in the *Tower*.

The principal Lords were bound in a Recognizance of 10000 *l.* each, and their several Bail in 5000 *l.* each, upon Condition, that the above mention'd principal Lords do appear in the House of Lords the next Sessions of Parliament, and not depart without Leave of that Court.

On the same day Mr. *John Hamden* receiv'd Judgment. He had been accus'd and committed for High Treason in the late Conspiracy, but in regard there wanted the Circumstance of two Witnesses against him, which is necessary in all cases of that nature, he was indicted and tryed in the *Kings-Bench* Court this Term, and found Guilty of a high Trespass and Misdemeanor, in conspiring to levy War, &c. and now his Judgment was, That he should pay 40000 *l.* for a Fine to the King, and find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life, and to be Committed till this be paid and done.

Acts of Hostility being fiercely pursued this Spring between the *French* and *Spaniard*, both by Sea and Land, His Majesty of *Great Britain* being concern'd on neither side, but at Amity with both, was pleas'd to command by his Proclamation dated at *Newmarket*, *March* the 12th, That the Peace should be kept inviolably on both sides, in all Roads, Creeks, and Ports of his Dominions, and that all his Commanders and Officers should oppose themselves against

any

1684. any that should assault any of the Ships of his Allies in any his Roads, Creeks, or places under his protection, &c.

On the 21st of *April*, *James Holloway* Merchant being outlaw'd in Treason, having been Indicted for the late Conspiracy and fled, was brought to the *Kings-Bench* Bar; where the Attorney-General declared to the Court, and the Court to him, That if he thought he could make himself appear Not Guilty, the King would wave his Attainder by Outlawry, and he might stand a Tryal by a Jury: But he declar'd, That he could not undertake to make himself appear Not Guilty, for he had confest his Guilt to the King: Whereupon a Rule of Court was made for his Execution on the 30th of the present *April*, on which day he was accordingly executed.

On *Saturday* the 10th of *May*, *Titus Oates* was arrested at the *Amsterdam* Coffee-house, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, for calling the said Duke *Traytor*. He was carried to *Woodstreet-Compter*, where he lay two days, and was then remov'd by *Habeas Corpus* to the *Kings-Bench* Prison. The next Term he let Judgment go by default, and on the last day of the Term a Writ of Enquiry of Damages was executed at the *Kings-Bench* Bar, where the Jury upon hearing the Evidence gave 100000 *l.* Damages.

About the beginning of *May* the King was pleased to revoke and determine the Commission (formerly granted to several Commissioners) for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, and to commit those Affairs to the care of his Royal Highness.

Also in this Month of *May* a Noble and most Elaborate Statue of his Majesty, in grey Marble, was erected on a curious Pedestal of the same, in the very middle or center of the *Royal Exchange*; the Garb and Habit was that of a Roman *Cæsar*; the Workman that cut it was Mr. *Grinlin Gibbons*. This was perform'd at the charge of the *Hamborough* Company, and cost 1500 *l.*

The Inscription on the Pedestal is,

Carolo II Cæsari Britannico,
Patriæ Patri,
Regum Optimo, Clementissimo, Augustissimo
Generis humani Deliciis,
Utriusq; fortunæ Victori,
Pacis Europæ Arbitro,
Maris Domino & Vindici,
Societas Mercatorum Adventur. Angliæ
Quæ per CCCC jam prope Annos
Regia Benignitate floret
Fidei intemeratæ Gratitudinis Æternæ
Hoc Testimonium
Venerabunda posuit.
Anno Sal. Humanæ
MDCLXXXIV.

On the 28th of *May* his Majesty was pleased to declare in Council at *Hampton-Court*, That he thought it fit, and for his Service, that his Royal Highness should be present at the Meetings of the Council.

And accordingly the Duke sate that day, and continued so to do.

On *Wednesday* the 11th of *June* Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was brought to *London*, and committed to *Newgate*, in order to his Execution, being outlaw'd in High Treason. He had been taken at *Leyden* in *Holland*, by Order of the States there, and immediately brought to *Rotterdam*, and Ship'd away for *England*. He was executed at *Tyburn* on the 20th of *June*, being a *Friday*.

On the 7th of *July* the City of *Durham* surrender'd their Charter into the Hands of their Prince the Bishop of *Durham*, soon after which surrender he granted them a new one, reserving to himself the Confirmation of their Mayor, Aldermen, and chief Officers, in like manner as the King had done before in other parts of this Kingdom, most Corporations having surrender'd and renew'd about this time.

On the first of *October* was made a Review or Muster of his Majesty's Land Forces on *Putney-Heath*, a most gallant military appearance. The Horse that day consisted of the Three Troops of Guards, and their Granadiers, with the Earl of *Oxford's* Regiment of Horse Guards, and the Lord *Churchil's* Regiment of Dragoons. The Foot were two Batalions form'd from the Royal Regiment of Guards and their Granadiers; one Batalion from the *Coldstream* Regiment of Guards and Granadiers; one Batalion from the Earl of *Dunbarton's* Regiment and their Granadiers, and one from the Admiral Regiment. The total of Horse and Foot which then rendezvouz'd were above 4000 advantagiously trained and well clad Men; all being that day commanded by the Earl of *Craven*. At which Review both their Majesties and Royal Highnesses were present, with great satisfaction.

About this time his Majesty was pleas'd to Dissolve the Commission formerly granted in the year 1681, to certain Commissioners, to dispose of Ecclesiastical Preferments belonging to the Crown.

Sir *William Pritchard*, late Lord Mayor of *London*, having this Summer brought his Action upon the Case against Mr. *Papillon*, for causing him to be Arrested in the time of his Mayoralty without any legal cause of Action (of which I made mention in the last year) the Cause was tryed before my Lord Chief Justice *Jeffreys* by *Nisi Prius* at *Guildhall*, on the 6th of *November*, and upon hearing of the Evidence, the Jury found for the Plaintiff, and gave him 10000 *l.* Damages.

About this time News arrived at *London* of the most barbarous Act in *Scotland* that has been heard of in many years. Some desperate Rebels there had in the Night-time affixed a most Villanous and Traitorous Paper unto several Crosses and Church-Doors in that Country, and therein declar'd War against the King (under the name of *Charles Stuart*) and publish'd their Resolutions to kill and destroy all those that serve and adhere to him; in pursuance whereof,

they

they came on the 19th of *November* at Night (being about 36 Footmen, and 16 Horsemen) to an Inn call'd *Swine-Abbey*, 13 miles from *Edenborough*, and there barbarously murder'd two Gentlemen of his Majesty's Horse-Guards in their Beds, cutting and mangling their Bodies, and carrying away with them several pieces of their Flesh.

Also this *Michaelmas Term*, on the 13th of *November*, *Titus Oates* was in the *Kings-Bench* Court indicted for Perjury, in relation to *Ireland's* being in *London* at that time the said *Oates* Swore to at his Tryal; to which Indictment he pleading Not Guilty; the Tryal was appointed to be next Term. After this, at the Sessions in the *Old Baily*, *December* the 12th, he was again indicted upon another Indictment of Perjury, in relation to his being present at the Consult of the Jesuits at the *White horse* Tavern, and upon Not Guilty pleaded, this also was appointed to be Try'd in the *Kings-Bench* Court next Term; and the Indictment was remov'd thither.

The Roads being this Winter extreamly infested with Robbers, his Majesty was pleased, on the 19th of *December*, to Order in Council, and declare his Pleasure for redress, 'That all 'his Officers of Justice, and other his loving 'Subjects, do use their utmost Diligence and 'Endeavour for the apprehending all Robbers 'and Highway-men; and for the encouragement of such as shall apprehend any such 'Offender, it was further order'd, That such 'Person or Persons, who shall at any time, from 'the present till the 19th of *December*, 1685, 'and after that day, till his Majesty shall please 'to recall this Order, either by Proclamation or his Order in Council, apprehend any Robber or Highway-man, and cause him to be brought into Custody, shall within 15 days after his conviction have a Reward of 10 *l.* for every such Offender so apprehended and convicted; and all Sheriffs of the respective Counties where such Conviction shall be had, are by the said Order required, upon the Certificate of the Judge, or two or more Justices of the Peace, before whom such persons shall be convicted of such Apprehension and Conviction, to pay unto the Person or Persons who shall apprehend such Offenders the Reward aforesaid, within the time aforesaid, out of His Majesty's Moneys received by such Sheriff or Sheriffs in that County where such Conviction shall be, which shall be allow'd unto him or them upon his or their accounts in the *Exchequer*. And all Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Officers and Persons whatsoever, were required to take notice of the said Order, and to be aiding and assisting in all things tending to the execution of the same, as they render his Majesty's displeasure, and upon pain of being proceeded against as contemners of his Majesty's Royal Authority. 1684

And now all things seem'd to be reduc'd to a quiet composure, with a general and easie submission to the Government, after so many years of Discontent and Troubles, when it pleased Almighty God to determine his Majesty's Life and Reign on the 6th of *February*, 1684.

Here, in Conformity to our Author's Method in former Reigns, the Reader may expect to find an Account of this King's Person, Age, and Conditions, of his Marriage and Issue, of his Death and Burial, of Casualties happening in his Reign, and of Famous Men that then appear'd in this Kingdom. Of all which briefly.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

KING *Charles* II. was tall, and well proportion'd; his Complexion black, but Manly and Majestical; a certain Goodness of Nature and noble Benignity appear'd in his Looks; his Mein had in it all the marks of a Royal Ayre, but nothing of a Tyrant; he had experienc'd many Hardships, and known the Severities of Fortune, yet was his Countenance seldom or never disturb'd, but, like a Prince, sedate and untroubl'd: He was a great Lover and Promoter of all Liberal and Useful Arts, in which himself had more than a superficial Knowledge. Most People now living in this Kingdom have been his Subjects, and do well remember both his Person and Reign, and I doubt not but all good *Englishmen* have, from the Informations of their own Conscience, a just and lively Idea of both.

Of his Marriage and Issue.

HE married *Dona Katherina* Infanta of *Portugal*, a most virtuous and pious Princess, who survived him; but he never had Issue by her, a Misfortune not his alone, but the whole Nation's. Natural Issue he had several, by divers Mistresses, whose Names I find thus express'd in an Author who pretends to much exactness, *viz.* By Mrs. *Lucy Walters*, alias *Barlow*, Athen. Oxon. par. 2. p. 828, 829.

low, *James Scot*, created Duke of *Monmouth*. By the Lady *Boyle* Viſcounteſs *Shannon*, *Charlotte* who married for her ſecond Husband *William* Son and Heir apparent of *Robert* Lord *Paſton*, afterwards Earl of *Yarmouth*. By Mrs. *Katherine Pegge*, *Charles Fitz Charles*, (commonly called *Don Carlos*) created Earl of *Plimouth*. By *Barbara* Counteſs of *Caſtlemain*, (afterwards created Dutcheſs of *Cleaveland*) *Charles Fitz Roy*, created Duke of *Southampton*; *Henry Fitz Roy*, created Duke of *Grafton*; *George Fitz Roy*, created Duke of *Northumberland*; and *Charlotte*, married to Sir *Edward Henry Lee* Earl of *Litchfield*. By Mrs. *Ellen Gwin*, *Charles Beauclerc*, created Duke of St. *Albans*; and another Son named *James*, who dy'd young. By *Louiſa de Querouelle*, a French Lady, created Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, *Charles Lenos*, created Duke of *Richmond*. By Mrs. *Mary Davies*, *Mary Tudor*, married to *Edward* Son and Heir apparent to Sir *Francis Ratcliff* Earl of *Darwentwater*.

Of his Death and Burial.

THE King had been, in his later years, ſurpriz'd with ſome Fits of an *Apoplexy*, from which tho' he had been recover'd by the uſe of proper means, yet it was much fear'd that at ſome time or other ſuch like Fits might be fatal. And ſo it proved. For on *Monday* the 2d of *February* 1684, he was ſeiz'd at his Palace of *Whitehall* with a violent Fit, between ſeven and eight in the morning, by which his Speech and Senſes were for ſome time taken from him; but upon the immediate application of fitting Remedies, he return'd to ſuch a condition as gave ſome hopes of his recovery, till *Wedneſday* night, at which time the Diſeaſe returning upon him with greater Violence, he prepar'd for Death in a moſt pious and Chriſtian manner, and ſaid ſeveral things to his Queen, and to his Royal Brother the then Duke of *York*, in the moſt tender Expreſſions imaginable, having his Senſes entire, and his Speech perfect, till about an hour before his departure, which was between eleven and twelve on *Friday* Morning, the 6th day of *February*, in the 55th year of his Age, and the beginning of the 37th of his Reign. His Body was open'd and embalm'd, and alſo his Head open'd, in the preſence of the moſt eminent Phyſicians and Chyrurgeons about *London*. On the 14th of *February*, about Ten a clock in the Night, his Funeral was privately perform'd. The Solemnity proceeded from the *Painted Chamber* at *Weſtminſter* to the Abbey Church there. His Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark* was the Chief Mourner (his Train born up by the Lord *Cornbury*). The Supporters to the Chief Mourner were the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Beaufort*, wearing their Collars of the Order (as all the other Knights of the Garter then preſent did). The Aſſiſtants to the Chief Mourner ſixteen Earls. One of the Kings of Arms carried the Crown and Cuſhion. At the entrance into the Church, the Dean and Prebends, attended by the Quire, met the Body (which was carried under a Velvet Canopy born by Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, ſix Earls ſupporting the Pall). Thus they proceeded to King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, where it was interr'd in a Vault under the Eaſt end of the South Iſle. The Office of Burial was perform'd by Dr. *Sprat* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. Service being ended, and the Officers of his Houſhold having broken their Staves, the Royal Style was proclaim'd by another of the Kings of Arms, according to Cuſtom.

Of Remarkable Caſualties in his Reign.

OF the great *Plague* in the Year 1665, and the dreadful *Fire* at *London* in the following Year, I have already given a particular account in the courſe of the Hiſtory. Of leſſer Accidents, ſuch as extraordinary Heats or Colds, Rains, Snows, Hails, or Droughts, or ſuch Extremities of Weather, I think them not proper Remarks of Hiſtory; ſo alſo for Meteors, for tho' they are much talk'd of when they happen, yet they are ſoon forgotten, and not thought worth remembring, being in a few years time ſucceeded by ſomething of the ſame kind, and ſo no longer admired. I ſhall mention only one, which in all its circumſtances, has not, perhaps, been parallel'd in many Ages; I mean the Great Froſt in the year 1683. It began about the middle of *December*, and laſted without any conſiderable intermiſſion till the 5th of *February*; during which time the *Thames* was frozen over with a ſolid and contiguous Ice in all places above the Bridge, Booths built thereon, Thouſands of People continually walking over, and ſliding. About the 9th of *January* Coaches drove over at *Somerſet-houſe*, and at the *Temple*. On the 23d of *January*, being the firſt day of *Hillary Term*, Lawyers and others, who had Affairs at *Weſtminſter*, went over the Ice from the *Temple* to *Weſtminſter-hall*, and back again, as familiarly as on the Land; ſome walk'd, and ſome went in Coaches, which carried People between the *Temple-Stairs* and *Weſtminſter* for the ſame Fare as by Land, and ply'd at thoſe two places (tho' not in ſo great numbers) as the Watermen do in Summer. Abundance of Booths were erected croſs between the *Temple* and *Southwark*, in which place an abſolute Fair was held for above a fortnight, of almoſt all ſorts of Trades; and Printing Preſſes erected both for Letters and Pictures; a Bull baited, a Fox hunted, and a whole Ox roaſted on the Ice over againſt *Whitehall*. Nor was this Froſt thus wonderful only above the Bridge, but Booths were erected, and People paſs'd over on the Ice frequently in divers places below Bridge.

Bridge; and the Sea it ſelf frozen for ſome miles from the Shore on the Coaſts of *England*, *France*, and *Holland*; inſomuch that for above a fortnight no Packet-Boat, or any other Veſſel of Intelligence, could either come out of thoſe parts, or go from hence.

Of Eminent MEN in his Reign.

I Think I may ſay, not untruly, That never any Reign produc'd in this Kingdom more Eminent Men in all Sciences and Profeſſions, than did that of King *Charles* II. The Mechanicks, and all curious Arts, were improved to that Perfection which the laſt Age never knew; and this is to be aſcrib'd partly to the Peace and Plenty which the Nation enjoy'd under his Government, and much to his Countenance and Encouragement: For, beſides the *Royal Society*, which he incorporated, for the advancement of *Experimental Philoſophy*, (of which Eſtabliſhment there is an Account in print, curiouſly and largely writ) he endow'd a Mathematical School in *Chriſt's Hoſpital* in *London*, wherein the moſt pregnant Boys of that Houſe are taught the *Mathematicks*, ſuch parts eſpecially that tend to Navigation, for with this School was deſigned a Nurſery. He alſo built and furniſh'd at *Greenwich* a curious Obſervatory for the making of ſuch Diſcoveries in *Aſtronomy*, as may be for publick Benefit. But ſhould I go about to recite the Names of all thoſe worthy perſons who ſignaliz'd themſelves in his time both in the Arts of War and Peace, the Liſt would be almoſt infinite; and ſhould I name ſome, and omit others, who perhaps think themſelves, or are eſteem'd by their Friends and Favourers, of equal Merit, I ſhould diſpleaſe more than I oblige. Let it ſuffice, moſt of thoſe deſerving perſons are ſtill living, and their Names are ſufficiently known.

WORKS of PIETY in his Time.

I Cannot enumerate all the *Alms-houſes* and *Hoſpitals* of inferiour Note. I ſhall therefore mention but a few Inſtances of this nature out of a great number.

In his time Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, built from the Ground that noble and beautiful Structure at *Oxford*, call'd the *Theatre*, for the uſe of that Univerſity at the Act time, and for ſuch publick Aſſemblies as were not proper and convenient to be held in St. *Mary's* Church, as formerly. This Building was finiſh'd and deliver'd into the poſſeſſion of the *Univerſity* with great Solemnity, on the 9th of *July* 1669.

Of Works of Piety relating to the King himſelf, I ſhall here name only two: He eſtabliſh'd by his Charter, dated *July* 1. 1678, a Corporation for relief of poor Widows and Children of Clergy-men, in conſideration of the great Sufferings of many of the Clergy of *England*, for their Loyalty; which Corporation was to have a Preſident, Vice-Preſident, Three Treaſurers, and Forty two Aſſiſtants, Members of the ſame, who by the name of *The Governors of the Charity for Relief of Poor Widows and Children of Clergy-men*, ſhould have perpetual Succeſſion, might ſue and be ſued, and made capable to purchaſe and have Lands, *&c.* not exceeding the yearly Value of 2000 *l. per ann. &c.* This King alſo begun, and almoſt finiſh'd in his time, that Magnificent and Royal Structure at *Chelſey*, call'd *The College* or *Hoſpital*, erected upon a piece of Ground deſign'd by K. *James* the Firſt for a College of Divines to defend the Reformation of the Church of *England* againſt all Oppoſers; which Ground afterwards eſcheating to the Crown, K. *Charles* the Second began here the largeſt and moſt illuſtrious Hoſpital that *England* ever ſaw, for the ſupport of maimed and ſuperannuated Soldiers. The number of the Penſioners is 476, beſides the Officers of the Houſe, Matrons, Laundrers, *&c.* Theſe have all moſt neat Lodgings, and plentiful Dyet, with all Conveniencies to make the remainder of their Life eaſie. For the Government of this Royal Foundation there are appointed theſe Officers; a *Governor*, a *Lieutenant-Governor*, two *Chaplains*, a *Phyſician*, a *Secretary*, *&c.* To defray the vaſt Expences there is 12000 *l. per ann.* paid out of the Poundage of the Army, beſides one day's Pay of each Officer and of each Common Soldier once every year. In the middle of the great Court of this Royal Foundation is erected on a Marble Peideſtal a moſt curious Statue in Braſs of the Founder King *Charles* the Second.

Mayors

Mayors *and* Sheriffs *of* London, *to his Decease.*

In his first Year, 1649.
Thomas Foot was Mayor.
Christopher Pack, *Rowland Wilson* died in the year,
John Dethick, Sheriffs.

In his 2d Year, 1650.
Thomas Andrews was Mayor.
Robert Titchborn, *Richard Chiverton*, Sheriffs.

In his 3d Year, 1651,
John Kendrick was Mayor.
Andrew Richards, *John Ireton*, Sheriffs.

In his 4th Year, 1652,
John Fowke was Mayor.
Stephen Eastwick, *William Underwood*, Sheriffs.

In his 5th Year, 1653,
Thomas Vyner was Mayor.
James Philips, *Walter Bigge*, Sheriffs.

In his 6th Year, 1654,
Christopher Pack was Mayor.
Edmund Sleigh, *Thomas Aleyn*, Sheriffs.

In his 7th Year, 1655,
John Dethick was Mayor.
William Thompson, *John Frederick*, Sheriffs.

In his 8th Year, 1656,
Robert Titchborn was Mayor.
Tempest Milner, *Nathaniel Temms*, Sheriffs.

In his 9th Year, 1657
Richard Chiverton was Mayor.
John Robinson, *Thomas Chandler* dy'd in the Year; *Richard King*, Sheriffs.

In his 10th Year, 1658,
John Ireton was Mayor.
Anthony Bateman, *John Lawrence*, Sheriffs.

In his 11th Year, and part of the 12th, 1659,
Sir *Thomas Aleyn* Baronet, was Mayor.
Francis Warner, *William Love*, Sheriffs.

In his 12th Year, and part of the 13th, 1660,
Sir *Richard Brown* Baronet, was Mayor.
Sir *William Boulton*, Sir *William Peake*, Sheriffs.

In his 13th Year, and part of the 14th, 1661,
Sir *John Frederick* was Mayor.
Francis Menil, *Samuel Starling*, Sheriffs.

In his 14th Year, and part of his 15th, 1662,
Sir *John Robinson* was Mayor.
Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, Sir *William Turner*, Sheriffs.

In his 15th Year, and part of the 16th, 1663.
Sir *Anthony Bateman* was Mayor.
Sir *Richard Ford*, Sir *Richard Rives*, Sheriffs.

In his 16th Year, and part of the 17th, 1664,
Sir *John Lawrence* was Mayor.
Sir *George Waterman*, Sir *Charles Doe*, Sheriffs.

In his 17th Year, and part of the 18th, 1665,
Sir *Thomas Bludworth* was Mayor.
Sir *Robert Hanson*, Sir *William Hooker*, Sheriffs.

In his 18th Year, and part of the 19th, 1666,
Sir *William Boulton* was Mayor.
Sir *Robert Vyner*, Sir *Joseph Sheldon*, Sheriffs.

In his 19th Year, and part of the 20th, 1667,
Sir *William Peake* was Mayor.
Sir *Dennis Gauden*, Sir *Thomas Davies*, Sheriffs.

In his 20th Year, and part of the 21st, 1668,
Sir *William Turner* was Mayor.
John Forth Esq; Sir *Francis Chaplain*, Sheriffs.

In his 21st Year, and part of the 22d, 1669,
Sir *Samuel Starling* was Mayor.
Sir *John Smith*, Sir *James Edwards*, Sheriffs.

In his 22d Year, and part of his 23d, 1670,
Sir *Richard Ford* was Mayor.
Samuel Forth, *Patience Ward*, Sheriffs.

In his 23d Year, and part of his 24th, 1671,
Sir *George Waterman* was Mayor.
Sir *Jonathan Daws* did in the Year, } Sheriffs.
Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *John Moor*, }

In his 24th Year, and part of the 25th, 1672,
Sir *Robert Hanson* was Mayor.
Sir *William Pritchard*, Sir *James Smith*, Sheriffs.

In his 25th Year, and part of the 26th, 1673,
Sir *William Hooker* was Mayor.
Sir *Henry Tulse*, *Robert Jeffreys*, Sheriffs.

In his 26th Year, and part of the 27th, 1674,
Sir *Robert Vyner* was Mayor.
Sir *Nathaniel Hems*, Sir *John Lethieulier*, Sheriffs.

In his 27th Year, and part of the 28th, 1675,
Sir *Joseph Sheldon* was Mayor.
Sir *Thomas Gold*, Sir *John Shorter*, Sheriffs.

In his 28th Year, and part of the 29th, 1676,
Sir *Thomas Davies* was Mayor.
Sir *John Peake*, Sir *Thomas Stamp*, Sheriffs.

In his 29th Year, and part of the 30th, 1677,
Sir *Francis Chaplain* was Mayor.
Sir *William Ramston*, Sir *Tho. Beckford*, Sheriffs.

In his 30th Year, and part of the 31st, 1678,
Sir *James Edwards* was Mayor.
Sir *Richard How*, Sir *John Chapman*, Sheriffs.

In his 31st Year, and part of the 32d, 1679,
Sir *Robert Clayton* was Mayor.
Sir *Jonathan Raymond*, Sir *Simon Lewis*, Sheriffs.

In his 32d Year, and part of the 33d, 1680,
Sir *Patience Ward* was Mayor.
Slingsby Bethel, *Henry Cornish* Esquires, Sheriffs.

In his 33d Year, and part of the 34th, 1681,
Sir *John Moor* was Mayor.
Thomas Pilkington, *Samuel Shute* Esquires, Sheriffs.

In his 34th Year, and part of the 35th, 1682,
Sir *William Pritchard* was Mayor.
Sir *Dudly North*, *Peter Rich* Esq; Sheriffs.

In his 35th Year, and part of the 36th, 1683,
Sir *Henry Tulse* was Mayor, by the King's Commission, not by the Election of the Common Hall.
Alderman *Peter Daniel*, *Samuel Dashwood* Esq; Sheriffs.

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A Yard ordained to be a measure by King *Henry* the first, the length of his own Arm, 38.

Sir *Henry Yelverton* the Kings Atturney, put from his place and why, 417. Is made a Puny Judge of the Common-pleas, *ibid.*

Yeomen and *Bourchier* hang'd at *Bristol* about a Plot, 525.

York Minster built by *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, 29. The Town burnt, 58, The *Minster* burnt, 217.

Richard Duke of *York*, by descent from whom he claimed the Crown, 170.

Edward Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* slain at the Battle of *Agincourt*, 171. Duke of *York* made Regent of *France*, 185. Displaced, *ibi*, Restored, 186. Again displaced, and the Duke of *Somerset* in his stead, 187. He begins to set forth his right to the Crown, 188, 199. Complains against the Duke of *Somerset* and raised an Army, 192. Made Protector of the Kings Person and Realm, 194. Convict of Treason, 196. He comes out of *Ireland*, calls a Parliament, and opens his Title to the Crown, *ibid.* Delared Heir apparent to the Crown by Parliament, *ibi.* Slain at the Battle at *Wakefield*, 197.

James Duke of *York*, escapes in a disguise out of *England*, 560. He is warned out of *France*, 645. he goes into *Flanders* to his Brother, *ibid.* High Almiral of *England*, and Fights the *Dutch* Fleet with success, 753. Dutchess of *York* died, at St. *James's*, 759. Engages the *Dutch* Fleet again, 761. Is married to the Dutchess of *Modena*, 764. Dutchess of *York* brought to bed of a Son, 767. An Address moved in the House of Commons to remove the D. of *York* from the Kings presence and Councils, 773. Makes a Journey to *Scotland*, 777. He returns for *England*, 778. Goes again to *Scotland* with his Dutchess, 779. A Bill read in the House of Commons for excluding the D. of *York*, 782. Returns to *England*, 785. 100000 *l.* Damage given him against Sheriff *Pilkington* for Scandalous Words, 787. Is made Lord-High-Admiral, 792.

The Exchequer and Courts of Justice, kept at *York* six years together, 97.

Rowland York betrays *Zutphen* to the *Spaniards*, and his end, 375.

At *York*, whose right it is to bear the Sword before the King, 405.

York Palace in the *Strand*, whose it had been and why so called, 90.

York besieged, 634.

York delivered up by Sir *Thomas Glenham*, 535.

Ypre taken by the *English* under Major General *Morgan*, 637.

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COlonel *Zanchy* sent with a Letter from *Lambert's* Officers to General *Monk's*, 672. The Conference of General *Monk* and his Officers with the said Colonel, *ibid.*

Lodovic Zuniga succeeds d' *Alva* in the Government of the *Netherlands*, 351. His death, 353.

FINIS.